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THE WORKS

OF THAT

LEARNED AND JUDICIOUS DIVINE

MR. RICHARD HOOKER,

CONTAINING

EIGHT BOOKS OF THE LAWS

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY,

AND

SEVERAL OTHER TREATISES;

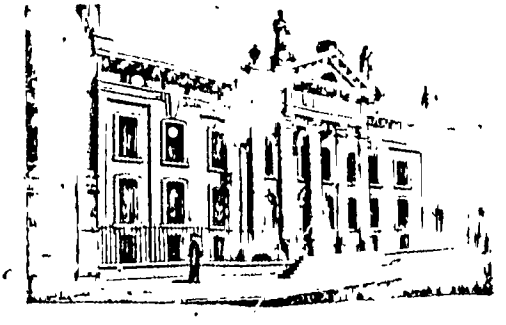
WITH AN INDEX TO THE WHOLE.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR BY ISAAC WALTON.

A NEW EDITION.

VOLUME THE THIRD.



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OF THE

LAWS

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

BOOK VI.

Containing their fifth Aſſertion, that our Laws are corrupt and repugnant to the Laws of God, in matter belonging to the power of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, in that we have not throughout all Churches certain Lay-Elders eſtabliſhed for the exerciſe of that power.

THE ſame men which in heat of contention do hardly either ſpeak or give ear to reaſon, being after ſharp and bitter conflicts retired to a calm remembrance of all their former proceedings; the cauſes that brought them into quarrel, the courſe which their ſtriving affections have followed, and the iſſue whereunto they are come, may peradventure, as troubled waters, in ſmall time, of their own accord, by certain eaſy degrees ſettle themſelves again, and ſo recover that clearneſs of well adviſed judgment whereby they ſhall ſtand at the length indifferent both to yield and admit any reaſonable ſatisfaction, where before they could

The queſtion between us, whether all congregations or pariſhes ought to have Lay-Elders inveſted with power of juriſdiction in ſpiritual cauſes.

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could not endure with patience to be gainſaid. Neither will I deſpair of the like ſucceſs in theſe unpleaſant controverſies touching Eccleſiaſtical Polity; the time of ſilence which both parts have willingly taken to breathe ſeeming now as it were a pledge of all men's quiet contentment to hear with more indifferency the weightieſt and laſt remains of that cauſe, Juriſdiction, Dignity, Dominion Eccleſiaſtical. For, let not any imagine that the bare and naked difference of a few ceremonies could either have kindled ſo much fire, or have cauſed it to flame ſo long; but that the parties which herein laboured mightily for change, and (as they ſay) for reformation, had ſomewhat more than this mark whereat to aim.

Lib. vi. Lib. vii. Lib. viii.

Having therefore drawn out a complete form, as they ſuppoſe, of public ſervice to be done to God, and ſet down their plot for the office of the miniſtry in that behalf, they very well knew how little their labours ſo forth beſtowed would avail them in the end, without a claim of juriſdiction to uphold the fabric which they had erected; and this neither likely to be obtained but by the ſtrong hand of the people, nor the people unlikely to favour it; the more, if overture were made of their own intereſt, right, and title thereunto. Whereupon there are many which have conjectured this to be the cauſe, why in all their projects of their diſcipline (it being manifeſt that their drift is to wreſt the key of ſpiritual authority out of the hands of former governors, and equally to poſſeſs therewith the paſtors of all ſeveral congregations) the people firſt for ſurer accompliſhment, and then for better defence thereof, are pretended neceſſary actors in thoſe things, whereunto their ability for the moſt part is as ſlender as their title and challenge unjuſt.

Notwithſtanding, (whether they ſaw it neceſſary for them to perſuade the people, without whoſe help they could do nothing, or elſe (which I rather think) the affection which they bear towards this new form of

of government, made them to imagine it God's own ordinance,) their doctrine is, that, by the Law of God, there must be for ever in all congregations certain Lay-Elders, ministers of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, inasmuch as our Lord and Saviour by testament (for so they presume) hath left all ministers or pastors in the Church, executors equally to the whole power of spiritual jurisdiction, and with them hath joined the people as colleagues. By maintenance of which assertion there is unto that part apparently gained a twofold advantage, both because the people in this respect are much more easily drawn to favour it, as a matter of their own interest; and for that, if they chance to be crossed by such as oppose against them, the colour of divine authority, assumed for the grace and countenance of that power in the vulgar sort, furnisheth their leaders with great abundance of matter behoveful for their encouragement to proceed always with hope of fortunate success in the end, considering their cause to be as David's was, a just defence of power given them from above, and consequently their adversaries' quarrel the same with Saul's, by whom the ordinance of God was withstood. BOOK VI.

Now, on the contrary side, if their surmise prove false; if such, as in justification whereof no evidence sufficient either hath been or can be alleged, (as I hope it shall clearly appear after due examination and trial,) let them then consider whether those words of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram against Moses and against Aaron, *It is too much that ye take upon you, seeing all the congregation is holy*, be not the very true abstract and abridgment of all their published admonitions, demonstrations, supplications, and treatises whatsoever, whereby they have laboured to avoid the rooms of their spiritual superiors before authorized, and to advance the new fancied sceptre of Lay-Presbyterial power. Numb. xvi. 3.

The nature of ſpiritual Juriſdiction.

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BUT before there can be any ſettled determination, whether truth do reſt on their part or on ours, touching Lay-Elders, we are to prepare the way thereunto by explication of ſome things requiſite and very needful to be conſidered; as, firſt, how beſides that ſpiritual power which is of order, and was inſtituted for performance of thoſe duties whereof there hath been ſpeech already had, there is in the Church no leſs neceſſary a ſecond kind, which we call the power of juriſdiction. When the Apoſtle doth ſpeak of ruling the Church of God, and of receiving accuſations, his words have evident reference to the power of juriſdiction. Our Saviour's words to the power of order, when he giveth his Diſciples charge, ſaying, *Preach: baptize: do this in remembrance of me.* Τίμα μὲν τὸν Θεὸν, ὡς αἴτιον τῶν ὅλων καὶ κύριον· Ἐπίσκοπον δὲ, ὡς ἀρχιερέα, Θεοῦ εἰκόνα φορέντα, κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἄρχειν, Θεοῦ, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερατεύειν, Χριστοῦ. *Epiſt. ad Smyrn.* A Biſhop (ſaith Ignatius) doth bear the image of God and of Chriſt; of God in ruling, of Chriſt in adminiſtering holy things. By this therefore we ſee a manifeſt difference acknowledged between the power of Eccleſiaſtical order, and the power of juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical.

Acts xx. 28. 1 Tim. v. 19. Mark xvi. 15. Mat. xxviii. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 34.

The ſpiritual power of the Church being ſuch as neither can be challenged by right of nature, nor could by human authority be inſtituted, becauſe the forces and effects thereof are ſupernatural and divine, we are to make no doubt or queſtion but that from him which is the head, it hath deſcended unto us that are the body now inveſted therewith. He gave it for the benefit and good of ſouls, as a mean to keep them in the path which leadeth unto endleſs felicity, a bridle to hold them within their due and convenient bounds, and, if they do go aſtray, a forcible help to reclaim them. Now although there

there be no kind of ſpiritual power, for which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt did not give both commiſſion to exerciſe, and direction how to uſe the ſame, although his Laws in that behalf recorded by the holy Evangeliſts be the only ground and foundation, whereupon the practice of the Church muſt ſuſtain itſelf; yet, as all multitudes once grown to the form of ſocieties are even thereby naturally warranted to enforce upon their own ſubjects particularly thoſe things which public wiſdom ſhall judge expedient for the common good; ſo it were abſurd to imagine the Church itſelf, the moſt glorious amongſt them, abridged of this liberty, or to think that no law, conſtitution, or canon, can be further made either for limitation or amplification in the practice of our Saviour's ordinances, whatſoever occaſion be offered through variety of times and things, during the ſtate of this inconſtant world, which bringeth forth daily ſuch new evils as muſt of neceſſity by new remedies be redreſſed, and did both of old enforce our venerable predeceſſors, and will always conſtrain others, ſometime to make, ſometime to abrogate, ſometime to augment, and again to abridge ſometime; in ſum, often to vary, alter, and change cuſtoms incident unto the manner of exerciſing that power which doth itſelf continue always one and the ſame. I therefore conclude, that ſpiritual authority is a power which Chriſt hath given to be uſed over them which are ſubject unto it for the eternal good of their ſouls, according to his own moſt ſacred Laws and the wholeſome poſitive Conſtitutions of his Church.

In doctrine referred unto action and practice, as this is which concerns ſpiritual juriſdiction, the firſt found and perfect underſtanding is the knowledge of the end, becauſe thereby both uſe doth frame, and contemplation judge all things.

Of Penitency, the chiefeſt end propounded by ſpiritual Juriſdiction. Two kinds of Penitency, the one a private duty toward God, the other a duty of external diſcipline. Of the virtue of Repentance from which the former duty proceedeth: and of Contrition the firſt part of that duty.

BOOK VI. SEEING that the chiefeſt cauſe of ſpiritual juriſdiction is to provide for the health and ſafety of men's ſouls, by bringing them to ſee and repent their grievous offences committed againſt God, as alſo to reform all injuries offered with the breach of Chriſtian love and charity toward their brethren in matters of Eccleſiaſtical cognizance; the uſe of this power ſhall by ſo much the plainlier appear, if firſt the nature of repentance itſelf be known.

We are by repentance to appeaſe whom we offend by ſin. For which cauſe, whereas all ſin deprives us of the favour of Almighty God, our way of reconciliation with him is the inward ſecret repentance of the heart; which inward repentance alone ſufficeth, unleſs ſome ſpecial thing, in the quality of ſin committed, or in the party that hath done amiſs, require more. For beſides our ſubmiſſion in God's ſight, repentance muſt not only proceed to the private contentation of men, if the ſin be a crime injurious; but alſo farther, where the wholeſome diſcipline of God's Church exacteth a more exemplary and open ſatisfaction. [a] Now the Church

[a] Pœnitentiæ ſecundæ, et unius, quanto in actu negotium eſt, tanto potior probatio eſt, ut non ſola conſcientia proferatur, ſed aliquo etiam actu adminiſtretur. Second penitency, following that before Baptiſm, and being not more than once admitted in one man, requireth by ſo much the greater labour to make it manifeſt, for that it is not a work which can come again in trial, but muſt be therefore with ſome open ſolemnity executed, and not to be diſcharged with the privity of conſcience alone. Tertul. de pœnitentia, cap. ix.

being

being ſatisfied with outward repentance, as God is with inward, it ſhall not be amiſs for more perſpicuity to term this latter always the virtue, that former the diſcipline of repentance, which diſcipline hath two ſorts of penitents to work upon, inaſmuch as it hath been accuſtomed to lay the offices of repentance on ſome ſeeking, others ſhunning them; on ſome at their own voluntary requeſt, on others altogether againſt their wills, as ſhall hereafter appear by ſtore of ancient examples. Repentance being therefore either in the ſight of God alone, or elſe with the notice alſo of men, without the one, ſometime throughly performed, but always practiſed more or leſs in our daily devotions and prayers, we can have no remedy for any fault; whereas the other is only required in ſins of a certain degree of quality: the one neceſſary for ever, the other ſo far forth as the laws and order of God's Church ſhall make it requiſite. The nature, parts, and effects of the one always the ſame; the other limited, extended, and varied by infinite occaſions. BOOK VI.

The virtue of repentance in the heart of man is God's handy work, a fruit or effect of divine grace, which grace continually offereth itſelf even unto them that have forſaken it, as may appear by the words of Chriſt in St. John's Revelation, *I ſtand at the door and knock:* nor doth he only knock without, but alſo within aſſiſt to open, whereby acceſs and entrance is given to the heavenly preſence of that ſaving power, which maketh man a repaired temple for God's good Spirit again to inhabit. And albeit the whole train of virtues which are implied in the name of grace be infuſed at one inſtant, yet becauſe, when they meet and concur unto any effect in man, they have their diſtinct operations riſing orderly one from another, it is no unneceſſary thing that we note the way or method of the Holy Ghoſt in framing man's ſinful heart to repentance. A work, the firſt foundation whereof is laid by opening and illu- Apoc. iii. 20.

BOOK VI.

minating the eye of faith, because by faith are discovered the principles of this action, whereunto unless the understanding do first assent, there can follow in the will towards penitency no inclination at all. Contrariwise, the resurrection of the dead, the judgment of the world to come, and the endless misery of sinners, being apprehended, this worketh fear; such as theirs was, who feeling their own distress and perplexity in that passion besought our Lord's Apostles earnestly to give them counsel what they should do. For fear is impotent and unable to advise itself; yet this good it hath, that men are thereby made desirous to prevent, if possible they may, whatsoever evil they dread. The first thing that wrought the Ninevites' repentance, was fear of destruction within forty days: signs and miraculous works of God, being extraordinary representations of divine power, are commonly wont to stir any the most wicked with terror, lest the same power should bend itself against them. And because tractable minds, though guilty of much sin, are hereby moved to forsake those evil ways which make his power in such sort their astonishment and fear, therefore our Saviour denounced his curse against Chorazin and Bethsaida, saying, that, if Tyre and Sidon had seen that which they did, those signs which prevailed little with the one would have brought the others to repentance. As the like thereunto did in the men given to curious arts, of whom the Apostolic history saith, that *fear came upon them, and many which had followed vain sciences, burnt openly the very books out of which they had learned the same.* As fear of contumely and disgrace amongst men, together with other civil punishments, are a bridle to restrain from any heinous acts whereinto men's outrage would otherwise break; so the fear of divine revenge and punishment, where it takes place, doth make men desirous to be rid likewise from that inward guiltiness of sin wherein they would else securely continue.

Acts xix. 17—19.

continue. Howbeit, when faith hath wrought a fear of the event of ſin, yet repentance hereupon enſueth not, unleſs our belief conceive both the poſſibility and means to avert evil: the poſſibility, inaſmuch as God is merciful, and moſt willing to have ſin cured; the means, becauſe he hath plainly taught what is requiſite and ſhall ſuffice unto that purpoſe. The nature of all wicked men is, for fear of revenge to hate whom they moſt wrong; the nature of hatred, to wiſh that deſtroyed which it cannot brook; and from hence ariſe the furious endeavours of godleſs and obdurate ſinners to extinguiſh in themſelves the opinion of God, becauſe they would not have him to be, whom execution of endleſs woe doth not ſuffer them to love.

Every ſin againſt God abateth, and continuance in ſin extinguiſheth, our love towards him. It was therefore ſaid to the Angel of Epheſus having ſinned, *Thou art fallen away from thy firſt love*; ſo that, as we never decay in love till we ſin, in like ſort neither can we poſſibly forſake ſin, unleſs we firſt began again to love. What is love towards God, but a deſire of union with God? And ſhall we imagine a ſinner converting himſelf to God, in whom there is no deſire of union with God preſuppoſed? I therefore conclude, that fear worketh no man's inclination to repentance, till ſomewhat elſe have wrought in us love alſo: our love and deſire of union with God ariſeth from the ſtrong conceit which we have of his admirable goodneſs; the goodneſs of God which particularly moveth unto repentance, is his mercy towards mankind, notwithſtanding ſin: for, let it once ſink deeply into the mind of man, that howſoever we have injured God, his very nature is averſe from revenge, except unto ſin we add obſtinancy, otherwiſe always ready to accept our ſubmiſſion, as a full diſcharge or recompence for all wrongs; and can we chooſe but begin to love him whom we have offended? or can we but begin to

Apoc. ii. 4

grieve

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grieve that we have offended him whom we love? Repentance conſidereth ſin as a breach of the Law of God, an act obnoxious to that revenge, which notwithſtanding may be prevented if we pacify God in time.

The root and beginning of penitency therefore is the conſideration of our own ſin, as a cauſe which hath procured the wrath, and a ſubject which doth need the mercy of God. For unto man's underſtanding, there being preſented, on the one ſide, tribulation and anguiſh upon every ſoul that doth evil; on the other, eternal life unto them which by continuance in well doing ſeek glory, and honour, and immortality: on the one hand a curſe to the children of diſobedience; on the other, to lovers of righteouſneſs all grace and benediction: yet between theſe extremes that eternal God, from whoſe unſpotted juſtice and undeſerved mercy the lot of each inheritance proceedeth, is ſo inclinable rather to ſhew compaſſion than to take revenge, that all his ſpeeches in holy Scripture are almoſt nothing elſe but entreaties of men to prevent deſtruction by amendment of their wicked lives; all the works of his providence little other than mere allurements of the juſt to continue ſtedfaſt, and of the unrighteous to change their courſe; all his dealings and proceedings towards true converts, as have even filled the grave writings of holy men with theſe and the like moſt ſweet ſentences: Repentance (if I may ſo ſpeak) ſtoppeth God in his way, when being provoked by crimes paſt he cometh to revenge them with moſt juſt puniſhments; yea, it tieth as it were the hands of the avenger, and doth not ſuffer him to have his will. Again,

Caſſian. Collat. 20. c. 4.

[a] The merciful eye of God towards men hath no

[a] Baſil. Epiſt. Seleuc. p. 106. Φιλάνθρωπον βλέμμα προσίσσαν αἰδεῖται μετάνοιαν. Chr. in 1 Cor. Hom. 8. Οὐ τὸ τρωθῆναι ὕτω φευκτὸν, ὡς τὸ τρωθέντα μὴ βέλεσθαι θεραπεύεσθαι. Marc. Erem. Οὐδεὶς κατεκρίθη εἰ μὴ μετανοίας κατεφρόνησε, κ᾽ οὐδεὶς ἐδικαιώθη εἰ μὴ ταύτης ἐπιμελῆ.

power

power to withſtand penitency, at what time ſoever it comes in preſence. And again, BOOK VI.

God doth not take it ſo in evil part, though we wound that which he hath required us to keep whole, as that after we have taken hurt there ſhould be in us no deſire to receive his help. Finally, leſt I be carried too far in ſo large a ſea, there was never any man condemned of God but for neglect; nor juſtified, except he had care of repentance.

From theſe conſiderations, ſetting before our eyes our inexcuſable both unthankfulneſs in diſobeying ſo merciful, fooliſhneſs in provoking ſo powerful a God, there ariſeth neceſſarily a penſive and corroſive deſire that we had done otherwiſe; a deſire which ſuffereth us to foreſlow no time, to feel no quietneſs within ourſelves, to take neither ſleep nor food with contentment, never to give over ſupplications, confeſſions, and other penitent duties, till the light of God's reconciled favour ſhine in our darkened ſoul.

Fulgentius aſking the queſtion, why David's confeſſion ſhould be held for effectual penitence, and not Saul's; anſwereth, that the one hated ſin, the other feared only puniſhment in this world: Saul's acknowledgment of ſin was fear; David's, both fear and alſo love. Fulgent. de Remiſ. Peccat. lib. ii. cap. 15.

This was the fountain of Peter's tears, this the life and ſpirit of David's eloquence, in thoſe moſt admirable Hymns entitled Penitential, where the words of ſorrow for ſin do melt the very bowels of God remitting it; and the comforts of grace in remitting ſin carry him which ſorrowed rapt as it were into Heaven, with ecſtaſies of joy and gladneſs. The firſt motive of the Ninevites unto repentance, was their belief in a ſermon of fear, but the next and moſt immediate, an axiom of love; *Who can tell whether God will turn away his fierce wrath, that we periſh not?* No concluſion ſuch as theirs, Let every man turn from his evil way, but out of premiſes ſuch as theirs were, fear and love. Jon. chap. iii. 9.

Wherefore

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Wherefore the well-ſpring of repentance is faith, firſt breeding fear, and then love; which love cauſes hope, hope reſolution of attempt; *I will go to my Father, and ſay, I have ſinned againſt Heaven, and againſt thee*; that is to ſay, I will do what the duty of a convert requireth.

Luke xv. 18.

Now in a penitent's or convert's duty there are included; firſt, the averſion of the will from ſin: ſecondly, the ſubmiſſion of ourſelves to God by ſupplication and prayer: thirdly, the purpoſe of a new life, teſtified with preſent works of amendment: which three things do very well ſeem to be compriſed in one definition by them which handle repentance, as a virtue that hateth, bewaileth, and ſheweth a purpoſe to amend ſin. We offend God in thought, word, and deed; to the firſt of which three, they make contrition; to the ſecond, confeſſion; and to the laſt, our works of ſatisfaction, anſwerable.

Contrition doth not here import thoſe ſudden pangs and convulſions of the mind which cauſe ſometimes the moſt forſaken of God to retract their own doings; it is no natural paſſion, or anguiſh, which riſeth in us againſt our wills, but a deliberate averſion of the will of man from ſin; which being always accompanied with grief, and grief oftentimes partly with tears, partly with other external ſigns, it hath been thought, that in theſe things contrition doth chiefly conſiſt: whereas the chiefeſt thing in contrition is, that alteration whereby the will, which was before delighted with ſin, doth now abhor and ſhun nothing more. But foraſmuch as we cannot hate ſin in ourſelves without heavineſs and grief, that there ſhould be in us a thing of ſuch hateful quality, the will averted from ſin muſt needs make the affection ſuitable; yea, there is great reaſon why it ſhould ſo do: for ſince the will by conceiving ſin hath deprived the ſoul of life; and of life there is not recovery without repentance, the death of ſin; repentance not able to kill ſin, but by withdrawing the

the will from it; the will unpoſſible to be withdrawn, unleſs it concur with a contrary affection to that which accompanied it before in evil; is it not clear that as an inordinate delight did firſt begin ſin, ſo repentance muſt begin with a juſt ſorrow, a ſorrow of heart, and ſuch a ſorrow as renteth the heart; neither a feigned nor ſlight ſorrow; not feigned, leſt it increaſe ſin, nor ſlight, leſt the pleaſures of ſin overmatch it.

Wherefore of grace, the higheſt cauſe from which man's penitency doth proceed; of faith, fear, love, hope, what force and efficiency they have in repentance; of parts and duties thereunto belonging, comprehended in the Schoolmen's definitions; finally, of the firſt among thoſe duties, contrition which diſliketh and bewaileth iniquity, let this ſuffice.

And becauſe God will have offences by repentance not only abhorred within ourſelves, but alſo with humble ſupplication diſplayed before him, and a teſtimony of amendment to be given, even by preſent works worthy repentance, in that they are contrary to thoſe we renounce and diſclaim; although the virtue of repentance do require that her other two parts, confeſſion and ſatisfaction, ſhould here follow; yet ſeeing they belong as well to the diſcipline as to the virtue of repentance, and only differ for that in the one they are performed to man, in the other to God alone, I had rather diſtinguiſh them in joint-handling, than handle them apart, becauſe in quality and manner of practice they are diſtinct.

Of the Diſcipline of Repentance inſtituted by Chriſt, practiſed by the Fathers, converted by the Schoolmen into a Sacrament; and of Confeſſion, that which belongeth to the Virtue of Repentance, that which was uſed among the Jews, that which Papacy imagineth a Sacrament, and that which ancient Diſcipline practiſed.

BOOK VI. OUR Lord and Saviour in the ſixteenth of St. Matthew's Goſpel giveth his Apoſtles regiment in general over God's Church. For they that have the keys of the kingdom of Heaven are thereby ſignified to be ſtewards of the Houſe of God, under whom they guide, command, judge, and correct his family. The ſouls of men are God's treaſure committed to the truſt and fidelity of ſuch as muſt render a ſtrict account for the very leaſt which is under their cuſtody. God hath not inveſted them with power to make a revenue thereof, but to uſe it for the good of them whom Jeſus Chriſt hath moſt dearly bought.

Matt. xvi. 19.

And becauſe their office therein conſiſteth of ſundry functions, ſome belonging to doctrine, ſome to diſcipline, all contained in the name of the Keys; they have for matters of diſcipline, as well litigious as criminal, their courts and conſiſtories erected by the heavenly authority of his moſt ſacred voice, who hath ſaid *Dic Eccleſiæ*, Tell the Church; againſt rebellious and contumacious perſons which refuſe to obey their ſentence, armed they are with power to eject ſuch out of the Church, to deprive them of the honours, rights, and privileges of Chriſtian men, to make them as Heathens and Publicans, with whom ſociety was hateful.

Matt. xviii. 17.

Furthermore, leſt their acts ſhould be ſlenderly accounted of, or had in contempt, whether they admit to the fellowſhip of ſaints, or ſeclude from it, whether they bind offenders, or ſet them again

Matt. xviii. 18. John xx. 23. 1 Cor. v. 3—5. 2 Cor. ii. 6.

at

at liberty, whether they remit, or retain ſins, whatſoever is done by way of orderly and lawful proceeding, the Lord himſelf hath promiſed to ratify. This is that grand original warrant, by force whereof the guides and prelates in God's Church, firſt his Apoſtles, and afterwards others following them ſucceſſively, did both uſe and uphold that diſcipline, the end whereof is to heal men's conſciences, to cure their ſins, to reclaim offenders from iniquity, and to make them by repentance juſt. BOOK VI. 1 Tim. i. 20.

Neither hath it of ancient time, for any other reſpect, been accuſtomed to bind by eccleſiaſtical cenſures, to retain ſo bound till tokens of manifeſt repentance appeared, and upon apparent repentance to releaſe, ſaving only becauſe this was received as a moſt expedient method for the cure of ſin.

The courſe of diſcipline in former ages reformed open tranſgreſſors by putting them into offices of open penitence, eſpecially confeſſion, whereby they declared their own crimes in the hearing of the whole Church, and were not from the time of their firſt convention capable of the holy myſteries of Chriſt, till they had ſolemnly diſcharged this duty.

Offenders in ſecret knowing themſelves altogether as unworthy to be admitted to the Lord's table, as the other which were withheld, being alſo perſuaded, that if the Church did direct them in the offices of their penitency, and aſſiſt them with public prayers, they ſhould more eaſily obtain that they ſought, than by truſting wholly to their own endeavours; finally, having no impediment to ſtay them from it but baſhfulneſs, which countervailed not the former inducements, and beſides, was greatly eaſed by the good conſtruction, which the charity of thoſe times gave to ſuch actions, wherein men's piety and voluntary care to be reconciled to God did purchaſe them much more love than their faults (the teſtimonies of common frailty) were able to procure

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procure diſgrace, they made it not nice to uſe ſome one of the miniſters of God, by whom the reſt might take notice of their faults, preſcribe them convenient remedies, and in the end, after public confeſſion, all join in prayer unto God for them.

The firſt beginner of this cuſtom had the more followers by means of that ſpecial favour which always was with good conſideration ſhewed towards voluntary penitents above the reſt.

But as profeſſors of Chriſtian belief grew more in number, ſo they waxed worſe; when kings and princes had ſubmitted their dominions unto the ſceptre of Jeſus Chriſt, by means whereof perſecution ceaſing, the Church immediately became ſubject to thoſe evils which peace and ſecurity bringeth forth; there was not now that love which before kept all things in tune, but every where ſchiſms, diſcords, diſſenſions amongſt men, conventicles of heretics, bent more vehemently againſt the founder and better ſort than very Infidels and Heathens themſelves; faults not corrected in charity, but noted with delight, and kept for malice to uſe when the deadlieſt opportunities ſhould be offered.

Whereupon, foraſmuch as public confeſſions became dangerous and prejudicial to the ſafety of well-minded men, and in divers reſpects advantageous to the enemies of God's Church, it ſeemed firſt unto ſome, and afterwards generally requiſite that voluntary penitents ſhould ſurceaſe from open confeſſion.

Inſtead whereof, when once private and ſecret confeſſion had taken place with the Latins, it continued as a profitable ordinance till the Lateran Council had decreed that all men once in a year at the leaſt ſhould confeſs themſelves to the prieſt.

So that being a thing thus made both general and alſo neceſſary, the next degree of eſtimation whereunto it grew, was to be honoured and lifted up to the nature of a ſacrament; that as Chriſt did inſtitute

ſtitute Baptiſm to give life, and the Euchariſt to nouriſh life, ſo penitence might be thought a Sacrament ordained to recover life, and confeſſion a part of the Sacrament. BOOK VI.

They define therefore their private penitency to be a Sacrament of remitting ſins after Baptiſm: the virtue of repentance, a deteſtation of wickedneſs with full purpoſe to amend the ſame, and with hope to obtain pardon at God's hands. Scot. in iv. ſent. d. 14. q. i. art. 1.

Whereſoever the Prophets cry *repent*, and in the Goſpel Saint Peter maketh the ſame exhortation to the Jews as yet unbaptized, they would have the virtue of repentance only to be underſtood; the Sacrament, where he adviſeth Simon Magus to repent, becauſe the ſin of Simon Magus was after Baptiſm. In ead. diſt. q. ii. art. 1.

Now although they have only external repentance for a Sacrament, internal for a virtue, yet make they ſacramental repentance nevertheleſs to be compoſed of three parts, contrition, confeſſion, and ſatisfaction. Which is abſurd; becauſe contrition being an inward thing, belongeth to the virtue and not to the Sacrament of repentance, which muſt conſiſt of external parts, if the nature thereof be external. Beſides, which is more abſurd, they leave out abſolution, whereas ſome of their ſchool-divines, handling penance in the nature of a Sacrament, and being not able to eſpy the leaſt reſemblance of a Sacrament ſave only in abſolution, (for a Sacrament by their doctrine muſt both ſignify and alſo confer or beſtow ſome ſpecial divine grace,) reſolved themſelves, that the duties of the penitent could be but mere preparations to the Sacrament, and that the Sacrament itſelf was wholly in abſolution[a]. And albeit Thomas with his followers Scot. ſent. l. iv. d. 14. q. 4.

[a] Sect. xiv. c. 3. Docet ſancta Synodus Sacramenti Pœnitentiæ formam, in qua præcipue ipſius vis ſita eſt, in illis Miniſtri verbis poſitam eſſe, Ego te abſolvo. Sunt autem quaſi materia hujus Sacramenti ipſius pœnitentis actus, nempe Contritio, Confeſſio, et Satisfactio.

BOOK VI. have thought it safer to maintain as well the services of the penitent, as the words of the minister necessary unto the essence of their Sacrament: the services of the penitent, as a cause material; the words of absolution, as a formal, for that by them all things else are perfected to the taking away of sin; which opinion now reigneth in all their schools, since the time that the Council of Trent gave it solemn approbation, seeing they all make absolution, if not the whole essence, yet the very form whereunto they ascribe chiefly the whole force and operation of their Sacrament; surely to admit the matter as a part, and not to admit the form, hath small congruity with reason.

Again, forasmuch as a Sacrament is complete, having the matter and form which it ought, what should lead them to set down any other parts of sacramental repentance, than confession and absolution, as Durandus hath done?

For touching satisfaction, the end thereof, as they understand it, is a further matter which resteth after the Sacrament administered, and therefore can be no part of the Sacrament.

Will they draw in contrition with satisfaction, which are no parts, and exclude absolution, a principal part, yea, the very complement, form, and perfection of the rest, as themselves account it? But for their breach of precepts in art it skilleth not, if their doctrine otherwise concerning penitency, and in penitency touching confession, might be found true.

We say, let no man look for pardon, which doth smother and conceal sin where in duty it should be revealed.

The cause why God requireth confession to be made to him is, that thereby testifying a deep hatred of our own iniquity, the only cause of his hatred and wrath towards us, we might, because we are humble, be so much the more capable of that compassion and tender mercy which knoweth not how to condemn sinners that condemn themselves.

If

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If it be our Saviour's own principle, that the conceit we have of our debt forgiven, proportioneth our thankfulneſs and love to him at whoſe hands we receive pardon; doth not God foreſee that they which with ill-adviſed modeſty ſeek to hide their ſin like Adam, that they which rake it up under aſhes, and confeſs it not, are very unlikely to requite with offices of love afterwards the grace which they ſhew themſelves unwilling to prize at the very time when they ſue for it; inaſmuch as their not confeſſing what crimes they have committed is a plain ſignification how loth they are that the benefit of God's moſt gracious pardon ſhould ſeem great? Nothing more true than that of Tertullian [a], *Confeſſion doth as much abate the weight of men's offences, as concealment doth make them heavier.* For he which confeſſeth hath purpoſe to appeaſe God; he, a determination to perſiſt and continue obſtinate, which keeps them ſecret to himſelf. St. Chryſoſtom almoſt in the ſame words, *Wickedneſs is by being acknowledged leſſened, and doth but grow by being hid.* If men having done amiſs let it ſlip as though they knew no ſuch matter, what is there to ſtay them from falling into one and the ſame evil? To call ourſelves ſinners availeth nothing, except we lay our faults in the balance, and take the weight of them one by one. Confeſs thy crimes to God, diſcloſe thy tranſgreſſions before thy Judge by way of humble ſupplication and ſuit, if not with tongue, at the leaſt with heart, and in this ſort ſeek mercy. A general perſuaſion that thou art a ſinner will neither ſo humble, nor bridle thy ſoul, as if the catalogue of thy ſins examined ſeverally be continually kept in mind.

Luke vii. 47.

Cap. viii.

Tom. vi. p. 953. ed. Par.

This ſhall make thee lowly in thine own eyes;

[a] Tantum relevat confeſſio delictorum, quantum diſſimulatio exaggerat. Confeſſio autem ſatisfactionis conſilium eſt, diſſimulatio contumaciæ. Tert. de pœnitentia. Chryſ. hom. 30. in Epiſt. ad Heb.

BOOK VI. this ſhall preſerve thy feet from falling, and ſharpen thy deſires towards all good things. The mind, I know, doth hardly admit ſuch unpleaſant remembrances; but we muſt force it, we muſt conſtrain it thereunto.

It is ſafer now to be bitten with the memory, than hereafter with the torment of ſin.

Lev. xvi. 21. The Jews, with whom no repentance for ſin is available without confeſſion either conceived in mind or uttered, (which latter kind they call uſually ודוי confeſſion delivered by word of mouth,) had firſt that general confeſſion which once every year was made both ſeverally by each of the people for himſelf upon the day of expiation, and by the prieſt for them all[a]. On the day of expiation the high prieſt maketh three expreſs confeſſions, acknowledging unto God the manifold tranſgreſſions of the whole nation, his own perſonal offences likewiſe, together with the ſins as well of his family, as of the reſt of his rank and order.

They had again their voluntary confeſſions, at the times and ſeaſons when men, bethinking themſelves of their wicked converſation paſt, were reſolved to change their courſe, the beginning of which alteration was ſtill confeſſion of ſins.

Thirdly, over and beſides theſe, the Law impoſed upon them alſo that ſpecial confeſſion, which they in their book call ודוי על עון כויהחד confeſſion of that particular fault for which we namely ſeek pardon at God's hands.

Num. v. 6, 7. The words of the Law concerning confeſſion in this kind are as followeth: when a man or woman ſhall commit any ſin that men commit and tranſgreſs againſt the Lord, their ſin which they have done (that is to ſay, the very deed itſelf in particular) they ſhall acknowledge.

[a] All Iſrael is bound on the day of expiation to repent and confeſs. R. Moſ. in lib. Mitſworth. haggadol. par. ii. præ. 16.

In

In Leviticus, after certain tranſgreſſions there mentioned, we read the like: when a man hath ſinned in any one of theſe things, he ſhall then confeſs, how in that thing he hath offended. For ſuch kind of ſpecial ſins they had alſo ſpecial ſacrifices; wherein the manner was, that the offender ſhould lay his hands on the head of the ſacrifice which he brought, and ſhould there make confeſſion to God, ſaying, *Now, O Lord, that I have offended, committed ſin, and done wickedly in thy ſight, this or this being my fault; behold I repent me, and am utterly aſhamed of my doings, my purpoſe is, never to return more to the ſame crime.* Lev. v. 5. Miſne Tora, Tractatu Teſhuba cap. 1. & R. M. in lib. Miſnoth. par. ii. chap. 6. Moſ. in Miſnoth, par. ii. præ. 16.

None of them, whom either the houſe of judgment had condemned to die, or of them which are to be puniſhed with ſtripes, can be clear by being executed or ſcourged, till they repent and confeſs their faults.

[a] Finally there was no man amongſt them at any time, either condemned to ſuffer death or corrected, or chaſtiſed with ſtripes, none ever ſick and near his end, but they called upon him to repent and confeſs his ſins.

Of malefactors convict by witneſſes, and thereupon either adjudged to die, or otherwiſe chaſtiſed, their cuſtom was to exact, as Joſhua did of Achan, open confeſſion; *My ſon, now give glory to the Lord God of Iſrael, confeſs unto him, and declare unto me what thou haſt committed, conceal it not from me.* Joſh. vii. 19.

Concerning injuries and treſpaſſes which happen between men, they highly commend ſuch as will acknowledge before many.

It is in him which repenteth accepted as an high ſacrifice, if he will confeſs before many, make them acquainted with his overſights, and reveal the tranſgreſſions which have paſſed between him and any of his brethren; ſaying, I have verily offended

[a] To him which is ſick and draweth towards death, they ſay, Confeſs. Moſ. in Miſnoth, par. ii. præ. 16.

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this man, thus and thus I have done unto him; but behold I do now repent and am ſorry. Contrariwiſe, whoſoever is proud, and will not be known of his faults, but cloaketh them, is not yet come to perfect repentance; for ſo it is written, *He that hides his ſins ſhall not proſper:* which words of Solomon they do not further extend, than only to ſins committed againſt men, which are in that reſpect meet before men to be acknowledged particularly. But in ſins between man and God, there is no neceſſity that man ſhould himſelf make any ſuch open and particular recital of them; to God they are known, and of us it is required that we caſt not the memory of them careleſsly and looſely behind our backs, but keep in mind, as near as we can, both our own debt, and his grace which remitteth the ſame.

Wherefore to let paſs Jewiſh confeſſion, and to come unto them which hold confeſſion in the ear of the prieſt commanded, yea, commanded in the nature of a Sacrament, and thereby ſo neceſſary that ſin without it cannot be pardoned; let them find ſuch a commandment in holy Scripture, and we aſk no more.

John the Baptiſt was an extraordinary perſon, his birth, his actions of life, his office extraordinary. It is therefore recorded for the ſtrangeneſs of the act, but not ſet down as an everlaſting Law for the world, *That to him Jeruſalem and all Judea made confeſſion of their ſins*; beſides, at the time of this confeſſion, their pretended Sacrament of repentance, as they grant, was not yet inſtituted; neither was it ſin after Baptiſm which penitents did there confeſs. When that which befell the ſeven ſons of Sceva for uſing the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in their conjurations, was notified to Jews and Grecians in Epheſus, it brought an univerſal fear upon them, inſomuch that divers of them which had believed before, but not obeyed the Laws of Chriſt as they ſhould

Matth. iii. 5, 6.

Acts xix. 18.

ſhould have done, being terrified by this example, came to the Apoſtle, and confeſſed their wicked deeds. Which good and virtuous act no wiſe man, as I ſuppoſe, will diſallow, but commend highly in them, whom God's good Spirit ſhall move to do the like when need requireth. Yet neither hath this example the force of any general commandment or law to make it neceſſary for every man to pour into the ears of the prieſt whatſoever hath been done amiſs, or elſe to remain everlaſtingly culpable and guilty of ſin; in a word, it proveth confeſſion practiſed as a virtuous act, but not commanded as a Sacrament.

Now concerning St. James's exhortation, whether the former branch be conſidered, which ſaith, *Is any ſick among you? let him call for the ancients of the Church, and let them make their prayers for him*; or the latter, which ſtirreth up all Chriſtian men unto mutual acknowledgment of faults amongſt themſelves, *Lay open your minds, make your confeſſions one to another*; is it not plain, that the one hath relation to that gift of healing, which our Saviour promiſed his Church, ſaying, *They ſhall lay their hands on the ſick, and the ſick ſhall recover health*; relation to that gift of healing, whereby the Apoſtle impoſed his hands on the father of Publius, and made him miraculouſly a ſound man; relation finally to that gift of healing, which ſo long continued in practice after the Apoſtles' times? that whereas the Novatianiſts denied the power of the Church of God in curing ſin after Baptiſm, St. Ambroſe aſked them again, *Why it might not as well prevail with God for ſpiritual, as for corporal and bodily health; yea wherefore* (ſaith he) *do ye yourſelves lay hands on the diſeaſed, and believe it to be a work of benediction or prayer, if haply the ſick perſon be reſtored to his former ſafety?* And of the other member which toucheth mutual confeſſion, do not ſome of themſelves, as namely Cajetan, deny that any other confeſſion is meant,

Jam. v. 14, 16.

Mark xvi. 18.

Acts xxviii. 8.

Amb. de pœnitentia, lib. i. c. 8. p. 400. tom. ii. ed. Par.

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meant, than only that *which ſeeketh either aſſociation of prayers, or reconciliation, or pardon of wrongs?* Is it not confeſſed by the greateſt part of their own retinue, that we cannot certainly affirm ſacramental confeſſion to have been meant or ſpoken of in this place? Howbeit, Bellarmine, delighted to run a courſe by himſelf where colourable ſhifts of wit will but make the way paſſable, ſtandeth as formally for this place, and not leſs for that in St. John, than for this; St. John ſaith, *If we confeſs our ſins, God is faithful and juſt to forgive us our ſins, and to cleanſe us from all unrighteouſneſs*: doth St. John ſay, If we confeſs to the prieſt, God is righteous to forgive, and if not, that our ſins are unpardonable? No, but the titles of God *juſt* and *righteous* do import that he pardoneth ſin only for his promiſe ſake; *And there is not* (they ſay) *any promiſe of forgiveneſs upon confeſſion made to God without the prieſt*; not any promiſe, but with this condition, and yet this condition no where expreſſed.

Annot. Rhem. in Jac. 5.

1 John i. 9.

Is it not ſtrange, that the Scripture, ſpeaking ſo much of repentance and of the ſeveral duties which appertain thereunto, ſhould ever mean, and no where mention that one condition, without which all the reſt is utterly of none effect? or will they ſay, becauſe our Saviour hath ſaid to his miniſters, *Whoſe ſins ye retain, &c.* and becauſe they can remit no more than what the offenders have confeſſed, that therefore, by the virtue of his promiſe, it ſtandeth with the righteouſneſs of God to take away no man's ſins until by auricular confeſſion they be opened unto the prieſt.

They are men that would ſeem to honour antiquity, and none more to depend upon the reverend judgment thereof. I dare boldly affirm, that for many hundred years after Chriſt the Fathers held no ſuch opinion; they did not gather by our Saviour's words any ſuch neceſſity of ſeeking the prieſt's abſolution from ſin by ſecret and (as they now term it) ſacramental

ſacramental confeſſion. Public confeſſion they thought neceſſary by way of diſcipline, not private confeſſion, as in the nature of a ſacrament, neceſſary.

For to begin with the pureſt times, it is unto them which read and judge without partiality a thing moſt clear, that the ancient ἐξομολογήσις or confeſſion, deſigned by Tertullian to be a diſcipline of humiliation and ſubmiſſion, framing men's behaviour in ſuch ſort as may be fitteſt to move pity; the confeſſion which they uſe to ſpeak of in the exerciſe of repentance was made openly in the hearing of the whole, both Eccleſiaſtical conſiſtory and aſſembly.

[a] This is the reaſon wherefore he perceiving that divers were better content their ſores ſhould ſecretly feſter and eat inward, than be laid ſo open to the eyes of many, blameth greatly their unwiſe baſhfulneſs; and, to reform the ſame, perſuadeth with them, ſaying, *Amongſt thy brethren and fellow-ſervants which are partakers with thee of one and the ſame nature, fear, joy, grief, ſufferings, (for of one common Lord and Father we have all received one ſpirit,) why ſhouldeſt thou not think with thyſelf, that they are but thine own-ſelf? wherefore doſt thou avoid them, as likely to inſult over thee, whom thou knoweſt ſubject to the ſame haps? At that which grieveth any one part, the whole body cannot rejoice, it muſt needs be that the whole will labour and ſtrive to help that wherewith a part of itſelf is moleſted.* Cap. x. p. 127. ed. Par.

St. Cyprian being grieved with the dealings of them, who in time of perſecution had through fear betrayed their faith, and notwithſtanding thought by ſhift to avoid in that caſe the neceſſary diſcipline of the Church, wrote for their better inſtruction the

[a] Pleroſque hoc opus ut publicationem ſui aut ſuffugere, aut de die in diem differre, præſumo pudoris magis memores quam ſalutis; velut illi qui in partibus verecundioribus corporis contracta vexatione, conſcientiam medentium vitant et ita cum erubeſcentia ſua pereunt. Tert. de pœnitentia.

book

BOOK VI. book entitled *De Lapſis*; a treatiſe concerning ſuch as had openly forſaken their religion, and yet were loth openly to confeſs their fault in ſuch manner as they ſhould have done: in which book he compareth with this ſort of men, certain others which had but a purpoſe only to have departed from the faith; and yet could not quiet their minds, till this very ſecret and hidden fault was confeſſed, [a] *How much both greater in faith,* (ſaith St. Cyprian,) *and alſo as touching their fear, better are thoſe men who although neither ſacrifice nor libel could be objected againſt them, yet becauſe they thought to have done that which they ſhould not, even this their intent they dolefully open unto God's prieſts? They confeſs that whereof their conſcience accuſeth them, the burden that preſſeth their minds they diſcover; they foreſlow not of ſmaller and ſlighter evils, to ſeek remedy.* He ſaith they declared their fault, not to one only man in private, but revealed it to God's prieſts; they confeſſed it before the whole conſiſtory of God's miniſters.

[a] Pag. 134. Tract. ed. Par.

Salvianus, (for I willingly embrace their conjecture, who aſcribe thoſe homilies to him which have hitherto by common error paſſed under the counterfeit name of Euſebius Emiſenus,) I ſay, Salvianus, though coming long after Cyprian in time, giveth nevertheleſs the ſame evidence for this truth, in a caſe very little different from that before alleged: his words are theſe: *Whereas, moſt dearly beloved, we ſee that penance oftentimes is ſought and ſued for by holy ſouls, which even from their youth have bequeathed themſelves a precious treaſure unto God, let us know that the inſpiration of God's good Spirit moveth them ſo to do for the benefit of his Church, and let ſuch as are wounded learn to enquire for that remedy whereunto the very ſoundeſt do thus offer and obtrude as it were themſelves, that if the virtuous do bewail ſmall offences, the*

Hom. 1. de initio quadrageſimæ.

In Oper. Euſeb. Emiſen. pag. 617. tom. vi. Bibliothec. Patr. ed. Lugd.

others ceaſe not to lament great. And ſurely, when a man that hath leſs need, performeth *ſub oculis Eccleſiæ*, in the view, ſight, and beholding of the whole Church, an office worthy of his faith and compunction for ſin, the good which others thereby reap is his own harveſt, the heap of his rewards groweth by that which another gaineth, and through a kind of ſpiritual uſury from that amendment of life which others learn by him, there returneth lucre into his coffers.

The ſame Salvianus in another of his homilies, Hom. 10. ad Monach. in Oper. Euſeb. Emiſen. pag. 665. tom. vi. Bibliothec. Patr. ed. Lugd. *If faults haply be not great and grievous, (for example, if a man have offended in word, or in deſire, worthy of reproof, if in the wantonneſs of his eye, or the vanity of his heart,) the ſtains of words and thoughts are by daily prayer to be cleanſed, and by private compunction to be ſcoured out: but if any man, examining inwardly his own conſcience, have committed ſome high and capital offence, as if by bearing falſe witneſs he have quelled and betrayed his faith, and by raſhneſs of perjury have violated the ſacred name of truth; if with the mire of luſtful uncleanneſs he have ſullied the veil of Baptiſm, and the gorgeous robe of virginity; if, by being the cauſe of any man's death, he have been the death of the new man within himſelf; if, by conference with ſoothſayers, wizards, and charmers, he hath enthralled himſelf to Satan; theſe and ſuch like committed crimes cannot throughly be taken away with ordinary, moderate, and ſecret ſatisfaction; but greater cauſes do require greater and ſharper remedies, they need ſuch remedies as are not only ſharp, but ſolemn, open, and public*[a]. Again, *Let that ſoul* (ſaith he) *anſwer me, which through pernicious ſhamefacedneſs is now ſo abaſhed to acknowledge his ſin in* conſpectu fratrum, *before his brethren, as he ſhould have been abaſhed to commit the ſame, what will he do in the preſence of that divine tribunal where he is*

[a] Graviores et acriores, et publicas curas requirunt. Hom. 8. ad Monach.

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to ſtand arraigned in the aſſembly of a glorious and celeſtial hoſt? I will hereunto add but St. Ambroſe's teſtimony; for the places which I might allege are more than the cauſe itſelf needeth: *There are many* (ſaith he) *who, fearing the judgment that is to come, and feeling inward remorſe of conſcience, when they have offered themſelves unto penitency, and are enjoined what they ſhall do, give back for the only ſcar which they think that public ſupplication will put them unto.* He ſpeaketh of them which ſought voluntarily to be penanced, and yet withdrew themſelves from open confeſſion, which they that are penitents for public crimes could not poſſibly have done, and therefore it cannot be ſaid he meaneth any other than ſecret ſinners in that place. Gennadius, a Preſbyter of Marſeilles, in his book touching eccleſiaſtical aſſertions, maketh but two kinds of confeſſion neceſſary, the one in private to God alone for ſmaller offences; the other open, when crimes committed are heinous and great; *Although* (ſaith he) *a man be bitten with conſcience of ſin, let his will be from thenceforward to ſin no more; let him, before he communicate, ſatisfy with tears and prayers, and then putting his truſt in the mercy of Almighty God, (whoſe wont is to yield to godly confeſſion,) let him boldly receive the Sacrament. But I ſpeak this of ſuch as have not burdened themſelves with capital ſins. Them I exhort to ſatisfy, firſt by public penance, that ſo being reconciled by the ſentence of the prieſt, they may communicate ſafely with others.* Thus ſtill we hear of public confeſſions, although the crimes themſelves diſcovered were not public; we hear that the cauſe of ſuch confeſſions was not the openneſs, but the greatneſs of men's offences; finally, we hear that the ſame being now held by the Church of Rome to be ſacramental, were the only penitential confeſſions uſed in the Church for a long time, and eſteemed as neceſſary remedies againſt ſin.

Lib. ii. de pœnitentia, c. 9. p. 434. tom. ii. ed. Par.

Inter Opera Auguſtin. ed. Par.

They

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They which will find auricular confeſſions in Cyprian, therefore, muſt ſeek out ſome other paſſage, than that which Bellarmine allegeth; *Whereas in ſmaller faults which are not committed againſt the Lord himſelf, there is a competent time aſſigned unto penitency, and that confeſſion is made, after that obſervation and trial had been had of the penitent's behaviour*[a], *neither may any communicate till the Biſhop and Clergy have laid their hands upon him; how much more ought all things to be warily and ſtayedly obſerved, according to the diſcipline of the Lord, in theſe moſt grievous and extreme crimes?* St. Cyprian's ſpeech is againſt raſhneſs in admitting idolaters to the holy Communion, before they had ſhewed ſufficient repentance, conſidering that other offenders were forced to ſtay out their time, and that they made not their public confeſſion, which was the laſt act of penitency, till their life and converſation had been ſeen into, not with the eye of auricular ſcrutiny, but of paſtoral obſervation, according to that in the Council of Nice, where thirteen years being ſet for the penitency of certain offenders, the ſeverity of this decree is mitigated with ſpecial caution: *That in all ſuch caſes, the mind of the penitent, and the manner of his repentance, is to be noted, that as many as with fear and tears, and meekneſs, and the exerciſe of good works, declared themſelves to be converts indeed, and not in outward appearance only, towards them the Biſhop at his diſcretion might uſe more lenity.* If the Council of Nice ſuffice not, let Gratian the founder of the Canon Law expound Cyprian, who ſheweth that the ſtint of time in penitency is either to be abridged, or enlarged, as the penitent's faith and behaviour ſhall give occaſion: *I have more eaſily found out men* (ſaith St. Ambroſe) *able to keep themſelves free from crimes, than conformable to the rules which in penitency they ſhould obſerve.* St. Gregory Biſhop of Nice com-

Cypr. Epiſt. xvi. pag. 37. Epiſt. ed. Oxon.

Con. Nic. par. ii. c. 12. Pro fide et conſuetudine Pœnitentium.

De pœnitentia, diſt. i. cap. menſuram.

Ambr. de pœnitentia, lib. ii. cap. 10. tom. ii. pag. 436. ed. Par.

[a] Inſpecta vita ejus qui agit pœnitentiam.

plaineth

BOOK VI. plaineth and inveigheth bitterly againſt them, who in the time of their penitency lived even as they had done always before; *Their countenance as cheerful, their attire as neat, their diet as coſtly, and their ſleep as ſecure as ever, their worldly buſineſs purpoſely followed, to exile penſive thoughts from their minds, repentance pretended, but indeed nothing leſs expreſſed:* theſe were the inſpections of life, whereunto St. Cyprian alludeth; as for auricular examinations, he knew them not.

Greg. Nyſſ. Orat. In eos qui alios acerbe judicant, ſive de pœnitentia, pag. 174. B. tom. ii. ed. Par.

Were the Fathers then without uſe of private confeſſion as long as public was in uſe? I affirm no ſuch thing. The firſt and ancienteſt that mentioneth this confeſſion is Origen, by whom it may ſeem that men being loth to preſent raſhly themſelves and their faults unto the view of the whole Church, thought it beſt to unfold firſt their minds to ſome one ſpecial man of the Clergy, which might either help them himſelf, or refer them to an higher court, if need were. *Be therefore circumſpect* (ſaith Origen) *in making choice of the party, to whom thou meaneſt to confeſs thy ſin; know thy phyſician before thou uſe him: if he find thy malady ſuch as needeth to be made public, that others may be the better by it and thyſelf ſooner helped, his counſel muſt be obeyed.* That which moved ſinners thus voluntarily to detect themſelves both in private and in public, was fear to receive with other Chriſtian men the myſteries of heavenly grace, till God's appointed ſtewards and miniſters did judge them worthy. It is in this reſpect that St. Ambroſe findeth fault with certain men which ſought impoſition of penance, and were not willing to wait their time, but would be preſently admitted communicants. *Such people* (ſaith he) *do ſeek, by ſo raſh and prepoſterous deſires, rather to bring the prieſt into bonds than to looſe themſelves*[a]. In this reſpect it is that St. Auguſtine hath likewiſe ſaid,

Origen, Pſ. xxxvii.

Ambr. de pœnitentia, l. ii. cap. 9. tom. ii. pag. 434. ed. Par.

[a] Si non tam ſe ſolvere cupiunt quam Sacerdotem ligare.

When

When the wound of ſin is ſo wide, and the diſeaſe ſo far gone, that the medicinable body and blood of our Lord may not be touched, men are by the Biſhop's authority to ſequeſter themſelves from the altar, till ſuch time as they have repented, and be after reconciled by the ſame authority. Aug. ſerm. 351. de pœnitentia, tom. v. ed. Par.

Furthermore, becauſe the knowledge how to handle our own ſores is no vulgar and common art, but we either carry towards ourſelves for the moſt part an over-ſoft and gentle hand, fearful of touching too near the quick; or elſe, endeavouring not to be partial, we fall into timorous ſcrupuloſities, and ſometime into thoſe extreme diſcomforts of mind, from which we hardly do ever lift up our heads again; men thought it the ſafeſt way to diſcloſe their ſecret faults, and to crave impoſition of penance from them whom our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath left in his Church to be ſpiritual and ghoſtly phyſicians, the guides and paſtors of redeemed ſouls, whoſe office doth not only conſiſt in general perſuaſions unto amendment of life, but alſo in private particular cure of diſeaſed minds.

Howſoever the Novatianiſts preſume to plead againſt the Church, (ſaith Salvianus,) *that every man ought to be his own penitentiary, and that it is a part of our duty to exerciſe, but not of the Church's authority to impoſe or preſcribe repentance*; the truth is otherwiſe, the beſt and ſtrongeſt of us may need, in ſuch caſes, direction: *What doth the Church, in giving penance, but ſhew the remedies which ſin requireth? or what do we in receiving the ſame, but fulfil her precepts? what elſe but ſue unto God with tears, and faſts, that his merciful ears may be opened?* St. Auguſtine's exhortation is directly to the ſame purpoſe; *Let every man whilſt he hath time judge himſelf, and change his life of his own accord; and when this is reſolved, let him, from the diſpoſers of the holy Sacrament* [a], *learn in* Hom. de pœnitentia, in Oper. Euſeb. Emiſen. tom. vi. Bibliothec. Patr. ed. Lugd. Aug. ſerm. 351. de pœnitentia, ſect. 9. pag. 1359. tom. v. ed. Par.

[a] A præpoſitis Sacramentorum accipiat ſatisfactionis ſuæ modum.

what

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what manner he is to pacify God's diſpleaſure. But the greateſt thing which made men forward and willing upon their knees to confeſs whatſoever they had committed againſt God, and in no wiſe to be withheld from the ſame with any fear of diſgrace, contempt, or obloquy, which might enſue, was their fervent deſire to be helped and aſſiſted with the prayers of God's ſaints. Wherein, as St. James doth exhort unto mutual confeſſion, alleging this only for a reaſon, *that juſt men's devout prayers are of great avail with God*; ſo it hath been heretofore the uſe of penitents for that intent to unburden their minds, even to private perſons, and to crave their prayers. Whereunto Caſſianus alluding, counſelleth, *That if men poſſeſſed with dulneſs of ſpirit be themſelves unapt to do that which is required, they ſhould in meek affection ſeek health at the leaſt by good and virtuous men's prayers unto God for them.* And to the ſame effect Gregory, Biſhop of Nice, *Humble thyſelf, and take unto thee ſuch of thy brethren as are of one mind, and do bear kind affection towards thee, that they may together mourn and labour for thy deliverance. Shew me thy bitter and abundant tears, that I may blend my own with them.*

Jam. v. 16.

Caſſian. collat. xx. cap. 8. pag. 772. ed. Atrebat.

Greg. Nyſſ. oratione in eos qui alios acerbe judicant, five de pœnitentia, tom. ii. p. 175. D. ed. Par.

But becauſe of all men there is or ſhould be none in that reſpect more fit for troubled and diſtreſſed minds to repair unto than God's miniſters, he proceedeth further, *Make the prieſt, as a father, partaker of thy affliction and grief; be bold to impart unto him the things that are moſt ſecret; he will have care both of thy ſafety and of thy credit.*

Confeſſion (ſaith Leo) *is firſt to be offered to God, and then to the prieſt, as to one which maketh ſupplication for the ſins of penitent offenders.* Suppoſe we, that men would ever have been eaſily drawn, much leſs of their own accord have come unto public confeſſion, whereby they ſhould ſound the trumpet of their own diſgrace; would they willingly have done this, which naturally all men are loth to do, but for the

Leo 1. Ep. 136. ad Epiſc. cap. ii. pag. 719. tom. i. ed. Par.

the ſingular truſt and confidence which they had in the public prayers of God's Church? *Let thy mother the Church weep for thee,* (ſaith Ambroſe;) *let her waſh and bathe thy faults with her tears:—our Lord doth love that many ſhould become ſuppliant for one.* In like ſort, long before him, Tertullian, *Some few aſſembled make a Church, and the Church is as Chriſt himſelf; when thou doſt therefore put forth thy hands to the knees of thy brethren, thou toucheſt Chriſt, it is Chriſt unto whom thou art a ſupplicant; ſo when they pour out tears over thee, it is even Chriſt that taketh compaſſion; Chriſt which prayeth when they pray: neither can that eaſily be denied, for which the Son is himſelf contented to become a ſuitor.* BOOK VI. Ambr. de pœnitentia, lib. ii. cap. 10. tom. ii. p. 127. ed. Par. Tertul. de pœnitentia, p. 436. ed. Par.

Whereas in theſe conſiderations, therefore, voluntary penitents had been long accuſtomed for great and grievous crimes, though ſecret, yet openly both to repent and confeſs as the canons of ancient diſcipline required; the Greek Church firſt, and in proceſs of time the Latin altered this order, judging it ſufficient and more convenient that ſuch offenders ſhould do penance and make confeſſion in private only. The cauſe why the Latins did, Leo declareth, ſaying, *Although that ripeneſs of faith be commendable, which for the fear of God doth not fear to incur ſhame before all men, yet becauſe every one's crimes are not ſuch, that it can be free and ſafe for them to make publication of all things wherein repentance is neceſſary; let a cuſtom, ſo unfit to be kept, be abrogated, leſt many forbear to uſe remedies of penitency, whilſt they either bluſh or are afraid to acquaint their enemies with thoſe acts for which the Laws may take hold upon them. Beſides, it ſhall win the more to repentance, if the conſciences of ſinners be not emptied into the people's ears.* And to this only cauſe doth Sozomen impute the change which the Grecians made, by ordaining throughout all Churches certain penitentiaries to take the confeſſions, and appoint the penances of ſecret offenders. Socrates (for this alſo may be true that more inducements Leo. i. Ep. 136. cap. 2. pag. 719. tom. i. ed. Par.

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than one did ſet forward an alteration ſo generally made) affirmeth the Grecians (and not unlikely) to have ſpecially reſpected therein the occaſion which the Novatianiſts took at the multitude of public penitents to inſult over the diſcipline of the Church, againſt which they ſtill cried out whereſoever they had time and place, *He that ſheweth ſinners favour, doth but teach the innocent to ſin:* and therefore they themſelves admitted no man to their communion upon any repentance which once was known to have offended after Baptiſm, making ſinners thereby not the fewer, but the cloſer, and the more obdurate, how fair ſoever their pretence might ſeem.

The Grecians' canon for ſome one Preſbyter in every Church to undertake the charge of penitency, and to receive their voluntary confeſſions which had ſinned after Baptiſm, continued in force for the ſpace of above ſome hundred years, till Nectarius, and the Biſhops of Churches under him, began a ſecond alteration, aboliſhing even that confeſſion which their penitentiaries took in private. There came to the penitentiary of the Church of Conſtantinople a certain gentlewoman, and to him ſhe made particular confeſſion of her faults committed after Baptiſm, whom thereupon he adviſed to continue in faſting and prayer, that as with tongue ſhe had acknowledged her ſins, ſo there might appear likewiſe in her ſome work worthy of repentance: but the gentlewoman goeth forward, and detecteth herſelf of a crime, whereby they were forced to diſrobe an Eccleſiaſtical perſon, that is to degrade a Deacon of the ſame Church. When the matter by this mean came to public notice, the people were in a kind of tumult offended, not only at that which was done, but much more, becauſe the Church ſhould thereby endure open infamy and ſcorn. The Clergy was perplexed and altogether doubtful what way to take, till one Eudæmon, born in Alexandria, but at that time a prieſt in the Church of Conſtantinople, conſidering

ſidering that the cauſe of voluntary confeſſion whether public or private was eſpecially to ſeek the Church's aid as hath been before declared, leſt men ſhould either not communicate with others, or wittingly hazard their ſouls if ſo be they did communicate, and that the inconvenience which grew to the whole Church was otherwiſe exceeding great, but eſpecially grievous by means of ſo manifold offenſive detections, which muſt needs be continually more, as the world did itſelf wax continually worſe, (for antiquity, together with the gravity and ſeverity thereof, (ſaith Sozomen,) had already begun by little and little to degenerate into looſe and careleſs living, whereas before offences were leſs, partly through baſhfulneſs in them which open their own faults, and partly by means of their great auſterity which ſate as judges in this buſineſs,) theſe things Eudæmon having weighed with himſelf, reſolved eaſily the mind of Nectarius, that the penitentiaries' office muſt be taken away, and for participation in God's holy myſteries every man be left to his own conſcience, which was, as he thought, the only means to free the Church from danger of obloquy and diſgrace. *Thus much* (ſaith Socrates) *I am the bolder to relate, becauſe I received it from Eudæmon's own mouth, to whom mine anſwer was at that time; Whether your counſel, Sir, have been for the Church's good, or otherwiſe, God knoweth. But I ſee you have given occaſion, whereby we ſhall not now any more reprehend one another's faults, nor obſerve that apoſtolic precept, which ſaith, Have no fellowſhip with the unfruitful works of darkneſs, but rather be ye alſo reprovers of them.* With Socrates, Sozomen both agreeth in the occaſion of aboliſhing penitentiaries; and moreover teſtifieth alſo, that in his time, living with the younger Theodoſius, the ſame abolition did ſtill continue, and that the Biſhops had in a manner every where followed the example given them by Nectarius.

Wherefore to implead the truth of this hiſtory, Cardinal Baronius allegeth that Socrates, Sozomen,

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and Eudæmon, were all Novatianiſts[a]; and that they falſify in ſaying, (for ſo they report,) that as many as held the conſubſtantial being of Chriſt, gave their aſſent to the abrogation of the fore-rehearſed canon. The ſum is, he would have it taken for a fable, and the world to be perſuaded that Nectarius did never any ſuch thing. Why then ſhould Socrates firſt, and afterwards Sozomen, publiſh it? To pleaſe their pew-fellows, the diſciples of Novatian? A poor gratification, and they very ſilly friends that would take lies for good turns. For the more acceptable the matter was, being deemed true, the leſs they muſt needs (when they found the contrary) either credit, or affect him which had deceived them. Notwithſtanding, we know that joy and gladneſs riſing from falſe information, do not only make men ſo forward to believe that which they firſt hear, but alſo apt to ſcholy upon it, and to report as true whatſoever they wiſh were true. But ſo far is Socrates from any ſuch purpoſe, that the fact of Nectarius, which others did both like and follow, he doth diſallow and reprove. His ſpeech to Eudæmon, before ſet down, is proof ſufficient that he writeth nothing but what was famouſly known to all, and what himſelf did wiſh had

[a] Tanta hæc Socrati teſtanti præſtanda eſt fides, quanta cæteris hæreticis de ſuis dogmatibus tractantibus; quippe Novatianus, ſecta cum fuerit, quam vere ac ſincere hæc ſcripſerit adverſus pœnitentiam in Eccleſia adminiſtrari ſolitam, quemlibet credo poſſe facile judicare. Baron. tom. i. an. Chr. 56. cap. 26. pag. 436. ed. Antwerp.

Sozomenum eandem prorſus cauſam foviſſe certum eſt.—Nec Eudæmonem illum alium quam Novatianæ ſectæ hominem fuiſſe credendum eſt. Ibidem.

Sacerdos ille merito à Nectario eſt gradu amotus officioque depoſitus, quo facto Novatiani (ut mos eſt hæreticorum) quamcunque licet levem, ut ſinceris dogmatibus detrahant, arripere auſi occaſionem, non tantum preſbyterum pœnitentiarium in ordinem redactum, ſed et pœnitentiam ipſam una cum eo fuiſſe proſcriptam, calumnioſe admodum conclamarunt, cum tamen illa potius theatralis fieri interdum ſolita peccatorum fuerit abrogata. Ibidem, cap. 33. pag. 438.

been

been otherwiſe. As for Sozomen's correſpondency with Heretics, having ſhewed to what end the Church did firſt ordain penitentiaries, he addeth immediately, that Novatianiſts which had no care of repentance could have no need of this office. Are theſe the words of a friend or enemy? Beſides, in the entrance of that whole narration; *Not to ſin* (ſaith he) *at all, would require a nature more divine than ours is: but God hath commanded to pardon ſinners; yea, although they tranſgreſs and offend often.* Could there be any thing ſpoken more directly oppoſite to the doctrine of Novatian? Eudæmon was Preſbyter under Nectarius. BOOK VI.

To Novatianiſts the Emperor gave liberty of uſing their Religion quietly by themſelves, under a Biſhop of their own, even within the city, for that they ſtood with the Church in defence of the Catholic faith againſt all other Heretics beſides. Had therefore Eudæmon favoured their hereſy, their camps were not pitched ſo far off but he might at all times have found eaſy acceſs unto them. Is there any man that hath lived with him, and hath touched him that way? if not, why ſuſpect we him more than Nectarius? Their report touching Grecian Catholic Biſhops, who gave approbation to that which was done, and did alſo the like themſelves in their own churches, we have no reaſon to diſcredit without ſome manifeſt and clear evidence brought againſt it. For of Catholic Biſhops, no likelihood but that their greateſt reſpect to Nectarius, a man honoured in thoſe parts no leſs than the Biſhop of Rome himſelf in the weſtern Churches, brought them both eaſily and ſpeedily unto conformity with him; Arians, Eunomians, Apollinarians, and the reſt that ſtood divided from the Church, held their penitentiaries as before. Novatianiſts from the beginning had never any, becauſe their opinion touching penitency was againſt the practice of the Church therein, and a cauſe why they ſevered

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themſelves from the Church: ſo that the very ſtate of things, as they then ſtood, giveth great ſhew of probability to his ſpeech who hath affirmed, *That them only which held the Son conſubſtantial with the Father, and Novatianiſts which joined with them in the ſame opinion, had no penitentiaries in their Churches, the reſt retained them.* By this it appeareth therefore how Baronius, finding the relation plain, that Nectarius did aboliſh even thoſe private ſecret confeſſions which the people had been before accuſtomed to make to him that was penitentiary, laboureth what he may to diſcredit the authors of the report, and leave it imprinted in men's minds, that whereas Nectarius did but abrogate public confeſſion, Novatianiſts have maliciouſly forged the abolition of private; as if the odds between theſe two were ſo great in the balance of their judgment which equally hated or contemned both, or, as if it were not more clear than light, that the firſt alteration which eſtabliſhed penitentiaries took away the burden of public confeſſion in that kind of penitents; and therefore the ſecond muſt either abrogate private, or nothing.

Cardinal Bellarmine therefore finding that againſt the writers of the hiſtory it is but in vain to ſtand upon ſo doubtful terms and exceptions, endeavoureth mightily to prove, even by their report, no other confeſſion taken away than public, which penitentiaries uſed in private to impoſe upon public offenders; *For why? It is* (ſaith he) *very certain that the name of penitents in the Fathers' writings ſignifieth only public penitents; certain, that to hear the confeſſions of the reſt was more than one could poſſibly have done; certain that Sozomen, to ſhew how the Latin Church retained in his time what the Greek had clean caſt off, declareth the whole order of public penitency uſed in the Church of Rome, but of private he maketh no mention.* And, in theſe conſiderations, Bellarmine will have it the meaning both of Socrates and Sozomen,

Sozomen, that the former epiſcopal conſtitution which firſt did erect penitentiaries, could not concern any other offenders than ſuch as publicly had ſinned after Baptiſm; that only they were prohibited to come to the holy communion, except they did firſt in ſecret confeſs all their ſins to the penitentiary, by his appointment openly acknowledge their open crimes, and do public penance for them; that whereas before Novatian's upriſing, no man was conſtrainable to confeſs publicly any ſin, this canon enforced public offenders thereunto, till ſuch time as Nectarius thought good to extinguiſh the practice thereof. BOOK VI.

Let us examine therefore theſe ſubtle and fine conjectures, whether they be able to hold the touch. *It ſeemeth good* (ſaith Socrates) *to put down the office of theſe prieſts which had charge of penitency; what charge that was, the kinds of penitency then uſual muſt make manifeſt* [a]. There is often ſpeech in the Father's writings, in their books frequent mention of penitency, exerciſed within the chambers of our heart, and ſeen of God, and not communicated to any other, the whole charge of which penitency is impoſed of God, and doth reſt upon the ſinner himſelf. But if penitents in ſecret, being guilty of crimes whereby they knew they had made themſelves unfit gueſts for the table of our Lord, did ſeek direction for their better performance of that which ſhould ſet them clear, it was in this caſe the penitentiary's office to take their confeſſions, to adviſe them the beſt way he could for their ſoul's good, to admoniſh them, to counſel them, but not to lay upon them more than private penance. As for notorious wicked perſons, whoſe crimes were known, to convict, judge, and puniſh them was the office of the Eccleſiaſtical conſiſtory; penitentiaries had their inſtitution to another end. But unleſs we imagine that the ancient time knew no other repentance than public, or that they had

[a] Τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας πειριλεῖν πρεσβυτέρους.

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little occaſion to ſpeak of any other repentance, or elſe that in ſpeaking thereof they uſed continually ſome other name, and not the name of repentance, whereby to expreſs private penitency, how ſtandeth it with reaſon, that whenſoever they write of penitents, it ſhould be thought they meant only public penitents? The truth is, they handle all three kinds, but private and voluntary repentance much oftener, as being of far more general uſe; whereas public was but incident unto few, and not oftener than once incident unto any. Howbeit becauſe they do not diſtinguiſh one kind of penitency from another by difference of names, our ſafeſt way for conſtruction is to follow circumſtance of matter, which in this narration will not yield itſelf appliable only unto public penance, do what they can that would ſo expound it.

They boldly and confidently affirm, that no man being compellable to confeſs publicly any ſin before Novatian's time, the end of inſtituting penitentiaries afterwards in the Church was, that by them men might be conſtrained unto public confeſſion. Is there any record in the world which doth teſtify this to be true? There is that teſtifieth the plain contrary; for Sozomen, declaring purpoſely the cauſe of their inſtitution, ſaith, *That whereas men openly craving pardon at God's hands, (for public confeſſion, the laſt act of penitency, was always made in the form of a contrite prayer unto God,) it could not be avoided, but they muſt withal confeſs what their offences were.* This, in the opinion of their prelate, ſeemed from the firſt beginning (as we may probably think) to be ſomewhat burdenſome; that men, whoſe crimes were unknown, ſhould blaze their own faults, as it were, on the ſtage, acquainting all the people with whatſoever they had done amiſs. And therefore to remedy this inconvenience they laid the charge upon one only prieſt, choſen out of ſuch as were of beſt converſation, a ſilent and a diſcreet man, to whom they which had offended might reſort and lay open

open their lives. He, according to the quality of every one's tranſgreſſions, appointed what they ſhould do or ſuffer, and left them to execute it upon themſelves. Can we wiſh a more direct and evident teſtimony, that the office here ſpoken of was to eaſe voluntary penitents from the burden of public confeſſions, and not to conſtrain notorious offenders thereunto? That ſuch offenders were not compellable to open confeſſions till Novatian's time, that is to ſay, till after the days of perſecution under Decius the Emperor, they of all men ſhould not ſo peremptorily avouch, with whom, if Fabian Biſhop of Rome, who ſuffered martyrdom in the firſt year of Decius, be of any authority and credit, it muſt enforce them to reverſe their ſentence; his words are ſo plain and clear againſt them. *For ſuch as commit thoſe crimes, whereof the Apoſtle hath ſaid, They that do them ſhall never inherit the kingdom of heaven,* (ſaith he) *muſt be forced unto amendment, becauſe they ſlip down to hell, if Eccleſiaſtical authority ſtay them not.* Their conceit of impoſſibility that one man ſhould ſuffice to take the general charge of penitency in ſuch a Church as Conſtantinople, hath riſen from a mere erroneous ſuppoſal, that the ancient manner of private confeſſion was like the ſhrift at this day uſual in the Church of Rome, which tieth all men at one certain time to make confeſſion; whereas confeſſion was then neither looked for till men did offer it, nor offered for the moſt part by any other than ſuch as were guilty of heinous tranſgreſſions, nor to them any time appointed for that purpoſe. Finally, the drift which Sozomen had in relating the diſcipline of Rome, and the form of public penitency there retained even till his time, is not to ſignify that only public confeſſion was abrogated by Nectarius, but that the Weſt or Latin Church held ſtill one and the ſame order from the very beginning, and had not, as the Greek, firſt cut off public voluntary confeſſion by ordaining, and then

Fab. Decret. Ep. ii. tom. 1. Conc. p. 358.

private

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The paradox in maintenance whereof Heſſels wrote purpoſely a book touching this argument to ſhew that Nectarius did but put the penitentiary from his office, and not take away the office itſelf[a], is repugnant to the whole advice which Eudæmon gave, of leaving the people from that time forwards to their own conſciences; repugnant to the conference between Socrates and Eudæmon, wherein complaint is made of ſome inconvenience which the want of office would breed; finally, repugnant to that which the hiſtory declareth concerning other Churches, which did as Nectarius had done before them, not in depoſing the ſame man, (for that was impoſſible,) but in removing the ſame office out of their Churches, which Nectarius had baniſhed from his. For which cauſe, Bellarmine doth well reject the opinion of Heſſels, howſoever it pleaſe Pamelius to admire it as a wonderful happy invention. But in ſum, they are all gravelled, no one of them able to go ſmoothly away, and to ſatisfy either others or himſelf with his own conceit concerning Nectarius.

Only in this they are ſtiff, that auricular confeſſion Nectarius did not abrogate, leſt if ſo much ſhould be acknowledged, it might enforce them to grant that the Greek Church at that time held not confeſſion, as the Latin now doth, to be the part

[a] Nec eſt quod ſibi blandiantur illi de facto Nectarii, cum id potius ſecretorum peccatorum confeſſionem comprobet, et non aliud quam preſbyterum pœnitentialem illo officio ſuo moverit; uti ampliſſime deducit D. Johannes Haſſelus. Pamiel. in Cypr. lib. de annot. 98. et in lib. Tertul. de pœn. annot. 1.

of

of a Sacrament inſtituted by our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which therefore the Church till the world's end hath no power to alter. Yet ſeeing that as long as public voluntary confeſſion of private crimes did continue in either Church, (as in the one it remaineth not much above two hundred years, in the other about four hundred,) the only acts of ſuch repentance were; firſt, the offender's intimation of thoſe crimes to ſome one Preſbyter, for which impoſition of penance was ſought; ſecondly, the undertaking of penance impoſed by the Biſhop; thirdly, after the ſame performed and ended, open confeſſion to God in the hearing of the whole Church; whereupon, fourthly, enſued the prayer of the Church; fifthly, then the Biſhop's impoſition of hands; and ſo, ſixthly, the party's reconciliation or reſtitution to his former right in the holy Sacrament; I would gladly know of them which make only private confeſſion a part of their Sacrament of penance, how it could be ſo in thoſe times. For where the Sacrament of penance is miniſtered, they hold that confeſſion to be ſacramental which he receiveth who muſt abſolve; whereas during the fore-rehearſed manner of penance, it can no where be ſhewed, that the prieſt to whom ſecret information was given did reconcile or abſolve any; for how could he, when public confeſſion was to go before reconciliation, and reconciliation likewiſe in public thereupon to enſue? So that if they did account any confeſſion ſacramental, it was ſurely public, which is now aboliſhed in the Church of Rome; and as for that which the Church of Rome doth ſo eſteem, the ancients neither had it in ſuch eſtimation, nor thought it to be of ſo abſolute neceſſity for the taking away of ſin; but (for any thing that I could ever obſerve out of them) although not only in crimes open and notorious, which made men unworthy and uncapable of holy myſteries, their diſcipline required firſt public penance, and then granted that which St. Jerom mentioneth, ſaying, *The Prieſt layeth his hand upon*

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upon the penitent, and by invocation entreateth that the Holy Ghoſt may return to him again; and ſo after having enjoined ſolemnly all the people to pray for him, reconcileth to the altar him who was delivered to Satan for the deſtruction of his fleſh, that his ſpirit might be ſafe in the day of the Lord [a].—Although I ſay not only in ſuch offences being famouſly known to the world, but alſo, if the ſame were committed ſecretly, it was the cuſtoms of thoſe times both that private intimation ſhould be given and public confeſſion made thereof; in which reſpect whereas all men did willingly the one, but would as willingly have withdrawn themſelves from the other had they known how; *Is it tolerable* (ſaith St. Ambroſe) *that to ſue to God thou ſhouldeſt be aſhamed, which bluſheſt not to ſeek and ſue unto man? ſhould it grieve thee to be a ſuppliant to him from whom thou canſt not poſſibly hide thyſelf; when to open thy ſins to him, from whom, if thou wouldeſt, thou mighteſt conceal them, it doth not any thing at all trouble thee?—This thou art loth to do in the Church, where, all being ſinners, nothing is more opprobrious indeed than concealment of ſin, the moſt humble the beſt thought of, and the lowlieſt accounted the juſteſt.* All this notwithſtanding, we ſhould do them very great wrong to father any ſuch opinion upon them, as if they did teach it a thing impoſſible for any ſinner to reconcile himſelf unto God without confeſſion unto the prieſt.

Ambr. de pœnitentia, lib. ii. c. 10. tom. ii. pag. 435. ed. Par.

Would Chryſoſtom thus perſuaded have ſaid, [b] *Let the enquiry and puniſhment of thy offences be made in thine own thoughts; let the tribunal whereat thou arraigneſt thyſelf be without witneſs; let God, and only God, ſee thee and thy confeſſion?*

[a] Sacerdos imponit manum ſubjecto, reditum ſpiritus Sancti invocat, atque ita eum qui traditus fuerat Satanæ in interitum carnis, ut ſpiritus ſalvus fieret indicta in populum oratione altario reconciliat. Hier. adverſ. Lucif. tom. iv. pag. 291. ed. Par.

[b] Chryſ. Hom. Περὶ μετανοίας καὶ ἐξομολογήσεως παρὰ τοῖς λογισμοῖς γενέσθω τῶν πεπλημμεληκότων ἡ ἐξέτασις, ἀμάρτυρον ἔχω τὸ δικαστήριον, ὁ Θεὸς ὁρᾶτω μόνος ἐξομολογούμενον.

Would

Would Caſſianus ſo believing have given counſel, *That if any were withheld with baſhfulneſs from diſcovering their faults to men, they ſhould be ſo much the more inſtant and conſtant in opening them by ſupplication to God himſelf, whoſe wont is to help without publication of men's ſhame, and not to upbraid them when he pardoneth?* BOOK VI. Caſſian. Collat. xx. c. 8. pag. 772. ed. Atrebat.

Finally, would Proſper ſettled in this opinion have made it, as touching reconciliation to God, a matter indifferent, *Whether men of eccleſiaſtical order did detect their crimes by confeſſion, or leaving the world ignorant thereof, would ſeparate voluntarily themſelves for a time from the altar, though not in affection, yet in execution of their miniſtry; and ſo bewail their corrupt life? Would he have willed them as he doth to make bold of it, that the favour of God being either way recovered by fruits of forcible repentance, they ſhould not only receive whatſoever they had loſt by ſin, but alſo, after this their new enfranchiſement, aſpire to endleſs joys of that ſupernal city?* To conclude, we every where find the uſe of confeſſion, eſpecially public, allowed of and commended by the Fathers; but that extreme and rigorous neceſſity of auricular and private confeſſion, which is at this day ſo mightily upheld by the Church of Rome, we find not. Firſt, it was not then the faith and doctrine of God's Church, as of the Papacy at this preſent. Secondly, that the only remedy for ſin after Baptiſm is ſacramental penitency. Thirdly, that confeſſion in ſecret is an eſſential part thereof. Fourthly, that God himſelf cannot now forgive ſin without the prieſt. That, becauſe forgiveneſs at the hands of the prieſt muſt ariſe from confeſſion in the offenders, therefore to confeſs unto him is a matter of ſuch neceſſity, as being not either in deed, or at the leaſt in deſire performed, excludeth utterly from all pardon, and muſt conſequently in Scripture be commanded whereſoever any promiſe of forgiveneſs is made. No, no; theſe opinions have youth in their countenance, Proſper. de vita contempl. l. ii. c. 7. in Biblioth. Patr. tom. viii. pag. 63.

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tenance, antiquity knew them not, it never thought nor dreamed of them.

But to let paſs the Papacy. Foraſmuch as repentance doth import alteration within the mind of a ſinful man, whereby, through the power of God's moſt gracious and bleſſed Spirit, he ſeeth, and with unfeigned ſorrow acknowledgeth former offences committed againſt God, hath them in utter deteſtation, ſeeking pardon for them in ſuch ſort as a Chriſtian ſhould do, and with a reſolute purpoſe ſettleth himſelf to avoid them, leading, as near as God ſhall aſſiſt him, for ever after, an unſpotted life; and in the order (which Chriſtian Religion hath taught for procurement of God's mercy towards ſinners) confeſſion is acknowledged a principal duty, yea, in ſome caſes, confeſſion to man, not to God only; it is not in reformed Churches denied by the learneder ſort of divines, but that even this confeſſion, cleared from all errors, is both lawful and behoveful for God's people.

Calv. Inſt. l. iii. c. 4. ſect. 7.

Confeſſion by man being either private or public, private confeſſion to the miniſter alone touching ſecret crimes, or abſolution thereupon enſuing, as the one, ſo the other is neither practiſed by the French diſcipline, nor uſed in any of thoſe Churches which have been caſt by the French mould. Open confeſſion to be made in the face of the whole congregation by notorious malefactors they hold neceſſary; howbeit not neceſſary towards the remiſſion of ſins [a], but only in ſome ſort to content the Church, and that one man's repentance may ſeem to ſtrengthen many, which before have been weakened by one man's fall.

Harm. Conf. Sect. viii. ex 5. cap. confeſſ. Bohem.

Saxonians and Bohemians in their diſcipline conſtrain no man to open confeſſion. Their doctrine is, that whoſe faults have been public, and thereby ſcandalous unto the world, ſuch, when God giveth

[a] Sed tantum ut Eccleſiæ ſit aliqua ratione ſatisfactum, et omnes unius pœnitentia confirmentur, qui fuerant unius peccatis et ſcandalis vulnerati. Sadeel. in Pſal. xxxii. ver. 5.

them

them the ſpirit of repentance, ought as ſolemnly to return, as they have openly gone aſtray; firſt, for the better teſtimony of their own unfeigned converſion unto God; ſecondly, the more to notify their reconcilement unto the Church; and laſtly, that others may make benefit of their example.

But concerning confeſſion in private, the Churches of Germany, as well the reſt as Lutherans, agree, that all men ſhould at certain times confeſs their offences to God in the hearing of God's miniſters, thereby to ſhew how their ſins diſpleaſe them; to receive inſtruction for the warier carriage of themſelves hereafter; to be ſoundly reſolved, if any ſcruple or ſnare of conſcience do entangle their minds; and, which is moſt material, to the end that men may at God's hand ſeek every one his own particular pardon, through the power of thoſe Keys, which the miniſter of God uſing according to our bleſſed Saviour's inſtitution, in that caſe it is their part to accept the benefit thereof, as God's moſt merciful ordinance for their good, and, without any diſtruſt or doubt, to embrace joyfully his grace ſo given them according to the word of our Lord, which hath ſaid, *Whoſe ſins ye remit they are remitted.* Matt. xvi. 18, 19. So that grounding upon this aſſured belief, they are to reſt with minds encouraged and perſuaded concerning the forgiveneſs of all their ſins, as out of Chriſt's own word and power by the miniſtry of the Keys. Cap. 5. confeſſ. Bohem.

It ſtandeth with us in the Church of England, as touching public confeſſion, thus:

Firſt, ſeeing day by day we in our Church begin our public prayers to Almighty God with public acknowledgment of our ſins, in which confeſſion every man, proſtrate as it were, before his glorious Majeſty, crieth againſt himſelf, and the miniſter with one ſentence pronounceth univerſally all clear whoſe acknowledgment ſo made hath proceeded from a true penitent mind; what reaſon is there every man ſhould not, under the general terms of confeſſion,

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feſſion, repreſent to himſelf his own particulars whatſoever, and adjoining thereunto that affection which a contrite ſpirit worketh, embrace to as full effect the words of divine grace, as if the ſame were ſeverally and particularly uttered with addition of prayers, impoſition of hands, or all the ceremonies and ſolemnities that might be uſed for the ſtrengthening of men's affiance in God's peculiar mercy towards them? Such complements are helps to ſupport our weakneſs, and not cauſes that ſerve to procure or produce his gifts, as David ſpeaketh. The difference of general and particular forms in confeſſion and abſolution is not ſo material that any man's ſafety or ghoſtly good ſhould depend upon it. And for private confeſſion and abſolution it ſtandeth thus with us:

The miniſter's power to abſolve is publicly taught and profeſſed, the Church not denied to have authority either of abridging or enlarging the uſe and exerciſe of that power; [a] upon the people no ſuch neceſſity impoſed of opening their tranſgreſſion unto men, as if remiſſion of ſins otherwiſe were impoſſible; neither any ſuch opinion had of the thing itſelf, as though it were either unlawful or unprofitable, ſave only for theſe inconveniences which the world hath by experience obſerved in it heretofore. And in regard thereof, the Church of England hath hitherto thought it the ſafer way to refer men's hidden crimes unto God and themſelves only; howbeit, not without ſpecial caution for the admonition of ſuch as come to the holy Sacrament, and for the comfort of ſuch as are ready to depart the world. Firſt, becauſe there are but few that conſider how much that part of divine ſervice, which conſiſts in partaking the holy Euchariſt, doth import their ſouls; what they loſe by neglect thereof, and what by devout practice they might attain unto:

[a] As for private confeſſion, abuſes and errors ſet apart, we condemn it not, but leave it at liberty." Jewel Defen. part 156.

therefore,

therefore, leſt careleſſneſs of general confeſſion ſhould, as commonly it doth, extinguiſh all remorſe of men's particular enormous crimes; our cuſtom (whenſoever men preſent themſelves at the Lord's table) is, ſolemnly to give themſelves fearful admonition, what woes are perpendicularly hanging over the heads of ſuch as dare adventure to put forth their unworthy hands to thoſe admirable myſteries of life, which have by rare examples been proved conduits of irremediable death to impenitent receivers; whom therefore, as we repel being known, ſo being not known we cannot but terrify. Yet, with us, the miniſters of God's moſt holy word and ſacraments, being all put in truſt with the cuſtody and diſpenſation of thoſe myſteries wherein our communion is, and hath been ever, accounted the higheſt grace that men on earth are admitted unto, have therefore all equally the ſame power to withhold that ſacred myſtical food from notorious evil-livers, from ſuch as have any way wronged their neighbours, and from parties between whom there doth open hatred and malice appear, till the firſt ſort have reformed their wicked lives, the ſecond recompenſed them unto whom they were injurious, and the laſt condeſcended unto ſome courſe of Chriſtian reconciliation, whereupon their mutual accord may enſue. In which caſes, for the firſt branch of wicked life, and the laſt, which is open enmity, there can ariſe no great difficulty about the exerciſe of his power: in the ſecond, concerning wrongs, they may, if men ſhall preſume to define or meaſure injuries according to their own conceits, be depraved oftentimes as well by error as partiality, and that no leſs to the miniſter himſelf, than in another of the people under him.

The knowledge therefore which he taketh of wrongs muſt riſe, as it doth in the other two, not from his own opinion or conſcience, but from the evidence of the fact which is committed; yea, from

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ſuch evidence as neither doth admit denial nor defence. For if the offender, having either colour of law to uphold, or any other pretence to excuſe his own uncharitable and wrongful dealings, ſhall wilfully ſtand in defence thereof, it ſerveth as bar to the power of the miniſter in this kind. [a] Becauſe (as it is obſerved by men of very good judgment in theſe affairs) although in this ſort our ſeparating of them be not to ſtrike them with the mortal wound of excommunication, but to ſtay them rather from running deſperately headlong into their own harm; yet it is not in us to ſever from the holy communion but ſuch as are either found culpable by their own confeſſion, or have been convicted in ſome public ſecular, or eccleſiaſtical court. For, who is he that dares take upon him to be any man's both accuſer and judge? [b] Evil perſons are not raſhly, and, as we liſt, to be thruſt from communion with the Church. Inſomuch that if we cannot proceed againſt them by any orderly courſe of judgment, they rather are to be ſuffered for the time than moleſted. Many there are reclaimed, as Peter; many, as Judas, known well enough, and yet tolerated; many which muſt remain undeſcried till the day of his appearance, by whom the ſecret corners of darkneſs ſhall be brought into open light.

Leaving therefore unto his judgment them whom we cannot ſtay from caſting their own ſouls into ſo great hazard, we have, in the other part of peni-

[a] Nos à communione quenquam prohibere non poſſumus, quamvis hæc prohibitio nondum ſit mortalis, ſed medicinalis, niſi aut ſponte confeſſum, aut aliquo ſive ſeculari, ſive Eccleſiaſtico judicio accuſatum atque convictum. Quis enim ſibi utrumque audet aſſumere, ut cuiquam ipſe ſit et accuſator et judex?

[b] Non enim temere, et quodammodo libet, ſed propter judicium, ab Eccleſiæ communione ſeparandi ſunt mali, ut ſi propter judicium auferri non poſſint, tolerentur potius, velut paleæ cum tritico. Multi corriguntur, ut Petrus; multi tolerantur, ut Judas; multi neſciuntur, donec veniat Dominus, et illuminabit abſcondita tenebrarum. Rhenan. admonit. de dogmat. Tertul.

tentia

tential juriſdiction in our power and authority to releaſe ſin, joy on all ſides, without trouble or moleſtation unto any. And, if to give be a thing more bleſſed than to receive, are we not infinitely happier in being authorized to beſtow the treaſure of God, than when neceſſity doth conſtrain to withdraw the ſame?

They which, during life and health, are never deſtitute of ways to delude repentance, do notwithſtanding oftentimes, when their laſt hour draweth on, both feel that ſting which before lay dead in them, and alſo thirſt after ſuch helps as have been always, till then, unſavory. St. Ambroſe's words touching late repentance are ſomewhat hard: *If a man be penitent and receive abſolution (which cannot in that caſe be denied him) even at the very point of death, and ſo depart, I dare not affirm he goeth out of the world well; I will counſel no man to truſt to this, becauſe I am loth to deceive any man, ſeeing I know not what to think of it. Shall I judge ſuch a one a caſt-away? Neither will I avouch him ſafe. All I am able to ſay is, let his eſtate be left to the will and pleaſure of Almighty God. Wilt thou be therefore delivered of all doubt? Repent while yet thou art healthy and ſtrong. If thou defer it till time give no longer poſſibility of ſinning, thou canſt not be thought to have left ſin, but rather ſin to have forſaken thee.* Such admonitions may in their time and place be neceſſary, but in no wiſe prejudicial to the generality of God's heavenly promiſe, *Whenſoever a ſinner doth repent from the bottom of his heart, I will put out all his iniquity.* And of this, although it hath pleaſed God not to leave to the world any multitude of examples, leſt the careleſs ſhould too far preſume, yet one he hath given, and that moſt memorable, to withhold from deſpair in the mercies of God, at what inſtant ſoever man's unfeigned converſion be wrought. Yea, becauſe, to countervail the fault of delay, there are in the lateſt repentance oftentimes the ſureſt tokens of ſincere

Lib. de pœnitentia.

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dealing; therefore upon ſpecial confeſſion made to the miniſter of God, he preſently abſolveth in this caſe the ſick party from all ſins by that authority which Jeſus Chriſt hath committed unto him, knowing that God reſpecteth not ſo much what time is ſpent, as what truth is ſhewed in repentance.

In ſum, when the offence doth ſtand only between God and man's conſcience, the counſel is good which St. Chryſoſtom giveth: [a] *I wiſh thee not to bewray thyſelf publicly, nor to accuſe thyſelf before others. I wiſh thee to obey the prophet, who ſaith, Diſcloſe thy way unto the Lord, confeſs thy ſins before him; tell thy ſins to him, that he may blot them out. If thou be abaſhed to tell unto any other wherein thou haſt offended, rehearſe them every day between thee and thy ſoul. I wiſh thee not to confeſs them to thy fellow-ſervant, who may upbraid thee with them; tell them to God, who will cure them; there is no need for thee in the preſence of witneſſes to acknowledge them; let God alone ſee thee at thy confeſſion. I pray and beſeech you, that you would, more often than you do, confeſs to God eternal, and, reckoning up your treſpaſſes, deſire his pardon. I carry you not into a theatre or open court of many of your fellow-ſervants, I ſeek not to detect your crimes before men; diſcloſe your conſcience before God, unfold yourſelves to him, lay forth your wounds before*

[a] Non dico tibi, ut te prodas in publicum, neque ut te apud alios accuſes, ſed obedire te volo prophetæ dicenti, Revela Domino viam tuam. Ante Deum confitere peccata tua; peccata tua dicito ut ea deleat; ſi confunderis alicui dicere quæ peccaſti; dicito ea quotidie in anima: non dico ut confitearis conſervo qui exprobret; Deo dicito qui ea curat; non neceſſe eſt præſentibus teſtibus confiteri, ſolus te Deus confitentem videat. Rogo et oro ut crebrius Deo immortali confiteamini, et, enumeratis veſtris delictis, veniam petatis. Non te in theatrum conſervorum duco, non hominibus peccata tua conor detegere. Repete coram Deo conſcientiam tuam, te explica, oſtende medico præſtantiſſimo vulnera tua, et pete ab eo medicamentum. Chryſoſt. Hom. xxxi. ad Hebr. et in Pſal. lix. Hom. de pœn. et confeſſ. et Hom. v. de incarn. Dei natura, Homil. itemque de Lazaro.

him

him the beſt phyſician that is, and deſire of him ſalve for them. If hereupon it follow, as it did with David, *I thought, I will confeſs againſt myſelf my wickedneſs unto thee, O Lord, and thou forgaveſt me the plague of my ſin*; we have our deſire, and there remaineth only thankfulneſs accompanied with perpetuity of care to avoid that, which being not avoided, we know we cannot remedy without new perplexity and grief. Contrariwiſe, if peace with God do not follow the pains we have taken in ſeeking after it, if we continue diſquieted and not delivered from anguiſh, miſtruſting whether that we do be ſufficient; it argueth that our ſore doth exceed the power of our own ſkill, and that the wiſdom of the paſtor muſt bind up thoſe parts, which being bruiſed are not able to be recured of themſelves.

Of Satisfaction.

THERE reſteth now Satisfaction only to be conſidered, a point which the Fathers do often touch, albeit they never aſpire to ſuch myſteries as the Papacy hath found enwrapped within the folds and plaits thereof. And it is happy for the Church of God, that we have the writings of the Fathers to ſhew what their meaning was. The name of Satisfaction, as the ancient Fathers mean it, containeth whatſoever a penitent ſhould do in the humbling himſelf unto God, and teſtifying by deeds of contrition the ſame which confeſſion in words pretendeth; *He which by repentance for ſins* (ſaith Tertullian, ſpeaking of fickle-minded men) *had a purpoſe to ſatisfy the Lord, will now by repenting his repentance make Satan ſatisfaction; and be ſo much the more hateful to God, as he is unto God's enemy* Tert. de Pœnitentia.

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more acceptable. Is it not plain, that Satisfaction doth here include the whole work of penitency, and that God is ſatisfied when we are reſtored through ſin into favour by repentance? [a] *How canſt thou* (ſaith Chryſoſtom) *move God to pity thee, when thou wilt not ſeem as much as to know that thou haſt offended?* By appeaſing, pacifying, and moving God to pity, St. Chryſoſtom meaneth the very ſame with the Latin Fathers, when they ſpeak of ſatisfying God.

Cypr. Ep. 8. et Ep. 26. Sent. 1. iv. dif. 16.

We feel (ſaith Cyprian) *the bitter ſmart of his rod and ſcourge, becauſe there is in us neither care to pleaſe him with our good deeds, nor to ſatisfy him for our evil.* Again, *Let the eyes which have looked on idols, ſpunge out their unlawful acts with thoſe ſorrowful tears, which have power to ſatisfy God.* The maſter of ſentences allegeth out of St. Auguſtine that which is plain enough to this purpoſe: *Three things there are in perfect penitency, compunction, confeſſion, and ſatisfaction; that as we three ways offend God, namely in heart, word, and deed, ſo by three duties we may ſatisfy God.*

Satisfaction, as a part, comprehended only that which the Papiſts meant by *worthy of repentance*; and if we ſpeak of the whole work of repentance itſelf, we may, in the phraſe of antiquity, term it very well Satisfaction.

Satisfaction is a work which juſtice requireth to be done for contentment of perſons injured: neither is it in the eye of juſtice a ſufficient ſatisfaction, unleſs it fully equal the injury for which we ſatisfy. Seeing then that ſin againſt God eternal and infinite muſt needs be an infinite wrong; juſtice, in regard thereof, doth neceſſarily exact an infinite recompence, or elſe inflict upon the offender infinite puniſhment. Now becauſe God was thus to be ſatisfied, and man not able to make ſatisfaction in ſuch ſort, his unſpeakable love and inclination to ſave mankind from eternal death ordained in our be-

[a] Chryſoſt. in 1 Cor. hom. 8. Τὸν Θεὸν ἐξιλεώσασθαι.

half

half a Mediator to do that which had been for any other impoſſible. Wherefore all ſin is remitted in the only faith of Chriſt's paſſion, and no man without belief thereof juſtified. Faith alone maketh Chriſt's ſatisfaction ours, howbeit, that faith alone, which after ſin maketh us by converſion his.

Bonavent. in Sentent. 4. diſt. xv. 9. 9.

For inaſmuch as God will have the benefit of Chriſt's ſatisfaction both thankfully acknowledged, and duly eſteemed of all ſuch as enjoy the ſame, he therefore imparteth ſo high a treaſure unto no man, whoſe faith hath not made him willing by repentance to do even that which of itſelf, how unavailable ſoever, yet being required and accepted with God, we are in Chriſt thereby made capable and fit veſſels to receive the fruits of his ſatisfaction: yea, we ſo far pleaſe and content God, that becauſe when we have offended he looketh but for repentance at our hands; our repentance and the works thereof are therefore termed ſatisfactory, not for that ſo much is thereby done as the juſtice of God can exact, but becauſe ſuch actions of grief and humility in man after ſin are *illices divinæ miſericordiæ*, (as Tertullian ſpeaketh of them;) they draw that pity of God towards us, wherein he is for Chriſt's ſake contented, upon our ſubmiſſion, to pardon our rebellion againſt him, and when that little which his Law appointeth is faithfully executed, it pleaſeth him in tender compaſſion, and mercy to require no more.

Repentance is a name which noteth the habit and operation of a certain grace or virtue in us: ſatisfaction, the effect which it hath, either with God or man. And it is not in this reſpect ſaid amiſs, that ſatisfaction importeth acceptation, reconciliation, and amity; becauſe that, through ſatisfaction on the one part made, and allowed on the other, they which before did reject are now content to receive, they to be won again which were loſt, and they to

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love unto whom juſt cauſe of hatred was given. We ſatisfy therefore in doing that which is ſufficient to this effect; and they towards whom we do it are ſatisfied if they accept it as ſufficient, and require no more: otherwiſe we ſatisfy not, although we do ſatisfy. For ſo between man and man it oftentimes falleth out, but between man and God never. It is therefore true, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt by one moſt precious and propitiatory ſacrifice, which was his body, a gift of infinite worth, offered for the ſins of the whole world, hath thereby once reconciled us to God, purchaſed his general free pardon, and turned divine indignation from mankind. But we are not for that cauſe to think any office of penitence either needleſs or fruitleſs on our own behalf: for then would not God require any ſuch duties at our hands. Chriſt doth remain everlaſtingly a gracious interceſſor, even for every particular penitent. Let this aſſure us, that God, how highly ſoever diſpleaſed and incenſed with our ſins, is notwithſtanding, for his ſake, by our tears, pacified, taking that for ſatisfaction which is done by us, becauſe Chriſt hath by his ſatisfaction made it acceptable. For, as he is the High Prieſt of our ſalvation, ſo he hath made us prieſts likewiſe under him, to the end we might offer unto God praiſe and thankfulneſs while we continue in the way of life; and when we ſin, the ſatisfactory or propitiatory ſacrifice of a broken and contrite heart. There is not any thing that we do that could pacify God, and clear us in his ſight from ſin, if the goodneſs and mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt were not; whereas now beholding the poor offer of our religious endeavours, meekly to ſubmit ourſelves as often as we have offended, he regardeth with infinite mercy thoſe ſervices which are as nothing, and with words of comfort reviveth our afflicted minds, ſaying, *It is I, even I, that taketh away thine iniqui-*

Apoc. i. 6.

Caſſian. collat. xx. c. 8.

ties

ties for mine own ſake. Thus doth repentance ſatisfy God, changing his wrath and indignation unto mercy.

Anger and mercy are in us paſſions; but in him not ſo.

[a] *God* (ſaith St. Baſil) *is no ways paſſionate, but becauſe the puniſhments which his judgment doth inflict are, like effects of indignation, ſevere and grievous to ſuch as ſuffer them, therefore we term the revenge which he taketh upon ſinners, anger; and the withdrawing of his plagues, mercy.* [b] *His wrath* (ſaith St. Auguſtine) *is not as ours, the trouble of a mind diſturbed and diſquieted with things amiſs, but a calm, unpaſſionate, and juſt aſſignation of a dreadful puniſhment to be their portion which have diſobeyed; his mercy a free determination of all felicity and happineſs unto men, except their ſins remain as a bar betwixt it and them.* So that when God doth ceaſe to be angry with ſinful men, when he receiveth them into favour, when he pardoneth their offences, and remembereth their iniquities no more, (for all theſe ſignify but one thing,) it muſt needs follow, that all puniſhments before due in revenge of ſin, whether they be temporal or eternal, are remitted.

Tom. i. pag. 203. C. ed. Par.

Auguſtin. Enchirid. de Fide, Spe et Caritate. tom. vi. p. 209. D. ed. Par.

For how ſhould God's indignation import only man's puniſhment, and yet ſome puniſhment remain unto them towards whom there is now in God no indignation remaining? [c] *God* (ſaith Tertullian) *takes penitency at men's hands; and men at his, in lieu thereof, receive impunity*; which notwithſtanding doth not prejudice the chaſtiſements which God, after pardon, hath laid upon ſome offenders, as on

[a] Baſil. hom. in Pſal. xxxvii. Πάντῳ γὰρ πάθος ἀλλότριον τὸ Θεῖον.

[b] Cum Deus iraſcitur, non ejus ſignificatur perturbatio qualis eſt in animo iraſcentis hominis; ſed ex humanis motibus tranſlato vocabulo vindicta ejus, quæ non niſi juſta eſt, iræ nomen accepit.

[c] Pœnitentiæ compenſatione redimendam proponit impunitatem Deus. Tert. de Pœniten.

the

BOOK VI. the people of Iſrael, on Moſes, on Miriam, on David, either for their own [a] more ſound amendment, or for [b] example unto others in this preſent world, (for in the world to come, puniſhments have unto theſe intents no uſe, the dead being not in caſe to be better by correction, nor to take warning by execution of God's juſtice there ſeen;) but aſſuredly to whomſoever he remitteth ſin, their very pardon is in itſelf a full, abſolute, and perfect diſcharge for revengeful puniſhment, which God doth now here threaten, but, with purpoſe of revocation if men repent, no where inflict but on them whom impenitency maketh obdurate.

Numb. xiv. 22. Numb. xx. 12. Numb. xii. 14. 2 Sam. xii. 14.

Of the one therefore it is ſaid, *Though I tell the wicked, thou ſhalt die the death, yet if he turneth from his ſin, and do that which is lawful and right,—he ſhall ſurely live, and not die.* Of the other, *Thou according to thine hardneſs, and heart that will not repent, treaſureſt up to thyſelf wrath againſt the day of wrath, and evident appearance of the judgment of God.* If God be ſatisfied and do pardon ſin, our juſtification reſtored is as perfect as it was at the firſt beſtowed. For ſo the prophet Iſaiah witneſſeth, *Though your ſins were as crimſon, they ſhall be made as white as ſnow: though they were as ſcarlet, they ſhall be as white as wool.* And can we doubt concerning the puniſhment of revenge, which was due to ſin, but that if God be ſatisfied and have forgotten his wrath, it muſt be, even as St. Auguſtine reaſoneth, [c] *What God hath covered, he will not obſerve, and what he obſerveth not, he will not puniſh.* The truth of which doctrine is not to be ſhifted off by reſtraining it

Ezek. xxxiii. 14, 15. Rom. ii. 5. Iſai. i. 18.

[a] Cui Deus vere propitius eſt non ſolum condonat peccata ne noceant ad futurum ſeculum, ſed etiam caſtigat, ne ſemper peccare delectet. Aug. in Pſal. xcviii.

[b] Plectuntur quidam quo cæteri corrigantur; exempla ſunt omnium, tormenta paucorum. Cypr. de Lapſis.

[c] Si texit Deus *peccata, noluit* advertere, ſi noluit advertere, *noluit* animadvertere. Aug. de pecc. merit. et remiſs. lib. ii. c. 34.

unto

unto eternal puniſhment alone. For then would not David have ſaid, *They are bleſſed to whom God imputeth not ſin*; bleſſedneſs having no part or fellowſhip at all with malediction; whereas to be ſubject to revenge for ſin, although the puniſhment be but temporal, is to be under the curſe of the Law: wherefore, as one and the ſame fire conſumeth ſtubble and refineth gold, ſo if it pleaſe God to lay puniſhment on them whoſe ſins he hath forgiven; yet is not this done for any deſtructive end of waſting and eating them out, as in plagues inflicted upon the impenitent, neither is the puniſhment of the one as of the other proportioned by the greatneſs of ſin paſt, but according to that future purpoſe whereunto the goodneſs of God referreth it, and wherein there is nothing meant to the ſufferer but furtherance of all happineſs, now in grace, and hereafter in glory. St. Auguſtine, to ſtop the mouths of Pelagians arguing, *That if God had impoſed death upon Adam, and Adam's poſterity, as a puniſhment of ſin, death ſhould have ceaſed when God procured ſinners their pardon*; anſwereth firſt, [a] *It is no marvel, either that bodily death ſhould not have happened to the firſt man, unleſs he had firſt ſinned, (death as puniſhment following his ſin,) or that after ſin is forgiven, death notwithſtanding befalleth the faithful; to the end that the ſtrength of righteouſneſs might be exerciſed, by overcoming the fear thereof.* So that juſtly God did inflict bodily death on man for committing ſin, and yet after ſin forgiven took it not away, that his righteouſneſs might ſtill have whereby to be exerciſed. He fortifieth this with David's example, whoſe ſin

[a] Mirandum non eſt, et mortem corporis non fuiſſe eventuram homini, niſi præceſſiſſet peccatum, cujus etiam talis pœna conſequeretur, et poſt remiſſionem peccatorum eam fidelibus evenire, ut ejus timore vincendo exerceretur fortitudo juſtitiæ. Sic et mortem *corporis propter hoc* peccatum Deus homini inflixit, et poſt peccatorum remiſſionem propter exercendam juſtitiam non ademit.

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he forgave, and yet afflicted him for exerciſe and trial of his humility. Briefly, a general axiom he hath for all ſuch chaſtiſements. [a] *Before forgiveneſs, they are the puniſhment of ſinners; and after forgiveneſs, they are exerciſes and trials of righteous men.* Which kind of proceeding is ſo agreeable with God's nature and man's comfort, that it ſeemeth even injurious to both, if we ſhould admit thoſe ſurmiſed reſervations of temporal wrath in God appeaſed towards reconciled ſinners. As a father he delights in his children's converſion, neither doth he threaten the penitent with wrath, or them with puniſhment which already mourn; but by promiſe aſſureth ſuch of indulgence and mercy, yea, even of plenary pardon, which taketh away all, both faults and penalties: there being no reaſon why we ſhould think him the leſs juſt, becauſe he ſheweth himſelf thus merciful; when they, which before were obſtinate, labour to appeaſe his wrath with the penſive meditation of contrition, the meek humility which confeſſion expreſſeth, and the deeds wherewith repentance declareth itſelf to be an amendment as well of the rotten fruit, as the dried leaves, and withered root of the tree. For with theſe duties by us performed, and preſented unto God in Heaven by Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe blood is a continual ſacrifice of propitiation for us, we content, pleaſe, and ſatisfy God. Repentance therefore, even the ſole virtue of repentance, without either purpoſe of ſhrift or deſire of abſolution from the prieſt; repentance, the ſecret converſion of the heart, in that it conſiſteth of theſe three, and doth by theſe three pacify God, may be without hyperbolical terms moſt truly magnified, as a recovery of the ſoul of man from deadly ſickneſs, a reſtitution of glorious light to his dark-

[a] Ante remiſſionem eſſe illa ſupplicia peccatorum, poſt remiſſionem autem certamina, exercitationeſque juſtorum. Cypr. Epiſt. liii.

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ened mind, a comfortable reconciliation with God, a ſpiritual nativity, a riſing from the dead, a day-ſpring from the depth of obſcurity, a redemption from more than Egyptian thraldom, a grinding of the old Adam even into duſt and powder, a deliverance out of the priſons of hell, a full reſtoration of the ſeat of grace, and throne of glory, a triumph over ſin, and a ſaving victory. BOOK VI.

Amongſt the works of ſatisfaction, the moſt reſpected have been always theſe three, prayers, faſts, and alms-deeds; by prayer we lift up our ſouls to him from whom ſin and iniquity hath withdrawn them; by faſting, we reduce the body from thraldom under vain delights, and make it ſerviceable for parts of virtuous converſation; by alms, we dedicate to charity thoſe worldly goods and poſſeſſions, which unrighteouſneſs doth neither get, nor beſtow well: the firſt, a token of piety intended towards God; the ſecond, a pledge of moderation and ſobriety in the carriage of our own perſons; the laſt, a teſtimony of our meaning to do good to all men. In which three, the Apoſtle, by way of abridgement, comprehendeth whatſoever may appertain to ſanctimony, holineſs, and good life: as contrariwiſe, the very maſs of general corruption throughout the world, what is it but only forgetfulneſs of God, carnal pleaſure, immoderate deſire after worldly things, profaneneſs, licentiouſneſs, covetouſneſs? All offices to repentance have theſe two properties; there is in performance of them painfulneſs, and in their nature a contrariety unto ſin. The one conſideration cauſeth them both in holy Scripture and [a] elſewhere to be termed judgment or revenges taken voluntarily on ourſelves, and to be furthermore alſo preſervatives from future evils, inaſmuch as we commonly uſe to keep with

2 Cor. vii. 11.

[a] Ἡμᾶν γὰρ αὐτῶν δίκην λάβωμεν, ἡμῶν αὐτῶν κατηγορήσωμεν, ἵνα μὴ ἐξιλεωσόμεθα τὸν κριτήν. Chryſ. hom. 30. in Ep. ad Heb.

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the greater care that which with pain we have recovered. And they are in the other reſpect contrary to ſin committed: contrition, contrary to the pleaſure; confeſſion, to the error, which is the mother of ſin: and to the deeds of ſin, the works of ſatisfaction contrary; therefore they are the more effectual to cure the evil habit thereof. Hereunto it was that St. Cyprian referred his earneſt and vehement exhortation, *That they which had fallen, ſhould be inſtant in prayer, reject bodily ornaments when once they had ſtripped themſelves out of Chriſt's attire, abhor all food after Satan's morſels taſted, follow works of righteouſneſs which waſh away ſin, and be plentiful in alms-deeds wherewith ſouls are delivered from death. Not, as if God did, according to the manner of corrupt judges, take ſome money to abate ſo much in the puniſhment of malefactors. Theſe duties muſt be offered* (ſaith Salvianus) *not in confidence to redeem or buy out ſin, but as tokens of meek ſubmiſſion; neither are they with God accepted, becauſe of their value, but for our affection ſake, which doth thereby ſhew itſelf.* Wherefore, concerning ſatisfaction made to God by Chriſt only; and of the manner how repentance generally, particularly alſo, how certain ſpecial works of penitency, both are by the Fathers, in their ordinary phraſe of ſpeech, called ſatisfactory, and may be by us very well ſo acknowledged, enough hath been ſpoken.

Cypr. de Lapſis. pag. 136. ed. Oxon.

Salv. ad Eccl. Cath. lib. i.

Our offences ſometimes are of ſuch nature as requireth that particular men be ſatisfied, or elſe repentance to be utterly void and of none effect. For if either through open rapine, or crooked fraud, if, through injurious or unconſcionable dealing, a man have wittingly wronged others to enrich himſelf; the firſt thing evermore in this caſe required (ability ſerving) is reſtitution. For let no man deceive himſelf, from ſuch offences we are not diſcharged, neither can be, till recompence and reſtitution to man accompany the penitent confeſſion we have made

made to Almighty God. In which caſe, the Law of Moſes was direct and plain; *If any ſin and commit a treſpaſs againſt the Lord, and deny unto his neighbour that which was given him to keep, or that which was put unto him of truſt; or doth by robbery or by violence oppreſs his neighbour; or hath found that which was loſt, and denieth it, and ſwears falſely: for any of theſe things that a man doth wherein he ſinneth, he that doth thus offend and treſpaſs, ſhall reſtore the robbery that he hath taken, or the thing he hath got by violence, or that which was delivered him to keep, or the loſt thing which he found; and for whatſoever he hath ſworn falſely, adding perjury to injury, he ſhall both reſtore the whole ſum, and ſhall add thereunto a fifth part more, and deliver it unto him, unto whom it belongeth, the ſame day wherein he offereth for his treſpaſs.* Now, becauſe men are commonly over-ſlack to perform this duty, and do therefore defer it ſometime, till God hath taken the party wronged out of the world; the Law providing that treſpaſſers might not under ſuch pretence gain the reſtitution which they ought to make, appointeth the kindred ſurviving to receive what the dead ſhould, if they had continued. *But* (ſaith Moſes) *if the party wronged have no kinſman to whom this damage may be reſtored, it ſhall then be rendered to the Lord himſelf for the prieſt's uſe.* The whole order of proceeding herein is in ſundry traditional writings ſet down by their great interpreters and ſcribes, which taught them that a treſpaſs between a man and his neighbour can never be forgiven till the offender have by reſtitution made recompence for wrongs done, yea, they hold it neceſſary that he appeaſe the party grieved by ſubmitting himſelf unto him; or, if that will not ſerve, by uſing the help and mediation of others: *In this caſe* (ſay they) *for any man to ſhew himſelf unappeaſable and cruel, were a ſin moſt grievous, conſidering that the people of God ſhould be eaſy to relent, as Joſeph was towards his brethren:* finally, if ſo it fall

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Lev. vi. 2—5.

Num. v. 8.

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fall out, that the death of him that was injured, prevent his ſubmiſſion which did offend; let him then (for ſo they determine that he ought) go accompanied with ten others unto the ſepulchre of the dead, and there make confeſſion of the fault, ſaying, [a] *I have ſinned againſt the Lord God of Iſrael, and againſt this man, to whom I have done ſuch or ſuch injury; and if money be due, let it be reſtored to his heirs, or in caſe he have none known, leave it with the houſe of judgment*; that is to ſay, with the ſenators, ancients, and guides of Iſrael. We hold not Chriſtian people tied unto Jewiſh orders for the manner of reſtitution; but, ſurely, reſtitution we muſt hold neceſſary, as well in our own repentance as theirs, for ſins of wilful oppreſſion and wrong.

Now, although it ſuffices, that the offices wherewith we pacify God or private men be ſecretly done; yet in caſes where the Church muſt be alſo ſatisfied, it was not to this end and purpoſe unneceſſary, that the ancient diſcipline did farther require outward ſigns of contrition to be ſhewed, confeſſion of ſins to be made openly, and thoſe works to be apparent which ſerved as teſtimonies for converſion before men. Wherein, if either hypocriſy did at any time delude their judgment, they knew that God is he whom maſks and mockeries cannot blind, that he which ſeeth men's hearts would judge them according unto his own evidence, and, as Lord, correct the ſentence of his ſervants concerning matters beyond their reach; or, if ſuch as ought to have kept the rules of canonical ſatisfaction would by ſiniſter means and practices undermine the ſame, obtruding preſumptuouſly themſelves to the participation of Chriſt's moſt ſacred myſteries before they were orderly re-admitted thereunto, the

Cyp. Ep. lii.

[a] Quamdiu enim res propter quam peccatum eſt, non redditur, ſi reddi poteſt; non agitur pœnitentia, ſed fingitur. Sent. Iv. d. 15.

Church

Church for contempt of holy things held them incapable of that grace, which God in the Sacrament doth impart to devout communicants; and no doubt but he himself did retain bound, whom the Church in those cases refused to loose.

The Fathers, as may appear by sundry decrees and canons of the primitive Church, were (in matter especially of public scandal) provident that too much facility of pardoning might not be shewed. *He that casteth off his lawful wife,* (saith St. Basil,) *and doth take another, is adjudged an adulterer by the verdict of our Lord himself; and by our Fathers it is canonically ordained, that such for the space of a year shall mourn, for two years space hear, three years be prostrate, the seventh year assemble with the faithful in prayer, and after that be admitted to communicate, if with tears they bewail their fault.*

Basil. Ep. ad Amphiloch. can. 77. pag. 38. D. tom. iii. ed. Par.

Of them which had fallen from their faith in the time of the Emperor Licinius and were not thereunto forced by any extreme usage, the Nicene Synod under Constantine ordained, *That earnestly repenting, they should continue three years hearers, seven years be prostrate, and two years communicate with the people in prayer, before they came to receive the oblation.* Which rigour sometimes they tempered nevertheless with lenity, the self-same Synod having likewise defined, [a] *That, whatsoever the cause were, any man desirous at the time of departure out of this life to receive the Eucharist, might (with examination and trial) have it granted him by the Bishop.* Yea, besides this case of special commiseration, there is a canon more large, which giveth always liberty to abridge, or extend out the time, as the party's meek or sturdy disposition should require.

Concil. Nicen. can. 11.

[a] Καθόλου δὲ καὶ περὶ πάντος οὐτινοσοῦν ἐξοδεύοντος αἰτοῦντος τοῦ μετασχεῖν Εὐχαριστίας, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος μετὰ δοκιμασίας μεταδιδότω τῆς προσφορᾶς. Can. 13. μετὰ δοκιμασίας, id est, manifestis indiciis deprehensa peccatoris seria conversione ad Deum. Can. 12. Concil. pag. 35. tom. ii. ed. Par.

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By means of which diſcipline the Church having power to hold them many years in ſuſpenſe, there was bred in the minds of the penitents, through long and daily practice of ſubmiſſion, a contrary habit unto that which before had been their ruin, and for ever afterwards warineſs not to fall into thoſe ſnares out of which they knew they could not eaſily wind themſelves. Notwithſtanding, becauſe there was likewiſe hope and poſſibility of ſhortening the time, this made them in all the parts and offices of their repentance the more fervent. In the firſt ſtation, while they only beheld others paſſing towards the Temple of God, whereunto for themſelves to approach it was not lawful, they ſtood as miſerable forlorn men, the very patterns of perplexity and woe. In the ſecond, when they had the favour to wait at the doors of God, where the ſound of his comfortable Word might be heard, none received it with attention like to theirs. Thirdly, being taken and admitted to the next degree of proſtrates at the feet, yet behind the back of that Angel repreſenting God, whom the reſt ſaw face to face, their tears, and entreaties both of paſtor and people, were ſuch as no man could reſiſt. After the fourth ſtep, which gave them liberty to hear and pray with the reſt of the people, being ſo near the haven, no diligence was then ſlacked which might haſten admiſſion to the heavenly Table of Chriſt, their laſt deſire. It is not therefore a thing to be marvelled at, though St. Cyprian took it in very ill part, when both backſliders from the Faith and ſacred Religion of Chriſt laboured by ſiniſter practice to procure from impriſoned ſaints thoſe requeſts for preſent abſolution, which the Church could neither yield unto with ſafety of diſcipline, nor in honour of martyrdom eaſily deny. For, what would thereby enſue they needed not to conjecture, when they ſaw how every man which came ſo commended to the Church by letters thought that now he needed not to

to crave, but might challenge of duty his peace; taking the matter very highly, if but any little forbearance or ſmall delay was uſed. *He which is overthrown* (ſaith Cyprian) *menaceth them that ſtand, the wounded, them that were never touched*[a]; *and becauſe preſently he hath not the body of our Lord in his foul imbrued hands, nor the blood within his polluted lips, the miſcreant fumeth at God's prieſts: ſuch is thy madneſs, O thou furious man, thou art angry with him which laboureth to turn away God's anger from thee; him thou threateneſt, which ſueth unto God for grace and mercy on thy behalf.* De Lapſis, pag. 131. Tract. ed. Oxon. Exod. xii. 31. Jer. vii. 15.

Touching martyrs he anſwereth, *That it ought not in this caſe to ſeem offenſive, though they were denied, ſeeing God himſelf did refuſe to yield to the piety of his own righteous ſaints, making ſuit for obdurate Jews.* Ezek. xiv. 14. De Lapſis, pag. 130.

As for the parties, in whoſe behalf ſuch ſhifts were uſed; to have their deſire was, in very truth, the way to make them the more guilty: ſuch peace granted contrary to the rigour of the Goſpel, contrary to the Law of our Lord and God, doth but under colour of merciful relaxation deceive ſinners, and by ſoft handling deſtroy them, a grace dangerous for the giver, and to him which receiveth it nothing at all valuable. The patient expectation that bringeth health is, by this means, not regarded; recovery of ſoundneſs not ſought for by the only medicine available, which is ſatisfaction; penitency thrown out of men's hearts; the remembrance of that heavieſt and laſt judgment clean baniſhed; the wounds of dying men, which ſhould be healed, are covered; the ſtroke of death, which hath gone as deep as any bowels are to receive it, is overcaſt with the ſlight ſhew of a cloudy look. From the altar of Satan to the holy Table of the Lord, men are not afraid to come, even belching

[a] Jacens ſtantibus, et integris vulneratus, minatur.

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in a manner the ſacrificed morſels they have eaten; yea, their jaws yet breathing out the irkſome ſavour of their former contagious wickedneſs, they ſeize upon the bleſſed body of our Lord, nothing terrified with that dreadful commination, which ſaith, *Whoſoever eateth and drinketh unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of Chriſt.* They vainly think it to be peace, which is gotten before they be purged of their faults, before their crime be lamnly confeſſed, before their conſcience be cleared by the ſacrifice and impoſition of the prieſt's hands, and before they have pacified the indignation of God. Why term they that a favour, which is an injury? Wherefore cloke they impiety with the name of charitable ndulgence? Such facility giveth not, but rather taketh away peace, and is itſelf another freſh perſecution or trial, whereby that fraudulent enemy maketh a ſecret havoc of ſuch as before he had overthrown; and now, to the end that he may clean ſwallow them, he caſteth ſorrow into a dead ſleep, putteth grief to ſilence, wipeth away the memory of faults newly done, ſmothereth the ſighs that ſhould riſe from a contrite ſpirit, drieth up eyes which ought to ſend forth rivers of tears, and permitteth not God to be pacified with full repentance, whom heinous and enormous crimes have diſpleaſed.

1 Cor. xi. 27.

The end of ſatisfaction.

By this then we ſee, that in St. Cyprian's judgment all abſolutions are void, fruſtrate, and of no effect, without ſufficient repentance firſt ſhewed; whereas contrariwiſe, if true and full ſatisfaction have gone before, the ſentence of man here given is ratified of God in Heaven, according to our Saviour's own ſacred teſtimony, *Whoſe ſins ye remit, they are remitted.*

By what works in the virtue, and by what in the diſcipline of repentance we are ſaid to ſatisfy either God or men, cannot now be thought obſcure. As for the inventors of ſacramental ſatisfaction, they have

have both altered the natural order heretofore kept in the Church, by bringing in a ſtrange prepoſterous courſe to abſolve before ſatisfaction be made, and moreover by this their miſordered practice are grown into ſundry errors concerning the end whereunto it is referred.

They imagine, beyond all conceit of antiquity, that when God doth remit ſin and the puniſhment eternal thereunto belonging, he reſerveth the torments of hell-fire to be nevertheleſs endured for a time, either ſhorter or longer, according to the quality of men's crimes. Yet ſo, that there is between God and man a certain compoſition (as it were) or contract, by virtue whereof works aſſigned by the prieſts to be done after abſolution, ſhall ſatisfy God as touching the puniſhment, which he otherwiſe would inflict for ſin pardoned and forgiven.

The way of ſatisfying by others.

Now, becauſe they cannot aſſure any man, that if he performeth what the prieſt appointeth it ſhall ſuffice; this (I ſay) becauſe they cannot do, inaſmuch as the prieſt hath no power to determine or define of equivalency between ſins and ſatisfactions, and yet if a penitent depart this life, the debt of ſatisfaction being either in whole or in part undiſcharged, they ſtedfaſtly hold that the ſoul muſt remain in unſpeakable torment till all be paid; therefore, for help and mitigation in this caſe, they adviſe men to ſet certain copeſmates on work, whoſe prayers and ſacrifices may ſatisfy God for ſuch ſouls as depart in debt. Hence have ariſen the infinite penſions of their prieſts, the building of ſo many altars and tombs, the enriching of ſo many churches with ſo many glorious and coſtly gifts, the bequeathing of lands and ample poſſeſſions to religious companies, even with u'ter forgetfulneſs of friends, parents, wife, and children, all natural affection giving place unto that deſire which men, doubtful of their own eſtate, have to deliver their ſouls from torment after death.

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Yet, behold even this being done, how far forth it ſhall avail they are not ſure; and therefore the laſt upſhot unto their former inventions is, that as every action of Chriſt did both merit for himſelf, and ſatisfy partly for the eternal, and partly for the temporal puniſhment due unto men for ſin, ſo his ſaints have obtained the like privilege of grace, making every good work they do not only meritorious in their own behalf, but ſatisfactory too for the benefit of others, Or if, having at any time grievouſly ſinned, they do more to ſatisfy God than he in juſtice can expect or look for at their hands; the ſurpluſage runneth to a common ſtock, out of which treaſury containing whatſoever Chriſt did by way of ſatisfaction for temporal puniſhment, together with the ſatisfactory force which reſideth in all the virtuous works of ſaints, and in their ſatisfactions whatſoever doth abound, (I ſay,) *From hence they hold God ſatisfied for ſuch arrearages as men behind in accompt diſcharge not by other means; and for diſpoſition hereof, as it is their doctrine that Chriſt remitteth not eternal death without the prieſt's abſolution, ſo without the grant of the Pope they cannot but teach it alike unpoſſible that ſouls in hell ſhould receive any temporal releaſe of pain. The Sacrament of pardon from him being to this effect no leſs neceſſary, than the prieſt's abſolution to the other.* So that by this poſtern-gate cometh in the whole mart of Papal indulgences, a gain uneſtimable to him, to others a ſpoil; a ſcorn both to God and man. So many works of ſatisfaction pretended to be done by Chriſt, by ſaints, and martyrs; ſo many virtuous acts poſſeſſed with ſatisfactory force and virtue; ſo many ſupererogations in ſatisfying beyond the exigence of their own neceſſity; and this that the Pope might make a monopoly of all, turning all to his own gain, or at leaſt to the gain of thoſe which are his own: ſuch facility they have to convert a pretended Sacrament into a revenue.

Of

Of Abſolution of Penitents.

SIN is not helped but by being aſſecured of pardon. It reſteth therefore to be conſidered what warrant we have concerning forgiveneſs when the ſentence of man abſolveth us from ſin committed againſt God. At the words of our Saviour, ſaying to the ſick of the palſy, *Son, thy ſins are forgiven thee*, exception was taken by the ſcribes, who ſecretly reaſoned againſt him, *Is any able to forgive ſins but only God?* Where- upon they condemn his ſpeech as blaſphemy; the reſt which believed him to be a prophet ſent from God, ſaw no cauſe wherefore he might not as lawfully ſay, and as truly, to whomſoever amongſt them, *God hath taken away thy ſins*, as Nathan (they all knew) had uſed the very like ſpeech; to whom David did not therefore impute blaſphemy, but embraced, as became him, the words of truth with joy and reverence.

Mat. ix. 2. Mark ii. 7. Luke v. 21.

Now there is no controverſion, but as God in that ſpecial caſe did authorize Nathan, ſo Chriſt more generally his Apoſtles and the miniſters of his Word in his name to abſolve ſinners. Their power being equal, all the difference between them can be but only in this, that whereas the one had prophetical evidence, the other have the certainty partly of faith, and partly of human experience, whereupon to ground their ſentence; faith, to aſſure them of God's moſt gracious pardon in heaven unto all penitents, and touching the ſincerity of each particular party's repentance, as much as outward ſenſible tokens or ſigns can warrant.

It is not to be marvelled that ſo great a difference appeareth between the doctrine of Rome and ours when we teach repentance. They imply in the name of repentance much more than we do. We ſtand chiefly upon the due inward converſion of the heart; they more upon works of external ſhew. We

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teach, above all things, that repentance which is one and the ſame from the beginning to the world's end; they a ſacramental penance, of their own deviſing and ſhaping. We labour to inſtruct men in ſuch ſort, that every ſoul which is wounded with ſin may learn the way how to cure itſelf; they, clean contrary, would make all ſores ſeem incurable, unleſs the prieſts have a hand in them.

Touching the force of whoſe abſolution they ſtrangely hold, [a] that whatſoever the penitent doth, his contrition, confeſſion, and ſatisfaction have no place of right to ſtand as material parts in this Sacrament, nor conſequently any ſuch force as to make them available for the taking away of ſin, in that they proceed from the penitent himſelf without the privity of the miniſter, but only as they are enjoined by the miniſter's authority and power. So that no contrition or grief of heart till the prieſt exact it; no acknowledgment of ſins, but that which he doth demand; no praying, no faſting, no alms, no repentance or reſtitution for whatſoever we have done, can help, except by him it be firſt impoſed. It is the chain of their own doctrine, no remedy for mortal ſin committed after Baptiſm but the Sacrament of penance only; no Sacrament of penance, if either matter or form be wanting; no ways to make thoſe duties a material part of the Sacrament, unleſs we conſider them as required and exacted by the prieſt. [b] Our Lord and Saviour, they ſay, hath ordained his prieſts judges in ſuch ſort, that no man which ſinneth after Baptiſm can be reconciled unto God but by their ſentence. For why? [c] If

[a] Ipſius pœnitentis actio non eſt pars Sacramenti, niſi quatenus poteſtati ſacerdotali ſubjicitur, et a Sacerdote dirigitur vel jubetur. Bell. de Pœnit. lib. i. cap. 16.

[b] Chriſtus inſtituit ſacerdotes judices ſuper terram cum ea poteſtate, ut ſine ipſorum ſententia, nemo poſt Baptiſmum lapſus reconciliari poſſit. Bell. l. iii. c. 1. de Pœnit.

[c] Quod ſi poſſent ii ſine ſacerdotum ſententia abſolvi, non eſſet vera Chriſti promiſſio, Quæcunque, &c. Bellarm. ibid.

there

there were any other way of reconciliation, the very promiſe of Chriſt ſhould be falſe in ſaying, *Whatſoever ye bind on earth, ſhall be bound in heaven; and whoſe ſins ſoever ye retain, are retained.* Except therefore the prieſt be willing, God hath by promiſe hampered himſelf ſo, that it is not now in his own power to pardon any man. Let him who hath offended crave as the publican did, *Lord, be thou merciful unto me a ſinner*; let him, as David, make a thouſand times his ſupplication, *Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindneſs, according to the multitude of thy compaſſions, put away mine iniquities*; all this doth not help till ſuch time as the pleaſure of the prieſt be known, till he have ſigned us a pardon, and given us our *quietus eſt*. God himſelf hath no anſwer to make but ſuch as that of the Angel unto Lot—I can do nothing.

It is true, that our Saviour by theſe words, *Whoſe ſins ye remit, they are remitted*, did ordain judges over our ſinful ſouls, gave them authority to abſolve from ſin, and did promiſe to ratify in heaven whatſoever they ſhould do on earth in execution of this their office; to the end that hereby, as well his miniſters might take encouragement to do their duty with all faithfulneſs, as alſo his people, admonition, gladly with all reverence to be ordered by them; both parts knowing that the functions of the one towards the other have his perpetual aſſiſtance and approbation. Howbeit all this with two reſtraints, which every juriſdiction in the world hath; the one, that the practice thereof proceed in due order; the other, that it do not extend itſelf beyond due bounds; which bounds or limits have ſo confined penitential juriſdiction, that although there be given unto it power of remitting ſin, yet no ſuch ſovereignty of power that no ſin ſhould be pardonable in man without it [a]. Thus to enforce our Saviour's words, is

[a] Chriſtus ordinariam ſuam poteſtatem in Apoſtolos tranſtulit; extraordinariam ſibi reſervavit.

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as though we ſhould gather, that becauſe whatſoever Joſeph did command in the land of Egypt, Pharaoh's grant is it ſhould be done; therefore he granteth that nothing ſhould be done in the land of Egypt but what Joſeph did command, and ſo conſequently, by enabling his ſervant Joſeph to command under him, diſableth himſelf to command any thing without Joſeph.

But by this we ſee how the Papacy maketh all ſin unpardonable which hath not the prieſt's abſolution; except peradventure in ſome extraordinary caſe, where albeit abſolution be not had, yet it muſt be deſired [a].

What is then the force of abſolution? What is it which the act of abſolution worketh in a ſinful man? Doth it by any operation derived from itſelf alter the ſtate of the ſoul? Doth it really take away ſin, or but aſcertain us of God's moſt gracious and merciful pardon? The latter of which two is our aſſertion, the former theirs.

At the words of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, ſaying unto the ſick of the palſy, *Son, thy ſins are forgiven thee*, the Phariſees, which knew him not to be *Son of the living God*, took ſecret exception, and fell to reaſoning with themſelves againſt him; *Is any able to forgive ſin but God only? The ſins* (ſaith St. Cyprian) *that are committed againſt him, he alone hath power to forgive, which took upon him our ſins, he which ſorrowed and ſuffered for us, he whom the Father delivered unto death for our offences.* Whereunto may be added, that which Clemens Alexandrinus hath [b],

Mat. ix. 2.

Mark ii 7. Luke v. 21. Cypr. de Lapſ. c. 4. pag. 129. Tract. ed. Oxon.

[a] Ordinaria enim remedia in Eccleſia ad remittenda peccata ſunt ab eo inſtituta, Sacramenta; ſine quibus peccata remittere Chriſtus poteſt, ſed extraordinarie et multo rarius hoc facit, quam per Sacramenta. Noluit igitur eos extraordinariis remiſſionis peccatorum conſidere, quæ et rara ſunt et incerta: ſed ordinaria, ut ita dicam, viſibilia Sacramentorum quærere remedia. Maldon. in Matt. xvi. 19.

[b] Clem. Alex. Pædag. l. i. cap. iii. pag. 101. tom. 1. ed. Oxon. Πάντα ὁνίνησιν ὁ Κύριος καὶ πάντα ὠφελεῖ, καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ὡς Θεός· Τὰ μὲν ἁμαρτήματα ὡς Θεὸς ἀφιεὶς, εἰς ἣ τὸ μὴ ἐξαμαρτάνειν παιδαγωγῶν ὡς ἄνθρωπος.

Our

Our Lord is profitable every way, every way beneficial, whether we reſpect him as man, or as God; as God forgiving, as man inſtructing and learning how to avoid ſin. For it is I, even I that putteth away thine iniquities for mine own ſake, and will not remember thy ſins, ſaith the Lord. Iſa. xliii. 25.

Now, albeit we willingly confeſs with St. Cyprian, [a] *The ſins which are committed againſt him, he only hath power to forgive, who hath taken upon him our ſins, he which hath ſorrowed and ſuffered for us, he, whom God hath given for our offences.* Yet neither did St. Cyprian intend to deny the power of the miniſter otherwiſe than if he preſume beyond his commiſſion to remit ſin, where God's own will is it ſhould be retained; for, againſt ſuch abſolutions he ſpeaketh, (which being granted to whom they ought to have been denied, are of no validity;) and, if rightly it be conſidered how higher cauſes in operation uſe to concur with inferior means, his grace with our miniſtry, God really performing the ſame which man is authorized to act as in his name, there ſhall need for deciſion of this point no great labour.

To remiſſion of ſins there are two things neceſſary; grace, as the only cauſe which taketh away iniquity, and repentance, as a duty or condition required in us. To make repentance ſuch as it ſhould be, what doth God demand but inward ſincerity joined with fit and convenient offices for that purpoſe? the one referred wholly to our own conſciences, the other beſt diſcerned by them whom God hath appointed judges in this court. So that having firſt the promiſes of God for pardon generally unto all offenders penitent; and particularly for our own unfeigned meaning, the unfallible teſtimony of a good conſcience, the ſentence of God's appointed Victor. de perſecut. Vand.

[a] Veniam peccatis quæ in ipſum commiſſa ſunt ſolus poteſt ille largiri, qui peccata noſtra portavit, qui pro nobis doluit, quem Deus tradidit pro peccatis noſtris.

officer

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officer and vicegerent to approve with unpartial judgment the quality of that we have done, and as from his tribunal in that reſpect, to aſſoil us of any crime; I ſee no cauſe but by the rules of our faith and religion we may reſt ourſelves very well aſſured touching God's moſt merciful pardon and grace; who, eſpecially for the ſtrengthening of weak, timorous, and fearful minds, hath ſo far endued his Church with power to abſolve ſinners. It pleaſeth God that men ſometimes ſhould, by miſſing this help, perceive how much they ſtand bound to him for ſo precious a benefit enjoyed. And ſurely, ſo long as the world lived in any awe or fear of falling away from God, ſo dear were his miniſters to the people, chiefly in this reſpect, that being through tyranny and perſecution deprived of paſtors, the doleful rehearſal of their loſt felicities hath not any thing more eminent, than that ſinners diſtreſſed ſhould not know how or where to unload their burdens. Strange it were unto me, that the Fathers, who ſo much every where extol the grace of Jeſus Chriſt in leaving unto his Church this heavenly and divine power, ſhould as men, whoſe ſimplicity had univerſally been abuſed, agree all to admire and magnify a needleſs office.

The ſentence therefore of miniſterial abſolution hath two effects; touching ſin, it only declareth us freed from the guiltineſs thereof, and reſtored into God's favour; but concerning right in ſacred and divine myſteries, whereof through ſin we were made unworthy, as the power of the Church did before effectually bind and retain us from acceſs unto them, ſo upon our apparent repentance it truly reſtoreth our liberty, looſeth the chains wherewith we were tied, remitteth all whatſoever is paſt, and accepteth us no leſs returned than if we never had gone aſtray.

For, inaſmuch as the power which our Saviour gave to his Church is of two kinds; the one to be exerciſed over voluntary penitents only, the other

over

over ſuch as are to be brought to amendment by ecclefiaſtical cenſures, the words wherein he hath given this authority muſt be ſo underſtood, as the ſubject or matter whereupon it worketh will permit. It doth not permit that in the former kind, (that is to ſay, in the uſe of power over voluntary converts,) to bind or looſe, remit or retain, ſhould ſignify any other than only to pronounce of ſinners according to that which may be gathered by outward ſigns; becauſe really to effect the removal or continuance of ſin in the ſoul of any offender is no prieſtly act, but a work which far exceedeth their ability. Contrariwiſe, in the latter kind of ſpiritual juriſdiction, which by cenſures conſtraineth men to amend their lives; it is true, that the miniſter of God doth then more declare and ſignify what God hath wrought. And this power, true it is, that the Church hath inveſted in it. BOOK VI.

Howbeit, as other truths, ſo this hath by error been oppugned and depraved through abuſe. The firſt of name that openly in writing withſtood the Church's authority and power to remit ſin, was Tertullian, after he had combined himſelf with Montaniſts, drawn to the liking of their hereſy through the very ſourneſs of his own nature, which neither his incredible ſkill and knowledge otherwiſe, nor the doctrine of the Goſpel itſelf, could but ſo much alter, as to make him favour any thing which carried with it the taſte of lenity. A ſpunge ſteeped in wormwood and gall, a man through too much ſeverity mercileſs, and neither able to endure nor to be endured of any. His book entitled concerning Chaſtity, and written profeſſedly againſt the diſcipline of the Church, hath many fretful and angry ſentences, declaring a mind very much offended with ſuch as would not perſuade themſelves, that of ſins, ſome be pardonable by the keys of the Church, ſome uncapable of forgiveneſs; that middle and moderate offences having received chaſtiſement, may by ſpiritual

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ritual authority afterwards be remitted, but greater tranſgreſſions muſt (as touching indulgence) be left to the only pleaſure of Almighty God in the world to come; that as idolatry and bloodſhed, ſo likewiſe fornication and ſinful luſt, are of this nature; that they, which ſo far have fallen from God, ought to continue for ever after barred from acceſs unto his ſanctuary, condemned to perpetual profuſion of tears, deprived of all expectation and hope to receive any thing at the Church's hands, but publication of their ſhame. *For* (ſaith he) *who will fear to waſte out that, which he hopeth he may recover? Who will be careful for ever to hold that, which he knoweth cannot for ever be withheld from him? He which ſlackeneth the bridle to ſin, doth thereby give it even the ſpur alſo* [a]. Take away fear, and that which preſently ſucceedeth inſtead thereof is licentious deſire. Greater offences therefore are puniſhable, but not pardonable by the Church. If any Prophet or Apoſtle be found to have remitted ſuch tranſgreſſions, they did it not by the ordinary courſe of diſcipline, but by extraordinary power. For they all raiſed the dead, which none but God is able to do; they reſtored the impotent and lame man, a work peculiar to Jeſus Chriſt; yea, that which Chriſt would not do, becauſe executions of ſuch ſeverity beſeemed not him who came to ſave and redeem the world by his ſufferings, they by their power ſtruck Elymas and Ananias, the one blind, and the other dead. Approve firſt yourſelves to be, as they were, Apoſtles or Prophets, and then take upon you to pardon all men. But, if the authority you have be only miniſterial and no way ſovereign, over-reach not the limits which God hath ſet you; know that to pardon capital ſin is beyond your commiſſion.

Tertul. de Pudicitia, cap. ix. pag. 561. D. ed. Par.

Howbeit, as oftentimes the vices of wicked men do cauſe other their commendable qualities to be

[a] Securitas delicti, etiam libido eſt ejus.

abhorred,

abhorred, ſo the honour of great men's virtues is eaſily a cloke of their errors. In which reſpect, Tertullian hath paſſed with much leſs obloquy and reprehenſion than Novatian; who, broaching afterwards the ſame opinion, had not otherwiſe wherewith to countervail the offence he gave, and to procure it the like toleration. Novatian, at the firſt a Stoical philoſopher, (which kind of men hath always accounted ſtupidity the higheſt top of wiſdom, and commiſeration the deadlieſt ſin,) became by inſtitution and ſtudy the very ſame which the other had been before through a ſecret natural diſtemper, upon his converſion to the Chriſtian faith and recovery from ſickneſs, which moved him to receive the ſacrament of Baptiſm in his bed. The Biſhops, contrary to the canons of the Church, would needs, in ſpecial love towards him, ordain him Preſbyter, which favour ſatisfied not him who thought himſelf worthy of greater place and dignity. He cloſed therefore with a number of well-minded men, and not ſuſpicious what his ſecret purpoſes were, and having made them ſure unto him by fraud, procureth his own conſecration to be their biſhop. His prelacy now was able, as he thought, to countenance what he intended to publiſh, and therefore his letters went preſently abroad to ſundry Churches, adviſing them never to admit to the fellowſhip of holy myſteries, ſuch as had after Baptiſm offered ſacrifice to idols.

Concil. Neocæſar. c. 12.

There was preſent at the Council of Nice, together with other Biſhops, one Aceſius a Novatianiſt, touching whoſe diverſity in opinion from the Church the Emperor deſirous to hear ſome reaſon, aſked of him certain queſtions; for anſwer whereunto, Aceſius weaveth out a long hiſtory of things that happened in the perſecution under Decius, and of men, which, to ſave life, forſook faith. But in the end was a certain bitter canon, framed in their own ſchool. *That men which fall into deadly ſin after holy Baptiſm, ought*

Socrat. lib. iv. c. 23. Concil. Nicen. c. 29. Socrat. lib. i. c. 7.

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ought never to be again admitted to the communion of divine myſteries: that they are to be exhorted unto repentance; howbeit not to be put in hope that pardon can be had at the prieſt's hands, but with God, which hath ſovereign power and authority in himſelf to remit ſin, it may be in the end they ſhall find mercy. Theſe followers of Novatian, which gave themſelves the title of καθαροὶ, clean, pure, and unſpotted men, had one point of Montaniſm more than their maſter did profeſs; for amongſt ſins unpardonable they reckoned ſecond marriages, of which opinion Tertullian making (as his uſual manner was) a ſalt apology, *Such is* (ſaith he) *our ſtony hardneſs, that defaming our Comforter with a kind of enormity in diſcipline, we dam up the doors of the Church, no leſs againſt twice-married men, than againſt adulterers and fornicators.* Of this ſort therefore it was ordained by the Nicene Synod, that if any ſuch did return to the catholic and apoſtolic unity, they ſhould in writing bind themſelves to obſerve the orders of the Church, and communicate as well with them which had been often married or had fallen in time of perſecution, as with other ſort of Chriſtian people. But further to relate, or at all to refel the error of miſbelieving men concerning this point, is not now to our preſent purpoſe greatly neceſſary.

De Pudicitia, cap. ii. pag. 556. ed. Par.

The Church may receive no ſmall detriment by corrupt practice, even there where doctrine concerning the ſubſtance of things practiſed is free from any great or dangerous corruption. If therefore that which the Papacy doth in matter of confeſſions and abſolution be offenſive, if it palpably [a] ſerve in the uſe of the Keys, howſoever that which it teacheth in general concerning the Church's power to retain and forgive ſins be admitted true, have they not on the one ſide as much whereat to be abaſhed, as on the other wherein to rejoice?

They bind all men upon pain of everlaſting con-

[a] Swerve.—Ita legit Cl. P.

demnation

demnation and death to make confeſſions to their ghoſtly Fathers of every great offence they know, and can remember, that they have committed againſt God. Hath Chriſt in his Goſpel ſo delivered the doctrine of repentance unto the world? Did his Apoſtles ſo preach it to nations? Have the Fathers ſo believed or ſo taught? Surely Novatian was not ſo mercileſs in depriving the Church of power to abſolve ſome certain offenders, as they in impoſing upon all a neceſſity thus to confeſs. Novatian would not deny but God might remit that which the Church could not, whereas in the Papacy it is maintained, that what we conceal from men, God himſelf ſhould never pardon. By which overſight, as they have here ſurcharged the world with multitude, but much abated the weight of confeſſions, ſo the careleſs manner of their abſolution hath made diſcipline, for the moſt part, amongſt them a bare formality; yea, rather a means of emboldening unto vicious and wicked life, than either any help to prevent future, or medicine to remedy preſent evils in the ſoul of man. The Fathers were ſlow and always fearful to abſolve any before very manifeſt tokens given of a true penitent, and contrite ſpirit. It was not their cuſtom to remit ſin firſt, and then to impoſe works of ſatisfaction, as the faſhion of Rome is now; inſomuch that this their prepoſterous courſe, and miſordered practices hath bred alſo in them an error concerning the end and purpoſe of theſe works. For againſt the guiltineſs of ſin, and the danger of everlaſting condemnation thereby incurred, confeſſion and abſolution ſucceeding the ſame, are, as they take it, a remedy ſufficient; and therefore what their penitentiaries do think good to enjoin farther, whether it be a number of Ave-Maries daily to be ſcored up, a journey of pilgrimage to be undertaken, ſome few diſhes of ordinary diet to be exchanged, offerings to be made at the ſhrines of Saints, or a little to be ſcraped off from

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from men's ſuperfluities for relief of poor people, all is in lieu or exchange with God, whoſe juſtice, notwithſtanding our pardon, yet oweth us ſtill ſome temporal puniſhment, either in this or in the life to come, except we quit it ourſelves here with works of the former kind, and continued till the balance of God's moſt ſtrict ſeverity ſhall find the pains we have taken equivalent with the plagues which we ſhould endure, or elſe the mercy of the Pope relieve us. And at this poſtern-gate cometh in the whole mart of Papal indulgences ſo infinitely ſtrewed, that the pardon of ſin, which heretofore was obtained hardly and by much ſuit, is with them become now almoſt impoſſible to be eſcaped.

To ſet down then the force of this ſentence in abſolving penitents; [a] there are in ſin theſe three things; the act which paſſeth away and vaniſheth: the pollution wherewith it leaveth the ſoul defiled: and the puniſhment whereunto they are made ſubject that have committed it. The act of ſin is every deed, word, and thought againſt the Law of God; *for ſin is the tranſgreſſion of the Law:* and although the deed itſelf do not continue, yet is that bad quality permanent, whereby it maketh the ſoul unrighteous and deformed in God's ſight. *From the heart come evil cogitations, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, falſe teſtimonies, ſlanders; theſe are things which defile a man.* They do not only, as effects of impurity, argue the neſt to be unclean out of which they came, but as cauſes they ſtrengthen that diſpoſition unto wickedneſs which brought them forth; they are both fruits and ſeeds of uncleanneſs, they nouriſh the root out of which they grow, they breed that iniquity which bred them. The blot therefore of ſin abideth, though the act be tranſitory. And out of both ariſeth a preſent debt, to endure what puniſhment ſoever the evil which we

1 John iii. 4.

Matth. xv. 19, 20.

[a] In peccato tria ſunt; actio mala, interior macula, et ſequela. Bon. ſent. lib. iv. d. 17. q. 3.

have

have done deſerveth; an obligation, in the chains whereof ſinners, by the juſtice of Almighty God, continue bound till repentance looſe them. *Repent this thy wickedneſs*, (ſaith Peter unto Simon Magus,) *and* beſeech *God, that if it be poſſible the thought of thine heart may be pardoned; for I ſee thou art in the gall of bitterneſs, and in the bond of iniquity.* In like manner Solomon; *The wicked ſhall be held faſt in the cords of his own ſin.* BOOK VI. Acts viii. 22, 23. Prov. v. 22.

Nor doth God only bind ſinners hand and foot by the dreadful determination of his own unſearchable judgment againſt them; but ſometimes alſo the [a] Church bindeth by the cenſures of her diſcipline. So that when offenders upon their repentance are by the ſame diſcipline abſolved, the Church looſeth but her own bonds, the chains wherein ſhe had tied them before.

The act of ſin God alone remitteth, in that his purpoſe is never to call it to account, *or to lay it unto men's charge; the ſtain he waſheth out by the ſanctifying grace of his Spirit*; and concerning the puniſhment of ſin, as none elſe hath power to caſt body and ſoul into hell fire, ſo none have power to deliver either beſides him. Acts vii. 60. Mic. vii. 19. 1 Cor. vi. 11. Tit. iii. 5. Luke xii. 5. Matt. x. 28.

As for the miniſterial ſentence of private abſolution, it can be no more than a declaration what God hath done; it hath but the force of the prophet Nathan's abſolution, *God hath taken away thy ſin*: than which conſtruction, eſpecially of words judicial, there is not any thing more vulgar. For example, the Publicans are ſaid in the Goſpel to have juſtified God; the Jews in Malachi to have bleſſed proud men, which ſin and proſper; not that the one did make God righteous, or the other the wicked happy; 2 Sam. xii. 13. Luke vii. 16. Mal. iii. 15.

[a] Sacerdotes opus Juſtitiæ exercent in peccatores cum eos juſta pœna ligant; opus miſericordiæ cum de ea aliquod relaxant, vel Sacramentorum communioni conciliant; alia ôpera in peccatores exercere nequeunt. Sent. lib. iv. diſ. 18.

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but to bleſs, to juſtify, and to abſolve, are as commonly uſed for words of judgment, or declaration, as of true and real efficacy; yea even by the opinion of the Maſter of Sentences. It may be ſoundly affirmed and thought that God alone doth remit and retain ſins, although he have given power to the Church to do both; but he one way, and the Church another. He only by himſelf forgiveth ſin, who cleanſeth the ſoul from inward blemiſh, and looſeth the debt of eternal death. So great a privilege he hath not given unto his prieſts, who notwithſtanding are authorized to looſe and bind, that is to ſay, declare who are bound, and who are looſed. For albeit a man be already cleared before God, yet he is not in the Church of God ſo taken, but by the virtue of the prieſt's ſentence; who likewiſe may be ſaid to bind by impoſing ſatisfaction, and to looſe by admitting to the holy communion.

Sent. l. iv. diſt. 18.

Saint Hierom alſo, whom the Maſter of the Sentences allegeth for more countenance of his own opinion, doth no leſs plainly and directly affirm; *That as the prieſts of the Law could only diſcern, and neither cauſe nor remove leproſies; ſo the miniſters of the Goſpel, when they retain or remit ſin, do but in the one judge how long we continue guilty, and in the other declare when we are clear or free.* For there is nothing more apparent, than that the diſcipline of repentance, both public and private, was ordained as an outward mean to bring men to the virtue of inward converſion: ſo that when this by manifeſt tokens did ſeem effected, abſolution enſuing (which could not make) ſerved only to declare men innocent.

Hier. Comment. in 16. Matt. tom. iv. pag. 75. ed. Par.

But the cauſe wherefore they are ſo ſtiff, and have forſaken their own maſter in this point, is, for that they hold the private diſcipline of penitency to be a Sacrament; abſolution an external ſign in this Sacrament; the ſigns external of all Sacraments in the New Teſtament, to be both cauſes of that which they ſignify, and ſigns of that which they truly cauſe.

To

To this opinion concerning Sacraments they are now tied, by expounding a canon in the Florentine Council according to the former eccleſiaſtical invention received from Thomas. For his deceit it was, that the mercy of God, which uſeth Sacraments as inſtruments whereby to work, endueth them at the time of their adminiſtration with ſupernatural force and ability to induce grace into the ſouls of men; even as the axe and ſaw doth ſeem to bring timber into that faſhion which the mind of the artificer intendeth. His conceit, Scotus, Occam, Petrus Alliacenſis, with ſundry others, do moſt earneſtly and ſtrongly impugn, ſhewing very good reaſon wherefore no Sacrament of the new law can either by virtue which itſelf hath, or by force ſupernatural given it, be properly a cauſe to work grace; but Sacraments are therefore ſaid to work or confer grace, becauſe the will of Almighty God is, although not to give them ſuch efficacy, yet himſelf to be preſent in the miniſtry of the working that effect, which proceedeth wholly from him, without any real operation of theirs, ſuch as can enter into men's ſouls.

Scot. Sent. lib. iv. Solut. ad 4. Quæſt. et quintam. Occam. in 1. qu. quant. Alliac. Queſt. 1. in 4. ſent.

In which conſtruction, ſeeing that our books and writings have made it known to the world how we join with them, it ſeemeth very hard and injurious dealing, that Bellarmine throughout the whole courſe of his ſecond book [a] *De Sacramentis in genere*, ſhould

[a] Lutherani de hac re interdum ita ſcribunt, ut videantur a Catholicis non diſſentire; interdum autem apertiſſime ſcribunt contraria: ſemper tamen in eadem ſententia manent, quæ eſt, Sacramenta non habere immediate illam efficientiam reſpectu gratiæ, ſed eſſe nuda ſigna, tamen mediate aliquid efficere quatenus excitant vel alunt fidem,—quod ipſum non faciunt niſi repræſentando, ut Sacramenta per viſum excitent fidem, quemadmodum prædicatio verbi per auditum. Bellarm. de Sacr. in genere, lib. ii. c. 2. pag. 146. tom. iii. ed. Ingolſtad.

Quædam ſigna ſunt theorica, non ad alium finem inſtituta, quam ad ſignificandum; alia ad ſignificandum et efficiendum aliquid, quæ ob id practica dici poſſunt.—Controverſia eſt inter nos et hæreticos, quod illi faciunt Sacramenta ſigna prioris generis.—

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ſo boldly face down his adverſaries, as if their opinion were, that Sacraments are naked, empty, and ineffectual ſigns; wherein there is no other force than only ſuch, as in pictures to ſtir up the mind, that ſo by theory and ſpeculation of things repreſented, faith may grow: finally, that all the operations which Sacraments have, is a ſenſible and divine inſtruction. But had it pleaſed him not to hoodwink his own knowledge, I nothing doubt but he fully ſaw how to anſwer himſelf; it being a matter very ſtrange and incredible, that one which with ſo great diligence hath winnowed [a] his adverſaries' writings, ſhould be ignorant of their minds. For, even as in the perſon of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, both God and man, when his human nature is by itſelf conſidered, we may not attribute that unto him, which we do and muſt aſcribe as oft as reſpect is had unto both natures combined; ſo becauſe in Sacraments there are two things diſtinctly to be conſidered, the outward ſign, and the ſecret concurrence of God's moſt bleſſed Spirit, in which reſpect our Saviour hath taught that water and the Holy Ghoſt are combined to work the myſtery of new birth; Sacraments therefore, as ſigns, have only thoſe effects before mentioned; but of Sacraments, in that by God's own will and ordinance they are ſigns aſſiſted always with the power of the Holy Ghoſt, we acknowledge whatſoever either the places of the Scripture, or the authority of Councils and Fathers, or the proofs and arguments of reaſon which he allegeth, can ſhew to be brought by them. The elements and words have power of infallible ſigni-

Quare ſi oſtendere poterimus Sacramenta eſſe ſigna poſterioris generis, obtinuimus cauſam. Cap. 8. pag 165. ibid.

[a] Semper memoria repetendum eſt Sacramenta nihil aliud quam inſtrumentales eſſe conferendæ nobis gratiæ cauſas. Calv. in Ant. con. Frib. ſect. 7. c. 5. Si qui ſint qui negent Sacramentis contineri gratiam quam figurant, illos improbamus. Ibid. can. 6.

fications,

fications, for which they are called ſeals of God's truth; the Spirit affixed unto thoſe elements and words, power of operation within the ſoul, moſt admirable, divine, and impoſſible to be expreſſed. For ſo God hath inſtituted and ordained that, together with due adminiſtration and receipt of ſacramental ſigns, there ſhall proceed from himſelf grace effectual to ſanctify, to cure, to comfort, and whatſoever elſe is for the good of the ſouls of men. Howbeit this opinion [a] Thomas rejecteth, under pretence that it maketh ſacramental words and elements to be in themſelves no more than ſigns, whereas they ought to be held as cauſes of that they ſignify. He therefore reformeth it with this addition, that the very ſenſible parts of the Sacraments do inſtrumentally effect and produce, not grace, (for the Schoolmen both of theſe times and long after did, for the moſt part, maintain it untrue, and ſome of them unpoſſible, that ſanctifying grace ſhould efficiently proceed but from God alone, and that by immediate creation, as the ſubſtance of the ſoul doth); but the phantaſy which Thomas had was, that ſenſible things, through Chriſt's and the prieſt's benediction, receive a certain ſupernatural tranſitory force, which leaveth behind

[a] Iſte modus non tranſcendit rationem ſigni, cum Sacramenta novæ legis non ſolum ſignificent, ſed cauſent gratiam. Part. iii. q. 62. Act. i. Alexand. part. iv. q. 8. memb. 3. act. v. ſec. 1. et 2. Th. de verit. q. 27. act. iii. Alliac. in quart. ſent. ix. 1. Capr. in 4. d. 1. q. 1. Palud. Tom. Ferrar. lib. iv. cont. Gent. c. 57. Neceſſe eſt ponere aliquam virtutem ſupernaturalem in Sacramentis. Sent. iv. d. 1, q. 1. act. iv. Sacramentum conſequitur ſpiritualem virtutem cum benedictione Chriſti, et applicatione Miniſtri ad uſum Sacramenti. Part. iii. q. 62. art. iv. Concil. Victus Sacramentalis habet eſſe tranſiens ex uno in aliud et incompletum. Ibidem. Ex Sacramentis duo conſequuntur in anima, unum eſt character, ſive aliquis ornatus; aliud, eſt gratia. Reſpectu primo, Sacramenta ſunt cauſæ aliquo modo efficientes; reſpectu ſecundo, ſunt diſponentes. Sacramenta cauſant diſpoſitionem ad formam ultimam, ſed ultimam perfectionem non inducunt. Sent. iv. d. 1. q. 1. art. iv.

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it a kind of preparative quality or beauty within the ſoul, whereupon immediately from God doth enſue the grace that juſtifieth.

Now they which pretend to follow Thomas, differ from him in two points. For firſt, they make grace an immediate effect of the outward ſign, which he for the dignity and excellency thereof was afraid to do. Secondly, whereas he, to produce but a preparative quality in the ſoul, did imagine God to create in the inſtrument a ſupernatural gift or hability; they confeſs, that nothing is created, infuſed, or any way inherent either in the Word or in the elements; nothing that giveth them inſtrumental efficacy, but God's mere motion or application [a]. Are they able to explain unto us, or themſelves to conceive, what they mean when they thus ſpeak? For example, let them teach us, in the Sacrament of Baptiſm, what it is for water to be moved till it bring forth grace. The application thereof by the miniſter is plain to ſenſe; the force which it hath in the mind, as a moral inſtrument of information or inſtruction, we know by reaſon; and by faith, we underſtand how God doth aſſiſt it with his Spirit: whereupon enſueth the grace which St. Cyprian did in himſelf obſerve, ſaying, *After the bath of regeneration having ſcoured out the ſtained foulneſs of former life, ſupernctural light had entrance into the breaſt which was purified and cleanſed for it; after that a ſecond nativity had made another man, by inward receipt of the Spirit from heaven; things doubtful began in marvellous manner to appear certain, that to be open which lay hid, darkneſs to ſhine like a clear light, former hardneſs to be made facility, impoſſibility eaſineſs; inſomuch as it might be diſcerned how that was earthly, which before had been carnally bred and lived,*

Cypr. Lib. ad Donatum, pag. 3. Tract. ed. Oxon.

[a] Solus Deus efficit gratiam adeo quod nec Angelis, qui ſunt nobiliores ſenſibilibus creaturis, hoc communicetur. Sent. iv. d. 1. q. 1. art. iv.

given

given over unto ſins; that now God's own which the Holy Ghoſt did quicken. BOOK VI.

Our opinion is therefore plain unto every man's underſtanding. We take it for a very good ſpeech which Bonaventure hath uttered in ſaying; [a] *Heed muſt be taken, that while we aſſign too much to the bodily ſigns in way of their commendation, we withdraw not the honour which is due to the Cauſe which worketh in them, and the ſoul which receiveth them. Whereunto we conformably teach, that the outward ſign applied, hath of itſelf no natural efficacy towards grace, neither doth God put into it any ſupernatural inherent virtue.* And, as I think, we thus far avouch no more than they themſelves confeſs to be very true.

If any thing diſpleaſe them, it is becauſe we add to theſe promiſes another aſſertion; that, with the outward ſign, God joineth his Holy Spirit, and ſo the whole inſtrument of God bringeth that to paſs, whereunto the baſer and meaner part could not extend. As for operations through the motion of ſigns, they are dark, intricate, and obſcure; perhaps poſſible, howbeit, not proved either true or likely, by alleging, that the touch of our Saviour's garment reſtored health, clay ſight, when he applied it. Although ten thouſand ſuch examples ſhould be brought, they overthrow not this one principle; that, where the inſtrument is without inherent, the effect muſt neceſſarily proceed from the only agent's adherent power. Luke xviii. John ix.

It paſſeth a man's conceit how water ſhould be carried into the ſoul with any force of divine motion, or grace proceed but merely from the influence of God's Spirit. Notwithſtanding, if God himſelf teach his Church in this caſe to believe that which he hath not given us capacity to comprehend, how incredible ſoever it may ſeem, yet our wits ſhould Bel. de Sacrament. in gen. lib. ii. c. 1.

[a] Cavendum enim ne dum nimis damus corporalibus ſignis ad laudem, ſubtrahamus honorem Cauſæ curanti et animæ ſuſcipienti.

ſubmit

BOOK VI. ſubmit themſelves, and reaſon give place unto faith therein. But they yield it to be no queſtion of faith, how grace doth proceed from Sacraments; if in general they be acknowledged true inſtrumental cauſes, by the miniſtry whereof men receive divine grace. And that they which impute grace to the only operation of God himſelf, concurring with the external ſign, do no leſs acknowledge the true efficacy of the Sacrament, than they that aſcribe the ſame to the quality of the ſign applied, or to the motion of God applying, and ſo far carrying it, till grace be not created, but extracted out of the natural poſſibility of the ſoul[a]. Nevertheleſs, this laſt philoſophical imagination, (if I may call it philoſophical, which uſeth the terms but overthroweth the rules of philoſophy, and hath no article of faith to ſupport it,) but whatſoever it be, they follow it in a manner all; they caſt off the firſt opinion, wherein is moſt perſpicuity, and ſtrongeſt evidence of certain truth.

The Council of Florence and Trent defining, that Sacraments contain and confer grace, the ſenſe whereof (if it liked them) might ſo eaſily conform itſelf with the ſame opinion which they drew without any juſt cauſe quite and clean the other way, making grace the iſſue of bare words, in ſuch Sacraments as they have framed deſtitute of any viſible element, and holding it the offspring as well of elements as of words in thoſe Sacraments where both are; but in no Sacrament acknowledging grace to be the fruit of the Holy Ghoſt working with the outward ſign, and not by it, in ſuch ſort as Thomas himſelf teacheth; that the Apoſtles' impoſition of hands cauſed not the coming of the Holy Ghoſt, which notwith-

Tho. de Verit. q. 27. art. iii. reſp. ad 16. Acts viii. 18.

[a] Dicimus gratiam non creari a Deo, ſed produci ex aptitudine et potentia naturali animæ, ſicut cætera omnia quæ producuntur in ſubjectis talibus quæ ſunt apta nata ad ſuſcipiendum accidentia. Allen. de Sacram. in gen. c. 37.

ſtanding

ſtanding was beſtowed together with the exerciſe of that ceremony; yea, by it, (ſaith the Evangeliſt,) to wit, as by a mean, which came between the true agent and the effect, but not otherwiſe.

Many of the ancient Fathers preſuppoſing that the faithful before Chriſt had not, till the time of his coming, that perfect life and ſalvation which they looked for and we poſſeſs, thought likewiſe their Sacraments to be but prefigurations of that which ours in preſent do exhibit. For which cauſe the Florentine Council, comparing the one with the other, ſaith, *That the old did only ſhadow grace, which was afterward to be given through the paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt.* But the after-wit of latter days hath found out another more exquiſite diſtinction, that evangelical Sacraments are cauſes to effect grace, through motions of ſigns legal, according to the ſame ſignification and ſenſe wherein evangelical Sacraments are held by us to be God's inſtruments for that purpoſe. For howſoever Bellarmine hath ſhrunk up the Lutherans' ſinews, and cut off our doctrine by the ſkirts; Allen [a], although he terms us heretics, ac-

[a] Quod ad circumciſionem ſequebatur remiſſio, fiebat ratione rei adjunctæ et ratione pacti divini, eodem plane modo quo non ſolum hæretici, ſed etiam aliquot vetuſtiores Scholaſtici voluerunt nova Sacramenta conferre gratiam. Allen. de Sacr. in gen. c. 39. Bonaventura, Scotus, Durandus, Ricardus, Occamus, Marſilius, Gabriel,—volunt ſolum Deum producere gratiam et præſentiam Sacramentorum. Bellarm. de Sacr. in gen. lib. ii. c. 11. Puto longe probabiliorem et tutiorem ſententiam quæ dat Sacramentis veram efficientiam. Primo quia patres paſſim docent, Sacramenta non agere niſi prius a Deo virtutem ſeu benedictionem ſeu ſanctificationem accipiant, et referunt effectum Sacramenti ad omnipotentiam Dei, et conferunt cum veris cauſis efficientibus. Secundo, quia non eſſet differentia inter modum agendi Sacramentorum, et ſignorum magicorum. Tertio, quia tunc non eſſet homo Dei miniſter in ipſa actione Sacramentali, ſed homo præberet ſignum actione ſua, et Deus actione alia, viſo eo ſigno, infunderet gratiam, ut cum unus oſtendit ſyngraphan Mercatori, et ille dat pecunias. At Scripturæ docent, quod Deus baptizat per hominem. Bellarm. lib. ii. cap. 11. tom. iii. pag. 180. ed. Ingolſtad.

cording

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cording to the usual bitter venom of his first style, doth yet ingenuously confess, that the old Schoolmen's doctrine and ours is one concerning sacramental efficacy, derived from God himself, assisting by promise those outward signs of elements and words, out of which their Schoolmen of the newer mint are so desirous to hatch grace. Where God doth work and use these outward means, wherein he neither findeth nor planteth force and aptness towards his intended purpose; such means are but signs to bring men to the consideration of his omnipotent power, which, without the use of things sensible, would not be marked.

At the time therefore when he giveth his heavenly grace, he applieth, by the hands of his ministers, that which betokeneth the same; not only betokeneth, but, being also accompanied for ever with such power as doth truly work, is in that respect termed God's instrument, a true efficient cause of grace; a cause not in itself, but only by connection of that which is in itself a cause, namely, God's own strength and power. Sacraments, that is to say, the outward signs in Sacraments, work nothing till they be blessed and sanctified by God.

But what is God's heavenly benediction and sanctification, saving only the association of his Spirit? Shall we say that Sacraments are like magical signs, if thus they have their effect? Is it magic for God to manifest by things sensible what he doth, and to do by his most glorious Spirit really what he manifesteth in his Sacraments? The delivery and administration whereof remaineth in the hands of mortal men, by whom, as by personal instruments, God doth apply signs, and with signs inseparably join his Spirit, and through the power of his Spirit work grace. The first is by way of concomitance and consequence to deliver the rest also that either accompany or ensue.

It is not here, as in cases of mutual commerce, where

where divers perſons have divers acts to be performed in their own behalf; a creditor to ſhew his bill, and a debtor to pay his money. But God and man do here meet in one action upon a third, in whom, as it is the work of God to create grace, ſo it is his work by the hand of the miniſtry to apply a ſign which ſhould betoken, and his work to annex that Spirit which ſhall effect it. The action therefore is but one, God the author thereof, and man a co-partner, by him aſſigned to work for, with, and under him. God the giver of grace by the outward miniſtry of man, ſo far forth as he authorizeth man to apply the Sacraments of grace in the ſoul, which he alone worketh, without either inſtrument or co-agent.

Whereas therefore with us the remiſſion of ſin is aſcribed unto God, as a thing which proceedeth from him only, and preſently followeth upon the virtue of true repentance appearing in man; that which we attribute to the virtue, they do, not only, impute to the Sacrament of repentance, but, having made repentance a Sacrament, and thinking of Sacraments as they do, they are enforced to make the miniſtry of the prieſts and their abſolution a cauſe of that which the ſole omnipotency of God worketh.

And yet, for my own part, I am not able well to conceive how their doctrine, that human abſolution is really a cauſe out of which our deliverance from ſin doth enſue, can cleave with the Council of Trent, defining, *That contrition perfected with charity doth at all times itſelf reconcile offenders to God, before they come to receive actually the Sacrament of penance.* How can it ſtand with thoſe diſcourſes of the learned Rabbies which grant, *That whoſoever turneth unto God with his whole heart, hath immediately his ſins taken away*; *That if a man be truly converted, his pardon can neither be denied nor delayed?* it doth not ſtay for the prieſt's abſolution, but preſently followeth; *Surely if every contrite ſinner, in whom there is*

Conc. Trid. Seſſ. xiv. c. 4. pag. 817. D. tom. xv. Con. ed. Par.

Bellarm. de Pœnit. lib. ii. c. 13.

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is charity, and a ſincere converſion of heart, have remiſſion of ſins given him before he ſeek it at the prieſt's hands; if reconciliation to God be a preſent and immediate ſequel upon every ſuch converſion or change; it muſt of neceſſity follow, ſeeing no man can be a true penitent or contrite which doth not both love God and ſincerely abhor ſin, that therefore they all before abſolution attain forgiveneſs; whereunto notwithſtanding abſolution is pretended a cauſe ſo neceſſary, that ſin without it, except in ſome rare extraordinary caſe, cannot poſſibly be remitted. Shall abſolution be a cauſe producing and working that effect which is always brought forth without it, and had, before abſolution be thought of? But when they which are thus beforehand pardoned of God ſhall come to be alſo aſſoiled by the prieſt, I would know what force his abſolution hath in this caſe? Are they able to ſay here, that the prieſt doth remit any thing? Yet, when any of ours aſcribeth the work of remiſſion to God, and interpreteth the prieſt's ſentence to be but a ſolemn declaration of that which God himſelf hath already performed, they ſcorn at it; they urge againſt it, that if this were true, our Saviour Chriſt ſhould rather have ſaid, *What is looſed in heaven, ye ſhall looſe on earth*, than as he doth, *Whatſoever ye looſe on earth, ſhall in heaven be looſed.* As if he were to learn of us how to place his words, and not we to crave rather of him a ſound and right underſtanding, leſt to his diſhonour and our own hurt we miſexpound them. It ſufficeth, I think, both againſt their conſtructions to have proved that they ground an untruth on his ſpeech, and in behalf of our own, that his words without any ſuch tranſpoſition do very well admit the ſenſe we give them; which is, that he taketh to himſelf the lawful proceedings of authority in his name, and that the act of ſpiritual authority in this caſe, is by ſentence to acquit or pronounce them free from ſin whom they judge to be ſincerely and truly penitent; which interpretation

terpretation they themſelves do acknowledge, though not ſufficient, yet very true [a]. [BOOK VI.

Abſolution, they ſay, declareth indeed, but this is not all, for it likewiſe maketh innocent; which addition being an untruth proved, our truth granted hath, I hope, ſufficiency without it, and conſequently our opinion therein neither to be challenged as untrue, nor as unſufficient.

To rid themſelves out of theſe briers, and to make remiſſion of ſins an effect of abſolution, notwithſtanding that which hitherto hath been ſaid, they have two ſhifts. As firſt, that in many penitents there is but attrition of heart, which [b] attrition they define to be grief proceeding from fear without love; and to theſe, they ſay, abſolution doth give that contrition whereby men are really purged from ſin. [c] Secondly, that even where contrition or inward repentance doth cleanſe without abſolution; the reaſon why it cometh ſo to paſs is, becauſe ſuch contrites intend and deſire abſolution, though they have it not. Which two things granted; the one, that abſolution given maketh them contrite that are not; the other, even in them which are contrite, the cauſe why God remitteth ſin is the purpoſe or deſire they have to receive abſolution [d]; we are not to ſtand againſt a ſequel ſo clear

[a] Hæc expoſitio, Ego te abſolvo, id eſt, Abſolutum oſtendo, partim quidem vera eſt, non tamen perfecta. Sacramenta quippe novæ legis non ſolum ſignificant, ſed efficiunt quod ſignificant. Soto, ſent. lib. iv. diſt. 14. q. 1. art. iii.

[b] Attritio ſolum dicit dolorem propter pœnas inferni; dum quis accedit attritus, per gratiam ſacramentalem fit contritus. Soto, ſent. iv. diſt. 14. q. 1. art. i.

[c] Dum accedit vere contritus propter Deum, illa etiam contritio non eſt contritio, niſi quatenus prius natura informetur gratia per Sacramentum in voto. Soto, ſent. iv. diſt. 14. q. 1. art. i.

[d] Legitima contritio votum Sacramenti pro ſuo tempore debet inducere, atque adeo in virtute futuri Sacramenti peccata remittit. Idem. art. iii.

and

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and manifeſt as this, that always remiſſion of ſin proceedeth from abſolution either had or deſired.

But ſhould a reaſonable man give credit to their bare conceit, and becauſe their poſitions have driven them to imagine abſolving of unſufficiently diſpoſed penitents to be a real creating of further virtue in them, muſt all other men think it due? Let them cancel henceforward and blot out of all their books thoſe old cautions touching neceſſity of wiſdom [a], leſt prieſts ſhould inconſiderately abſolve any man in whom there were not apparent tokens of true repentance; which to do, was, in Saint Cyprian's judgment, [b] *Peſtilent deceit and flattery, not only not avoidable, but hurtful to them that had tranſgreſſed: a frivolous, fruſtrate, and falſe peace, ſuch as cauſed the unrighteous to truſt to a lie, and deſtroyed them unto whom it promiſed ſafety.* What needeth obſervation whether penitents have worthineſs and bring contrition, if the words of abſolution do infuſe contrition? Have they borne us all this while in hand that contrition is a part of the matter of their Sacraments; a condition or preparation of the mind towards grace to be received by abſolution in the form of their Sacraments? And muſt we now believe, that the form doth give the matter? that abſolution beſtoweth contrition, and that the words do make preſently of Saul, David; of Judas, Peter? For what was the penitency of Saul and Judas, but plain attrition; horror of ſin through fear of puniſhment, without any long ſenſe, or taſte of God's mercy?

Cypr. de Lapſis, pag. 137. Tract. ed. Oxon.

Their other fiction, imputing remiſſion of ſin to

[a] Tunc ſententia Sacerdotis judicio Dei et totiųs cœleſtis Curiæ approbatur, et confirmatur, cum ita ex diſcretione procedit, ut reorum merita non contradicant. Sent. lib. iv. d. 18.

[b] Non eſt periculoſum Sacerdoti dicere, Ego te abſolvo, illis in quibus ſigna contritionis videt, quæ ſunt dolor de præteritis, et propoſitum de cætero non peccandi; alios abſolvere non debet. Tho. Opuſc. 22.

deſire

deſire of abſolution from the prieſt, even in them which are truly contrite, is an evaſion ſomewhat more witty, but no whit more poſſible for them to prove. Belief of the world and judgment to come, faith in the promiſes and ſufferings of Chriſt for mankind, fear of his majeſty, love of his mercy, grief for ſin, hope for pardon, ſuit for grace—theſe we know to be elements of true contrition: ſuppoſe that beſides all this God did alſo command that every penitent ſhould ſeek his abſolution at the prieſt's hands; where ſo many cauſes are concurring unto one effect, have they any reaſon to impute the whole effect unto one? any reaſon, in the choice of that one, to paſs by faith, fear, love, humility, hope, prayer, whatſoever elſe, and to enthronize above them all a deſire of abſolution from the prieſt, as if, in the whole work of man's repentance, God did regard and accept nothing, but for and in conſideration of this? Why do the Tridentine Council impute it to charity, *That contrites are reconciled in God's ſight before they receive the Sacrament of penance*, if deſired abſolution be the true cauſe?

But let this paſs how it will; ſeeing the queſtion is not, what virtue God may accept in penitent ſinners, but what grace abſolution actually given doth really beſtow upon them.

If it were, as they would have it, that God regarding the humiliation of a contrite ſpirit, becauſe there is joined therewith a lowly deſire of the Sacrament of prieſtly abſolution, pardoneth immediately and forgiveth all offences; doth this any thing help to prove that abſolution received afterward from the prieſt can more than declare him already pardoned which did deſire it? To deſire abſolution, preſuppoſing it commanded, is obedience; and obedience in that caſe is a branch of the virtue of repentance, which virtue being thereby made effectual to the taking away of ſins without the Sacrament of repentance, is it not an argument that the

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Sacrament of abſolution hath here no efficacy, but the virtue of contrition worketh all? For how ſhould any effect enſue from cauſes which actually are not? The Sacrament muſt be applied whereſoever any grace doth proceed from it. So that where it is but deſired only, whatſoever may follow upon God's acceptation of this deſire, the Sacrament, afterwards received, can be no cauſe thereof. Therefore the further we wade, the better we ſee it ſtill appears, that the prieſt doth never in abſolution, no not ſo much as by way of ſervice and miniſtry, really either forgive them, take away the uncleanneſs, or remove the puniſhment of ſin; but if the party penitent become contrite, he hath, by their own grant, abſolution before abſolution; if not contrite, although the prieſt ſhould ſeem a thouſand times to abſolve him, all were in vain. For which cauſe the ancients and better ſort of their School-divines, Abulenſis, Alexander Hales, and Bonaventure, aſcribe *the real abolition of ſin, and eternal puniſhment, to the mere pardon of Almighty God, without dependency upon the prieſt's abſolution, as a cauſe to effect the ſame*[a]: his abſolution hath in their doctrine certain other effects

[a] A reatu mortis æternæ abſolvitur homo a Deo per contritionem; manet autem reatus ad quandam pœnam temporalem, et Miniſter Eccleſiæ quicunque virtute clavium tollit reatum cujuſdam partis pœnæ illius. Abul. in defenſ. p. 1. c. 7. Signum hujus Sacramenti eſt cauſa effectiva gratiæ ſive remiſſionis peccatorum; non ſimpliciter, ſicut ipſa prima pœnitentia, ſed ſecundum quid; quia eſt cauſa efficaciæ gratiæ qua fit remiſſio peccati, quantum ad aliquem effectum in pœnitente, ad minus quantum ad remiſſionem ſequelæ ipſius peccati, ſcilicet pœnæ: Alex. p. iv. q. 14. memb. 2. Poteſtas clavium proprie loquendo non ſe extendit ſupra culpam: ad illud quod objicitur, To. 22. Quorum remiſeritis peccata; dicendum, quod vel illud de remiſſione dicitur quantum ad offenſionem, vel ſolum quantum ad pœnam: Bon. ſent. l. i. d. 18. q. i. Ab æterna pœna nullo modo ſolvit Sacerdos, ſed a purgatorio; neque hoc per ſe, ſed per accidens, quod cum in pœnitente, virtute clavium, minuitur debitum pœnæ temporalis, non ita acriter punietur in purgatorio, ſicut ſi non eſſet abſolutus. Sent. l. iv. d. 18. q. ii.

ſpecified,

ſpecified, but this denied. Wherefore having hitherto ſpoken of the virtue of repentance required; of the diſcipline of repentance which Chriſt did eſtabliſh; and of the Sacrament of repentance invented ſithence, againſt the pretended force of human abſolution in ſacramental penitency; let it ſuffice thus far to have ſhewed how God alone doth truly give, the virtue of repentance alone procure, and private miniſterial abſolution but declare, remiſſion of ſins.

Now the laſt and ſometimes hardeſt to be ſatisfied by repentance, are our minds; and our minds we have then ſatisfied, when the conſcience is of guilty become clear. For, as long as we are in ourſelves privy to our own moſt heinous crimes, but without ſenſe of God's mercy and grace towards us, unleſs the heart be either brutiſh for want of knowledge, or altogether hardened by wilful atheiſm, the remorſe of ſin is in it, as the deadly ſting of the ſerpent. Which point ſince very Infidels and Heathens have obſerved in the nature of ſin, (for the diſeaſe they felt, though they knew no remedy to help it,) we are not raſhly to deſpiſe thoſe ſentences which are the teſtimonies of their experience touching this point. They knew that the eye of a man's own conſcience is more to be feared by evil doers than the preſence of a thouſand witneſſes, inaſmuch as the mouths of other accuſers are many ways ſtopped, the ears of the accuſed not always ſubject to glowing with contumely and exprobration; whereas a guilty mind being forced to be ſtill both a martyr and a tyrant in itſelf, muſt of neceſſity endure perpetual anguiſh and grief; for, as the body is rent with ſtripes, ſo the mind with guiltineſs of cruelty, luſt, and wicked reſolutions. Which furies brought the Emperor Tiberius ſometimes into ſuch perplexity, that writing to the Senate, his wonted art of diſſimulation failed him utterly in this caſe; and whereas it had been ever his peculiar delight ſo to ſpeak that no man might be able to ſound his meaning, he

Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. cap. 6.

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had not the power to conceal what he felt through the ſecret ſcourge of an evil conſcience, though no neceſſity did now enforce him to diſcloſe the ſame. *What to write, or how to write, at this preſent, if I know,* (ſaith Tiberius,) *let the gods and goddeſſes, who thus continually eat me, only be worſe to me than they are.* It was not his imperial dignity and power that could provide a way to protect him againſt himſelf; the fears and ſuſpicions which improbity had bred, being ſtrengthened by every occaſion, and thoſe virtues clean baniſhed which are the only foundation of ſound tranquillity of mind. For which cauſe it hath been truly ſaid, and agreeably with all men's experience, that if the virtuous did excel in no other privilege, yet far happier they are than the contrary ſort of men, for that their hopes be always better.

Neither are we to marvel that theſe things, known unto all, do ſtay ſo few from being authors of their own woe.

For we ſee by the ancient example of Joſeph's unkind brethren, how it cometh to remembrance eaſily when crimes are once paſt, what the difference is of good from evil, and of right from wrong: but ſuch conſiderations, when they ſhould have prevented ſin, were over-matched by inordinate deſires. Are we not bound then with all thankfulneſs to acknowledge his infinite goodneſs and mercy, which hath revealed unto us the way how to rid ourſelves of theſe mazes; the way how to ſhake off that yoke, which no fleſh is able to bear; the way how to change moſt grifly horror into a comfortable apprehenſion of heavenly joy?

Whereunto there are many which labour with ſo much the greater difficulty, becauſe imbecility of mind doth not ſuffer them to cenſure rightly their own doings. Some fearful leſt the enormity of their crimes be ſo unpardonable that no repentance can do them good; ſome leſt the imperfection of their repentance make it uneffectual to the taking away of

of ſin. The one drive all things to this iſſue, whether they be not men that have ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt; the other to this, what repentance is ſufficient to clear ſinners, and to aſſure them that they are delivered.

Such as by error charge themſelves of unpardonable ſin muſt think, it may be they deem, that unpardonable which is not.

Our Saviour ſpeaketh indeed of blaſphemy which ſhall never be forgiven; but have they any ſure and infallible knowledge what that blaſphemy is? If not, why are they unjuſt and cruel to their own ſouls, imagining certainty of guiltineſs in a crime, concerning the very nature whereof they are uncertain? For mine own part, although, where this blaſphemy is mentioned, the cauſe why our Saviour ſpake thereof, was the Phariſees' blaſphemy, which was not afraid to ſay, *He had an unclean ſpirit, and did caſt out ſpirits by the power of Beelzebub*; nevertheleſs I dare not preciſely deny, but that even the Phariſees themſelves might have repented and been forgiven, and that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt peradventure might but take occaſion at their blaſphemy, which, as yet, was pardonable, to tell them further of an unpardonable blaſphemy, whereinto he foreſaw that the Jews would fall. For it is plain, that many thouſands, at the firſt, profeſſing the Chriſtian Religion, became afterwards wilful apoſtates, moved with no other cauſe of revolt, but mere indignation that the Gentiles ſhould enjoy the benefit of the Goſpel as much as they, and yet not be burdened with the yoke of Moſes's Law.

Matt. xii. 31. Mark iii. 29.

The Apoſtles by preaching had won them to Chriſt, in whoſe name they embraced with great alacrity the full remiſſion of their former ſins and iniquities; they received by the impoſition of the Apoſtles' hands *that grace and power of the Holy Ghoſt* whereby they cured diſeaſes, propheſied, ſpake with tongues: and yet in the end, after all this, they

Acts ii. 38.

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fell utterly away, renounced the myſteries of Chriſtian faith, blaſphemed in their formal abjurations that moſt glorious and bleſſed Spirit, the gifts whereof themſelves had poſſeſſed; and by this means ſunk their ſouls in the gulf of that unpardonable ſin, whereof as our Lord Jeſus Chriſt had told them beforehand, ſo the Apoſtle, at the firſt appearance of ſuch their revolt, putteth them in mind again, that falling now to their former blaſphemies, their
Heb. vi. 6. ſalvation was irrecoverably gone. It was for them in this caſe impoſſible to be renewed by any repentance, becauſe they were now in the ſtate of Satan and his Angels; the Judge of quick and dead had paſſed his irrevocable ſentence againſt them.

So great difference there is between infidels unconverted, and backſliders in this manner fallen away, that always we have hope to reclaim the one which only hate whom they never knew; but to the other which know and blaſpheme, to them that with more than infernal malice accurſe both the ſeen brightneſs of glory which is in him, and in themſelves the taſted goodneſs of divine grace, as thoſe execrable miſcreants did, who firſt received in extraordinary miraculous manner, and then in out-
Heb. x. 26. rageous ſort blaſphemed the Holy Ghoſt, abuſing both it and the whole Religion, which God by it did confirm and magnify; to ſuch as wilfully thus ſin, after ſo great light of the truth, and gifts of the Spirit, there remaineth juſtly no fruit or benefit to be expected by Chriſt's ſacrifice.

For all other offenders, without exception or ſtint, whether they be ſtrangers that ſeek acceſs, or followers that will make return unto God; upon the tender of their repentance, the grant of his grace ſtandeth everlaſtingly ſigned with his blood in the book of eternal life. That which in this caſe over-terrifieth fearful ſouls is a miſconceit, whereby they imagine every act which they do, knowing that they

they do amiſs, and every wilful breach or tranſgreſſion of God's Law to be mere ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, forgetting that the Law of Moſes itſelf ordained ſacrifices of expiation, as well for faults preſumptuouſly committed, as things wherein men offend by error.

Now, there are on the contrary ſide others, who, doubting not of God's mercy towards all that perfectly repent, remain notwithſtanding ſcrupulous and troubled with continual fear, leſt defects in their own repentance be a bar againſt them.

Theſe caſt themſelves into very great, and peradventure needleſs agonies through miſconſtruction of things ſpoken about proportioning our griefs to our ſins [a], for which they never think they have wept and mourned enough, yea, if they have not always a ſtream of tears at command, they take it for a heart congealed and hardened in ſin; when to keep the wound of contrition bleeding, they unfold the circumſtances of their tranſgreſſions, and endeavour to leave nothing which may be heavy againſt themſelves. Jer. vi. 26. Mic. i. 8, 9. Lam. ii. 18.

Yet, do what they can, they are ſtill fearful, leſt herein alſo they do not that which they ought and might. Come to prayer, their coldneſs taketh all heart and courage from them; with faſting, albeit their fleſh ſhould be withered, and their blood clean dried up, would they ever the leſs object, what is this to David's humiliation, wherein notwithſtanding there was not any thing more than neceſſary? In works of charity and alms-deed, it is not all the world can perſuade them they did ever Pſal. vi. 6.

[a] Quam magna deliquimus, tam granditer deſleamus. Alto vulneri diligens et longa medicina non deſit; pœnitentia crimine minor non ſit. Cypr. de Lapſis, pag. 137. Tract. ed. Oxon. Non levi agendum eſt contritione, ut debita illa redimantur, quibus mors æterna debetur; nec tranſitoria opus eſt ſatisfactione pro malis illis, propter quæ paratus eſt ignis æternus. Euſeb. Emiſſenus, vel potius Salv. f. 106.

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reach the poor bounty of the widow's two mites, or by many millions of leagues come near to the mark which Cornelius touched; ſo far they are off from the proud ſurmiſe of any penitential ſupererogation in miſerable wretched worms of the earth.

Matth. xii. 42. Acts x. 31.

Notwithſtanding, foraſmuch as they wrong themſelves with over-rigorous and extreme exactions, by means whereof they fall ſometimes into ſuch perplexities as can hardly be allayed; it hath therefore pleaſed Almighty God, in tender commiſeration over theſe imbecilities of men, to ordain for their ſpiritual and ghoſtly comfort conſecrated perſons, which, by ſentence of power and authority given from above, may, as it were, out of his very mouth aſcertain timorous and doubtful minds in their own particular, eaſe them of all their ſcrupuloſities, leave them ſettled in peace and ſatisfied touching the mercy of God towards them. To uſe the benefit of this help for the better ſatisfaction in ſuch caſes is ſo natural, that it can be forbidden no man; but yet not ſo neceſſary, that all men ſhould be in caſe to need it.

They are, of the two, the happier therefore that can content and ſatisfy themſelves, by judging diſcreetly what they perform, and ſoundly what God doth require of them. For having, that which is moſt material, the ſubſtance of penitency rightly bred; touching ſigns and tokens thereof, we may affirm that they do boldly, which imagine for every offence a certain proportionable degree in the paſſions and griefs of mind, whereunto whoſoever aſpireth not, repenteth in vain.

That to fruſtrate men's confeſſion and conſiderations of ſin, except every circumſtance which may aggravate the ſame be unripped and laid in the balance, is a mercileſs extremity; although it be true, that as near as we can ſuch wounds muſt be ſearched to the very bottom. Laſt of all, to ſet down the like ſtint, and to ſhut up the doors of mercy againſt penitents which come ſhort thereof in the devotion

of

of their prayers, in the continuance of their faſts, in the largeneſs and bounty of their alms, or in the courſe of any other ſuch like duties; is more than God himſelf hath thought meet, and conſequently more than mortal men ſhould preſume to do.

That which God doth chiefly reſpect in men's penitency is their hearts. *The heart is it which maketh repentance ſincere*, ſincerity that which findeth favour in God's ſight, and the favour of God that which ſupplieth by gracious acceptation whatſoever may ſeem defective in the faithful, hearty, and true offices of his ſervants. Jer. xxix. 13. Joel ii. 12.

Take it (ſaith Chryſoſtom) upon my credit, *Such is God's merciful inclination towards men, that repentance offered with a ſingle and ſincere mind he never refuſeth; no, not although we be come to the very top of iniquity.* If there be a will and deſire to return, he receiveth, embraceth, and omitteth nothing which may reſtore us to former happineſs; yea, that which is yet above all the reſt, albeit we cannot, in the duty of ſatisfying him, attain what we ought, and would, but come far behind our mark, he taketh nevertheleſs in good worth that little which we do; be it never ſo mean, we loſe not our labour therein. Chryſ. de repar. lapſ. lib. ad Theodor. cap. iv. pag. 553. tom. iv. ed. Par.

The leaſt and loweſt ſtep of repentance in Saint Chryſoſtom's judgment ſerveth and ſetteth us above them that periſh in their ſin. I therefore will end with St. Auguſtine's concluſion, *Lord, in thy book and volume of life all ſhall be written, as well the leaſt of thy ſaints, as the chiefeſt.* Let not therefore the unperfect fear; let them only proceed and go forward. Aug. in Pſ. cxxxviii. pag. 1546. G. tom. iv. par. ii. ed. Par.

OF THE

LAWS

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

BOOK VII.

Their ſixth Aſſertion, That there ought not to be, in the Church, Biſhops endued with ſuch authority and honour as ours are.

The matter contained in this ſeventh Book.

1. THE *ſtate of Biſhops although ſometime oppugned, and that by ſuch as therein would moſt ſeem to pleaſe God, yet by his providence upheld hitherto, whoſe glory it is to maintain that whereof himſelf is the author.*
2. *What a Biſhop is, what his name doth import, and what doth belong unto his office as he is a Biſhop.*
3. *In Biſhops two things traduced; of which two, the one their authority; and in it the firſt thing condemned, their ſuperiority over other miniſters: what kind of ſuperiority in miniſters it is which the one part holdeth, and the other denieth lawful.*

4. *From*

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4. *From whence it hath grown, that the Church is governed by Biſhops.*

5. *The time and cauſe of inſtituting every where Biſhops with reſtraint.*

6. *What manner of power Biſhops from the firſt beginning have had.*

7. *After what ſort Biſhops, together with Preſbyters, have uſed to govern the Churches which were under them.*

8. *How far the power of Biſhops hath reached from the beginning in reſpect of territory, or local compaſs.*

9. *In what reſpects epiſcopal regiment hath been gainſaid of old by Aerius.*

10. *In what reſpects epiſcopal regiment is gainſaid by the authors of pretended reformation at this day.*

11. *Their arguments in diſgrace of regiment by Biſhops, as being a mere invention of man, and not found in Scripture, anſwered.*

12. *Their arguments to prove, there was no neceſſity of inſtituting Biſhops in the Church.*

13. *The fore-alleged arguments anſwered.*

14. *An anſwer unto thoſe things which are objected concerning the difference between that power which Biſhops now have, and that which ancient Biſhops had, more than other Preſbyters.*

15. *Concerning the civil power and authority which our Biſhops have.*

16. *The arguments anſwered, whereby they would prove, that the Law of God, and the judgment of the beſt in all ages condemneth the ruling ſuperiority of one miniſter over another.*

17. *The ſecond malicious thing wherein the ſtate of Biſhops ſuffereth obloquy, is their honour.*

18. *What good doth publicly grow from the Prelacy.*

19. *What kind of honour be due unto Biſhops.*

20. *Honour in title, place, ornament, attendance, and privilege.*

21. *Honour by endowments of lands and livings.*

22. *That of Eccleſiaſtical goods, and conſequently of the lands*

lands and livings which Biſhops enjoy, the propriety belongs unto God alone.

23. *That Eccleſiaſtical perſons are receivers of God's rents, and that the honour of Prelates is to be thereof his chief receivers, not without liberty from him granted of converting the ſame unto their own uſe, even in large manner.*

24. *That for their unworthineſs to deprive both them and their ſucceſſors of ſuch goods, and to convey the ſame unto men of ſecular callings, is now extreme ſacrilegious injuſtice.*

The ſtate of Biſhops although ſometime oppugned, and that by ſuch as therein would moſt ſeem to pleaſe God, yet by his providence upheld hitherto, whoſe glory it is to maintain that whereof himſelf is the author.

1. I HAVE heard that a famous kingdom in the world being ſolicited to reform ſuch diſorders as all men ſaw the Church exceedingly burdened with, when of each degree great multitudes thereunto inclined, and the number of them did every day ſo increaſe that this intended work was likely to take no other effect than all good men did wiſh and labour for; a principal actor herein (for zeal and boldneſs of ſpirit) thought it good to ſhew them betimes what it was which muſt be effected, or elſe that there could be no work of perfect reformation accompliſhed. To this purpoſe, in a ſolemn ſermon, and in a great aſſembly, he deſcribed unto them the preſent quality of their public eſtate by the parable of a tree, huge and goodly to look upon, but without that fruit which it ſhould and might bring forth; affirming, that the only way of redreſs was a full and perfect eſtabliſhment of Chriſt's diſcipline, (for ſo their manner is to entitle a thing hammered out upon the forge of their own invention,) and that to make way of entrance for it, there muſt be three great limbs cut off from the body of that ſtately tree of the kingdom. Thoſe three limbs

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limbs were three ſorts of men; Nobles, whoſe high eſtate would make them otherwiſe diſdain to put their necks under that yoke: Lawyers, whoſe courts being not pulled down, the new Church conſiſtories were not like to flouriſh: finally, Prelates, whoſe ancient dignity, and the ſimplicity of their intended Church diſcipline, could not poſſibly ſtand together. The propoſition of which device being plauſible to active ſpirits, reſtleſs through deſire of innovation, whom commonly nothing doth more offend than a change which goeth fearfully on by ſlow and ſuſpicious paces; the heavier and more experienced ſort began preſently thereat to pluck back their feet again, and exceedingly to fear the ſtratagem of reformation for ever after. Whereupon enſued thoſe extreme conflicts of the one part with the other; which continuing and increaſing to this very day, have now made the ſtate of that flouriſhing kingdom even ſuch, as whereunto we may moſt fitly apply thoſe words of the prophet Jeremiah, *Thy breach is great like the ſea, who can heal thee?* Whether this were done in truth, according to the conſtant affirmation of ſome avouching the ſame, I take not upon me to examine; that which I note therein is, how with us that policy hath been corrected. For to the authors of pretended reformation with us, it hath not ſeemed expedient to offer the edge of the axe unto all three boughs at once, but rather to ſingle them and ſtrike at the weakeſt firſt, making ſhew that the lop of that one ſhall draw the more abundance of ſap to the other two, that they may thereby the better proſper. All proſperity, felicity, and peace, we wiſh multiplied on each eſtate as far as their own heart's deſire is; but let men know that there is a God, whoſe eye beholdeth them in all their ways; a God, the uſual and ordinary courſe of whoſe juſtice, is to return upon the head of malice the ſame devices which it contriveth againſt others. The foul practices which have been uſed for the overthrow of Biſhops,

Lament. ii. 13.

Biſhops, may perhaps wax bold in proceſs of time to give the like aſſault even there, from whence at this preſent they are moſt ſeconded. Nor let it over-diſmay them who ſuffer ſuch things at the hands of this moſt unkind world, to ſee that heavenly eſtate and dignity thus conculcated, in regard whereof ſo many their predeceſſors were no leſs eſteemed than if they had not been men, but angels amongſt men. With former Biſhops it was as with Job in the days of that proſperity which at large he deſcribeth, ſaying, *Unto me men gave ear, they waited and held their tongue at my counſel; after my words they replied not; I appointed out their way, and did ſit as chief; I dwelt as it had been a king in an army.* At this day, the caſe is otherwiſe with them, and yet no otherwiſe than with the ſelf-ſame Job at what time the alteration of his eſtate wreſted theſe contrary ſpeeches from him; *But now they that are younger than I mock at me, the children of fools, and offspring of ſlaves, creatures more baſe than the earth they tread on; ſuch as if they did ſhew their heads, young and old would ſhout at them and chaſe them through the ſtreet with a cry: their ſong I am, I am a theme for them to talk on.* An injury leſs grievous if it were not offered by them whom Satan hath through his fraud and ſubtilty ſo far beguiled, as to make them imagine herein they do unto God a part of moſt faithful ſervice. Whereas the Lord in truth, whom they ſerve herein, is, as St. Cyprian telleth them, like, not Chriſt, (for he it is that doth appoint and protect Biſhops,) but rather Chriſt's adverſary and enemy of his Church. A thouſand five hundred years and upward the Church of Chriſt hath now continued under the ſacred regiment of Biſhops. Neither for ſo long hath Chriſtianity been ever planted in any kingdom throughout the world but with this kind of government alone; which to have been ordained of God, I am for mine own part even as reſolutely perſuaded, as that any other kind of government in

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Job xxxix. 21, 25.

Job xxx. 1—9.

Cyp. Ep. 3.

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the world whatſoever is of God. In this realm of England, before Normans, yea before Saxons, there being Chriſtians, the chief paſtors of their ſouls were Biſhops. This order from about the firſt eſtabliſhment of Chriſtian Religion, which was publicly begun through the virtuous diſpoſition of king Lucius not fully two hundred years after Chriſt, continued till the coming in of the Saxons; by whom Paganiſm being every where elſe replanted, only one part of the iſland, whereinto the ancient, natural inhabitants the Britons were driven, retained conſtantly the faith of Chriſt, together with the ſame form of ſpiritual regiment, which their Fathers had before received. Wherefore in the hiſtories of the Church we find very ancient mention made of our own Biſhops. At the Council of Ariminum, about the year 359, Britain had three of her Biſhops preſent. At the arrival of Auguſtine the Monk, whom Gregory ſent hither to reclaim the Saxons from gentility about ſix hundred years after Chriſt, the Britons he found obſervers ſtill of the ſelf-ſame government by Biſhops over the reſt of the Clergy; under this form Chriſtianity took root again, where it had been exiled. Under the ſelf-ſame form it remained till the days of the Norman conqueror. By him and his ſucceſſors thereunto [a] ſworn, it hath from that time till now, by the ſpace of five hundred years more, been upheld. O nation, utterly without knowledge, without ſenſe! We are not through error of mind deceived, but ſome wicked thing hath undoubtedly bewitched us, if we forſake that government, the uſe whereof univerſal experience hath for ſo many years approved, and betake ourſelves unto a regiment neither appointed of God himſelf,

Sulpit. Sev. lib. ii. Beda, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. c. 2.

An. 1066.

[a] Alfredus Eboracenſis Archiepiſcopus Gulielmum cognomento Nothum ſpirantem adhuc minarum et cædis in populum, mitem reddidit: et religioſis pro conſervanda republica tuendaque eccleſiaſtica diſciplina ſacramento aſtrinxit. Nabrig. lib. i. c. 1.

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as they who favour it pretend, nor till yesterday ever heard of among men. By the Jews Festus was much complained of, as being a governor marvellous corrupt, and almost intolerable: such notwithstanding were they who came after him, that men which thought the public condition most afflicted under Festus, began to wish they had him again, and to esteem him a ruler commendable. Great things are hoped for at the hands of these new presidents, whom reformation would bring in: notwithstanding the time may come, when Bishops, whose regiment doth now seem a yoke so heavy to bear, will be longed for again, even by them that are the readiest to have it taken off their necks. But in the hands of divine Providence we leave the ordering of all such events; and come now to the question itself which is raised concerning Bishops. For the better understanding whereof, we must beforehand set down what is meant, when in this question we name a Bishop. . . BOOK VII.

What a Bishop is, what his name doth import, and what doth belong to his office as he is a Bishop.

2. For whatsoever we bring from antiquity by way of defence in this cause of Bishops, it is cast off as impertinent matter; all is wiped away with an odd kind of shifting answer, *That the Bishops which now are, be not like unto them which were.* We therefore beseech all indifferent judges to weigh sincerely with themselves how the case doth stand. If it should be at this day a controversy whether kingly regiment were lawful or no, peradventure in defence thereof, the long continuance which it hath had sithence the first beginning might be alleged; mention perhaps might be made what kings there were of old even in Abraham's time, what sovereign princes both before and after. Suppose that herein some man purposely bending his wit against sovereignty, should think to elude all such allegations, by making ample discovery through a number of particularities, wherein the kings that are, do differ from those that have been, and should therefore in the end conclude, that such ancient examples are no

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convenient proofs of that royalty which is now in uſe. Surely for deciſion of truth in this caſe there were no remedy, but only to ſhew the nature of ſovereignty; to ſever it from accidental properties; to make it clear that ancient and preſent regality are one and the ſame in ſubſtance, how great odds ſoever otherwiſe may ſeem to be between them. In like manner, whereas a queſtion of late hath grown, whether Eccleſiaſtical regiment by Biſhops be lawful in the Church of Chriſt or no, in which queſtion, they that hold the negative, being preſſed with that generally received order, according whereunto the moſt renowned lights of the Chriſtian world have governed the ſame in every age as Biſhops; ſeeing their manner is to reply, that ſuch Biſhops as thoſe ancient were, ours are not, there is no remedy but to ſhew, that to be a Biſhop is now the ſelf-ſame thing which it hath been; that one definition agreeth fully and truly as well to thoſe elder, as to theſe latter Biſhops. Sundry diſſimilitudes we grant there are, which notwithſtanding are not ſuch that they cauſe any equivocation in the name, whereby we ſhould think a Biſhop in thoſe times to have had a clean other definition than doth rightly agree unto Biſhops as they are now. Many things there are in the ſtate of Biſhops, which the times have changed; many a parſonage at this day is larger than ſome ancient biſhoprics were; many an ancient Biſhop poorer than at this day ſundry under them in degree. The ſimple hereupon, lacking judgment and knowledge to diſcern between the nature of things which changeth not, and theſe outward variable accidents, are made believe that a Biſhop heretofore and now are things in their very nature ſo diſtinct that they cannot be judged the ſame. Yet to men that have any part of ſkill, what more evident and plain in Biſhops, than that augmentation or diminution in their precincts, allowances, privileges, and ſuch like, do make a difference indeed, but no eſſential difference between one Biſhop and another? As for

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thoſe things in regard whereof we uſe properly to term them Biſhops, thoſe things whereby they eſſentially differ from other Paſtors, thoſe things which the natural definition of a Biſhop muſt contain; what one of them is there more or leſs appliable unto Biſhops now than of old? The name Biſhop hath been borrowed from the[a] Grecians, with whom it ſignifieth one which hath principal charge to guide and overſee others. The ſame word in Eccleſiaſtical writings being applied unto Church governors, at the firſt unto all and not unto the chiefeſt only, grew in ſhort time peculiar and proper to ſignify ſuch epiſcopal authority alone, as the chiefeſt governors exerciſed over the reſt; for with all names this is uſual, that inaſmuch as they are not given till the things whereunto they are given have been ſome time firſt obſerved; therefore generally, [b] things are ancienter than the names, whereby they are called. Acts xx. 28. Phil. i. 1.

Again, ſith the firſt things that grow into general obſervation, and do thereby give men occaſion to find name for them, are thoſe which being in many ſubjects are thereby the eaſier, the oftener, and the more univerſally noted; it followeth, that names impoſed to ſignify common qualities of operations are ancienter, than is the reſtraint of thoſe names, to note an excellency of ſuch qualities and operations in ſome one or few amongſt others. For example, the name Diſciple being invented to ſignify generally a learner, it cannot chooſe but in that ſignification be more ancient than when it ſignifies, as

[a] Οἱ παρ' Αθηναίων εἰς τὰς ὑπηκόους πόλεις ἐπισκέψαδαι τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις πεμπόμενοι, Ἐπίσκοποι καὶ φύλακες ἐκαλοῦντο, ὃς οἱ Λάκωνες ἁρμοστὰς ἔλεγον. Suid. Καλέσησεν ἐφ' ἑκάστοις τῶν πάγων ἄρχοντα ἐπίσκοπόν τε καὶ περίπολον τῆ ἰδίας μοίρας. Dionyſ. Halicar. de Numa Pompilio, Antiq. lib. ii. Vult enim me Pompeius eſſe quem tota hæc Campania et maritima ora habeat Ἐπίσκοπον, ad quem delectus et negotii ſumma referatur. Cic. ad Attic. lib. vii. Epiſt. 11.

[b] And God brought them unto Adam, that Adam might ſee or conſider what name it was meet he ſhould give unto them. Gen. ii. 19.

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it were by a kind of appropriation, thoſe learners who, being taught of Chriſt, were in that reſpect termed Diſciples by an excellency[a]. The like is to be ſeen in the name Apoſtle, the uſe whereof to ſignify a meſſenger muſt needs be more ancient than that uſe which reſtraineth it unto meſſengers ſent concerning evangelical affairs; yea this uſe more ancient than that whereby the ſame word is yet reſtrained further to ſignify only thoſe whom our Saviour himſelf immediately did ſend. After the ſame manner the title or name of a Biſhop having been uſed of old to ſignify both an Eccleſiaſtical overſeer in general, and more particularly alſo a principal Eccleſiaſtical overſeer; it followeth, that this latter reſtrained ſignification is not ſo ancient as the former, being more common[b]. Yet becauſe the things themſelves are always ancienter than their names; therefore that thing which the reſtrained uſe of the word doth import, is likewiſe ancienter than the reſtraint of the word is, and conſequently that power of chief Eccleſiaſtical overſeers, which the term of a Biſhop doth import, was before the reſtrained uſe of the name which doth import it. Wherefore a lame and impotent kind of reaſoning it is, when men go about to prove, that in the Apoſtles' times there was no ſuch thing as the reſtrained name of a Biſhop doth now ſignify; becauſe in their writings there is found no reſtraint of that name, but only a general uſe whereby it reacheth unto all ſpiritual governors and overſeers.

But to let go the name, and come to the very nature of that thing which is thereby ſignified. In all kinds of regiment, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, as there are ſundry operations public, ſo likewiſe great inequality there is in the ſame opera-

[a] So alſo the name Deacon, a miniſter appropriated to a certain order of miniſters.'

[b] The name likewiſe of a Miniſter was common to divers degrees, which now is peculiarly among ourſelves given only to paſtors, and not, as anciently, to deacons alſo.

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tions, ſome being of principal reſpect, and therefore not fit to be dealt in by every one to whom public actions, and thoſe of good importance, are notwithſtanding well and fitly enough committed. From hence have grown thoſe different degrees of magiſtrates or public perſons, even Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil. Amongſt Eccleſiaſtical perſons therefore Biſhops being chief ones, a Biſhop's function muſt be defined by that wherein his chiefty conſiſteth. A Biſhop is a miniſter of God, unto whom, with permanent continuance, there is given not only power of adminiſtering the Word and Sacraments, which power other Preſbyters have; but alſo a further power to ordain Eccleſiaſtical perſons, and a power of chiefty in government over Preſbyters as well as Laymen, a power to be by way of juriſdiction a Paſtor even to Paſtors themſelves. So that this office, as he is a Preſbyter or Paſtor, conſiſteth in thoſe things which are common unto him with other Paſtors, as in miniſtering the Word and Sacraments; but thoſe things incident unto his office, which do properly make him a Biſhop, cannot be common unto him with other Paſtors. Now even as Paſtors, ſo likewiſe Biſhops, being principal Paſtors, are either at large or elſe with reſtraint. At large, when the ſubject of their regiment is indefinite, and not tied to any certain place. Biſhops with reſtraint, are they whoſe regiment over the Church is contained within ſome definite, local compaſs, beyond which compaſs their juriſdiction reacheth not. Such therefore we always mean when we ſpeak of that regiment by Biſhops which we hold a thing moſt lawful, divine, and holy, in the Church of Chriſt.

In Biſhops two things traduced; of which two, the one their authority;

3. In our preſent regiment by Biſhops two things are complained of; the one their great authority, and the other their great honour. Touching the authority of our Biſhops, the firſt thing which

and in it the firſt thing condemned, their ſuperiority over other miniſters: what kind of ſuperiority in miniſters it is which the one part holdeth, and the other denieth lawful.

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therein diſpleaſeth their adverſaries, is the ſuperiority which Biſhops have over other miniſters. They which cannot brook the ſuperiority which Biſhops have, do notwithſtanding themſelves admit that ſome kind of difference and inequality there may be lawfully amongſt miniſters. Inequality as touching gifts and graces they grant, becauſe this is ſo plain that no miſt in the world can be caſt before men's eyes ſo thick, but that they muſt needs diſcern through it, that one miniſter of the Goſpel may be more learned, holier, and wiſer, better able to inſtruct, more apt to rule and guide them than another: unleſs thus much were confeſſed, thoſe men ſhould loſe their fame and glory whom they themſelves do entitle the Lights and grand Worthies of this preſent age. Again, a priority of order they deny not, but that there may be, yea ſuch a priority as maketh one man amongſt many a principal actor in thoſe things whereunto ſundry of them muſt neceſſarily concur, ſo that the ſame be admitted only during the time of ſuch actions and no longer; that is to ſay, juſt ſo much ſuperiority, and neither more nor leſs may be liked of, than it hath pleaſed them in their own kind of regiment to ſet down. The inequality which they complain of is, *That one miniſter of the Word and Sacraments ſhould have a permanent ſuperiority above another, or in any ſort a ſuperiority of power mandatory, judicial, and coercive over other miniſters.* By us, on the contrary ſide, *Inequality, even ſuch inequality as unto Biſhops, being miniſters of the Word and Sacraments, granteth a ſuperiority permanent above other miniſters, yea a permanent ſuperiority of power mandatory, judicial, and coercive over them,* is maintained a thing allowable, lawful, and good. For, ſuperiority of power may be either above them or upon them, in regard of whom it is termed ſuperiority. One Paſtor hath ſuperiority of power above another, when either ſome are authorized to do things worthier than are permitted

permitted unto all; or ſome are preferred to be principal agents, the reſt agents with dependency and ſubordination. The former of theſe two kinds of ſuperiority is ſuch as the High Prieſt had above other prieſts of the Law, in being appointed to enter once a year the holy place, which the reſt of the prieſts might not do. The latter ſuperiority, ſuch as preſidents have in thoſe actions which are done by others with them, they nevertheleſs being principal and chief therein. One Paſtor hath ſuperiority of power, not only above, but upon another, when ſome are ſubject unto others' commandment and judicial controlment by virtue of public juriſdiction. Superiority in this laſt kind is utterly denied to be allowable; in the reſt it is only denied that the laſting continuance and ſettled permanency thereof is lawful. So that if we prove at all the lawfulneſs of ſuperiority in this laſt kind, where the ſame is ſimply denied, and of permanent ſuperiority in the reſt where ſome kind of ſuperiority is granted, but with reſtraint to the term and continuance of certain actions, with which the ſame muſt, as they ſay, expire and ceaſe; if we can ſhew theſe two things maintainable, we bear up ſufficiently that which the adverſe party endeavoureth to overthrow. Our deſire therefore is, that this iſſue may be ſtrictly obſerved, and thoſe things accordingly judged of, which we are to allege. This we boldly therefore ſet down as a moſt infallible truth, *That the Church of Chriſt is at this day lawfully, and ſo hath been ſithence the firſt beginning, governed by Biſhops, having permanent ſuperiority, and ruling power over other miniſters of the Word and Sacraments.* BOOK VII.

For the plainer explication whereof, let us briefly declare, firſt, the birth and original of the ſame power, whence, and by what occaſion it grew. Secondly, what manner of power antiquity doth witneſs Biſhops to have had more than Preſbyters which were no Biſhops. Thirdly, after what ſort Biſhops together with Preſbyters have uſed to govern the

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Churches under them, according to the like teſtimonial evidence of antiquity. Fourthly, how far the ſame Epiſcopal power hath uſually extended; unto what number of perſons it hath reached; what bounds and limits of place it hath had. This done, we may afterwards deſcend unto thoſe by whom the ſame either hath been heretofore, or is at this preſent hour gainſaid.

From whence it hath grown, that the Church is governed by Biſhops.

4. The firſt Biſhops in the Church of Chriſt were his bleſſed Apoſtles. For the office whereunto Matthias was choſen the ſacred hiſtory doth term Ἐπισκοπὴν, an Epiſcopal office. Which being ſpoken expreſsly of one, agreeth no leſs unto them all than unto him. For which cauſe St. Cyprian ſpeaking generally of them all doth call them Biſhops [a]. They which were termed Apoſtles, as being ſent of Chriſt to publiſh his Goſpel throughout the world, and were named likewiſe Biſhops, in that the care of government was alſo committed unto them, did no leſs perform the offices of their Epiſcopal authority by governing, than of their Apoſtolical by teaching. The word Ἐπισκοπὴ expreſſing that part of their office which did conſiſt in regiment, proveth not (I grant) their chiefty in regiment over others, becauſe as then that name was common unto the function of their inferiors, and not peculiar unto theirs. But the hiſtory of their actions ſheweth plainly enough how the thing itſelf which that name appropriated importeth, that is to ſay, even ſuch ſpiritual chiefty as we have already defined to be properly Epiſcopal, was in the holy Apoſtles of Chriſt. Biſhops therefore they were at large. But was it lawful for any of them to be a Biſhop with reſtraint? True it is their charge was indefinite, yet ſo, that in caſe they did all, whether ſeverally or jointly diſcharge the office of proclaiming every where the Goſpel, and of guiding the Church of

Rom. ii. 14, 15. 1 Cor. ix. 16. John xxi. 15, 16.

[a] Meminiſſe autem Diaconi debent, quoniam Apoſtolos, id eſt Epiſcopos et Præpoſitos Dominus elegit. Cypr. Ep. iii. pag. 6. Epiſt. ed. Oxon.

Chriſt, none of them caſting off his part in their burden which was laid upon them, there doth appear no impediment but that they having received their common charge indefinitely, might in the execution thereof notwithſtanding reſtrain themſelves, or at leaſtwiſe be reſtrained by the after commandment of the Spirit, without contradiction or repugnancy unto that charge more indefinite and general before given them: eſpecially if it ſeemed at any time requiſite, and for the greater good of the Church, that they ſhould in ſuch ſort tie themſelves unto ſome ſpecial part of the flock of Jeſus Chriſt, guiding the ſame in ſeveral as Biſhops. For firſt, notwithſtanding our Saviour's commandment unto them all, to go and preach unto all nations; yet ſome reſtraint we ſee there was made, when by agreement between Paul and Peter, moved with thoſe effects of their labours which the providence of God brought forth; the one betook himſelf unto the Gentiles, the other unto the Jews, for the exerciſe of that office of every where preaching. A further reſtraint of their Apoſtolical labours as yet there was alſo made, when they divided themſelves into ſeveral parts of the world; [a] John for his charge taking Aſia, and ſo the reſidue, other quarters to labour in. If nevertheleſs it ſeem very hard that we ſhould admit a reſtraint ſo particular, as after that general charge received to make any Apoſtle notwithſtanding the Biſhop of ſome one Church; what think we of the Biſhop of Jeruſalem, [b] James, whoſe conſecration Gal. ii. 8.

[a] Him Euſebius doth name the Governor of the Churches in Aſia, lib. iii. Hiſt. Eccleſ. c. 26. Tertullian calleth the ſame Churches St. John's foſter daughters, lib. iii. adverſ. Marcion.

[b] Jacobus qui appellatur Frater Domini, cognomento Juſtus, —poſt paſſionem Domini ſtatim ab Apoſtolis, Hieroſolymorum Epiſcopus ordinatus eſt. Hieron. de Scrip. Eccleſ. pag. 101. Epiſt. par. ſecund. tom. iv. ed. Par. Eodem tempore Jacobum primum ſedem Epiſcopalem Eccleſiæ quæ eſt Hieroſolymis obtinuiſſe memoriæ traditur. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. ii. cap. 1. pag. 30. ed. Par. The ſame ſeemeth to be intimated, Acts xv. 13. and Acts xxi. 18.

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unto that mother ſee of the world, becauſe it was not meet that it ſhould at any time be left void of ſome Apoſtle, doth ſeem to have been the very cauſe of St. Paul's miraculous vocation to make up the number of the twelve again, for the gathering of nations abroad, even as the martyrdom of the other James, the reaſon why Barnabas in his ſtead was called. Finally, Apoſtles whether they did ſettle in any one certain place, as James, or elſe did otherwiſe as the Apoſtle Paul, Epiſcopal authority either at large or with reſtraint they had and exerciſed. Their Epiſcopal power they ſometimes gave unto others to exerciſe as agents only in their ſtead, and as it were by commiſſion from them. Thus Titus, and thus Timothy at the firſt, though [a] afterwards endued with Apoſtolical power of their own. For in proceſs of time the Apoſtles gave Epiſcopal authority, and that to continue always with them which had it; *We are able to number up them*, ſaith Irenæus, *who by the Apoſtles were made Biſhops*. In Rome he affirmeth that the Apoſtles themſelves made Linus the firſt Biſhop. Again of Polycarp he ſaith likewiſe, that the Apoſtles made him Biſhop of the Church of Smyrna. Of Antioch they made Evodius Biſhop, as Ignatius witneſſeth; exhorting that Church to tread in his holy ſteps, and to follow his virtuous example. The Apoſtles therefore were the firſt which had ſuch authority, and all others who have it after them in orderly ſort are their lawful ſucceſſors, whether they ſucceed in any particular Church, where before them ſome Apoſtle hath been ſeated, as Simon ſucceeded James in Jeruſalem; or elſe be otherwiſe endued with the ſame kind of Biſhoply power, although it be not where any Apoſtle before hath been. For to ſucceed them, is after them to have the Epiſcopal kind of power which

Acts xii. 2. Acts xiii. 2.

Tit. i. 5.

Iren. lib. iii. cap. 3. pag. 170. ed. Ludg.

In Ep. ad Antioch.

[a] This appeareth by thoſe ſubſcriptions which are ſet after the Epiſtle to Titus, and the ſecond to Timothy, and by Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 4.

was

was first given to them. *All Bishops are*, saith Jerome, *the Apostles' successors*. In like sort Cyprian doth term Bishops, *Præpositos qui Apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt*. From hence it may haply seem to have grown, that they whom we now call Bishops were usually termed at the first Apostles, and so did carry their very names in whose rooms of spiritual authority they succeeded. Such as deny Apostles to have [a] any successors at all in the office of their Apostleship, may hold that opinion without contradiction to this of ours, if they well explain themselves in declaring what truly and properly Apostleship is. In some things every Presbyter, in some things only Bishops, in some things neither the one nor the other are the Apostles' successors. The Apostles were sent as special chosen eye-witnesses of Jesus Christ, from whom immediately they received their whole embassage and their commission to be the principal first founders of an house of God, consisting as well of Gentiles as of Jews. In this there are not after them any other like unto them; and yet the Apostles have now their successors upon earth, their true successors, if not in the largeness, surely in the kind of that Episcopal function, whereby they had power to sit as spiritual ordinary judges, both over laity and over clergy where Christian Churches were established.

Hieron Ep. 85. Cypr. Ep. ad Florent. Theod. in 1 Tim. iii.

Acts i. 21, 22. 1 John i. 3. Gal. i. 1. Apoc. xxi. 14. Mat. xxviii. 19.

5. The Apostles of our Lord did, according unto those directions which were given them from above, erect Churches in all such cities as received the word of truth, the Gospel of God. All Churches by them erected received from them the same faith, the same sacraments, the same form of public regiment. The form of regiment by them established at first was, *That the laity of people should be subject*

The time and cause of instituting every where Bishops with restraint.

[a] Ipsius Apostolatus nulla successio. Finitur enim legatio cum legato, nec ad successores ipsius transit. Staple. doct. prin. lib. vi. cap. 7.

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unto a college of Eccleſiaſtical perſons, which were in every ſuch city appointed for that purpoſe. Theſe in their writings they term ſometime Preſbyters, ſometime Biſhops. To take one Church out of a number for a pattern what the reſt were; the Preſbyters of Epheſus, as it is in the hiſtory of their departure from the Apoſtle Paul at Miletum, are ſaid to have wept abundantly all, which ſpeech doth ſhew them to have been many. And by the Apoſtle's exhortation it may appear, that they had not each his ſeveral flock to feed, but were in common appointed to feed that one flock the Church of Epheſus; for which cauſe the phraſe of his ſpeech is this, *Attendite gregi*, look all to that one flock over which the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Biſhops. Theſe perſons Eccleſiaſtical being termed as then, Preſbyters and Biſhops both, were all ſubject unto Paul, [a] as to an higher governor appointed of God to be over them. But foraſmuch as the Apoſtles could not themſelves be preſent in all Churches, and as the Apoſtle St. Paul foretold the Preſbyters of the Epheſians, that *there would riſe up from amongſt their ownſelves men ſpeaking perverſe things to draw diſciples after them*; there did grow in ſhort time amongſt the governors of each Church, thoſe emulations, ſtrifes, and contentions, whereof there could be no ſufficient remedy provided, except, according unto the order of Jeruſalem already begun, ſome one were endued with Epiſcopal authority over the reſt, which one being reſident might keep them in order, and have preeminence or principality in thoſe

Acts xx. 36, 37.

Acts xx. 28, 29.

ver. 30.

[a] As appeareth both by his ſending to call the Preſbyters of Epheſus before him as far as to Miletum, Acts xx. 17. which was almoſt fifty miles, and by his leaving Timothy in his place with his authority and inſtructions for ordaining of miniſters there; 1 Tim. v. 22. and for proportioning their maintenance; ver. 17, 18. and for judicial hearing of accuſations brought againſt them; ver. 19. and for holding them in an uniformity of doctrine; c. i. ver. 3.

things,

things, wherein the equality of many agents was the cauſe of diſorder and trouble. This one preſident or governor, amongſt the reſt, had his known authority eſtabliſhed a long time before that ſettled difference of name and title took place, whereby ſuch alone were named Biſhops. And therefore in the book of St. John's Revelation we find that they are entitled Angels. It will perhaps be anſwered, that the Angels of thoſe Churches were only in every Church a miniſter of Sacraments: but then we aſk, is it probable that in every of theſe Churches, even in Epheſus itſelf, where many ſuch miniſters were long before, as hath been proved, there was but one ſuch, when John directed his ſpeech to the Angel of that Church? If there were many, ſurely St. John, in naming but only one of them an Angel, did behold in that one ſomewhat above the reſt. Nor was this order peculiar unto ſome few Churches, but the whole world univerſally became ſubject thereunto; inſomuch as they did not account it to be a Church which was not ſubject unto a Biſhop. It was the general received perſuaſion of the ancient Chriſtian world, that *Eccleſia eſt in Epiſcopo*, the outward being of a Church conſiſted in the having of a Biſhop. That where colleges of Preſbyters were, there was at the firſt equality amongſt them, St. Jerome thinketh it a matter clear: but when the reſt were thus equal, ſo that no one of them could command any other as inferior unto him, they all were controllable by the Apoſtles, who had that Epiſcopal authority, abiding at the firſt in themſelves, which they afterwards derived unto others. The cauſe wherefore they under themſelves appointed ſuch Biſhops as were not every where at the firſt, is ſaid to have been thoſe ſtriſes and contentions, for remedy whereof whether the Apoſtles alone did conclude of ſuch a regiment, or elſe they together with the whole Church judging it a fit and needful policy did agree to receive it for a cuſtom; no doubt but

Apoc. ii.

Cypr. Epiſt. lxvi. ed. Oxon.

Hieron. Ep. ad Evang.

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but being eſtabliſhed by them on whom the Holy Ghoſt was poured in ſo abundant meaſure for the ordering of Chriſt's Church, it had either divine appointment beforehand, or divine approbation afterwards, and is in that reſpect to be acknowledged the ordinance of God, no leſs than that ancient Jewiſh regiment, whereof though Jethro were the deviſer, yet after that God had allowed it, all men were ſubject unto it, as to the polity of God, and not of Jethro. That ſo the ancient Fathers did think of Epiſcopal regiment; that they held this order as a thing received from the bleſſed Apoſtles themſelves, and authorized even from Heaven, we may perhaps more eaſily prove, than obtain that they all ſhall grant it who ſee it proved. St. Auguſtine ſetteth it down for a principle, that whatſoever poſitive order the whole Church every where doth obſerve, the ſame it muſt needs have received from the very Apoſtles themſelves, unleſs perhaps ſome general Council were the authors of it. And he ſaw that the ruling ſuperiority of Biſhops was a thing univerſally eſtabliſhed not by the force of any Council, (for Councils do all preſuppoſe Biſhops, nor can there any Council be named ſo ancient, either general, or ſo much as provincial, ſithence the Apoſtles' own times, but we can ſhew that Biſhops had their authority before it, and not from it:) wherefore St. Auguſtine knowing this, could not chooſe but reverence the authority of Biſhops, as a thing to him apparently and moſt clearly Apoſtolical. But it will be perhaps objected, that regiment by Biſhops was not ſo univerſal nor ancient as we pretend; and that an argument hereof may be Jerome's own teſtimony, who living at the very ſame time with St. Auguſtine, noted this kind of regiment as being no where ancient, ſaving only in Alexandria: his words are theſe; *It was for a remedy of ſchiſm that one was afterwards choſen to be placed above the reſt; leſt every man's pulling unto himſelf, ſhould rend aſunder*

Exod. xviii. 19—21.

Ep. ad Januar.

Ep. ad Evang. pag. 803. tom. iv. par. ii. ed. Par.

aſunder the Church of Chriſt. For (that which alſo may ſerve for an argument or token hereof) at Alexandria from Mark the Evangeliſt, unto Heraclas and Dionyſius, the Preſbyters always choſe one of themſelves, whom they placed in higher degree, and gave unto him the title of Biſhop. [a] Now St. Jerome, they ſay, would never have picked out that one Church from amongſt ſo many, and have noted that in it there had been Biſhops from the time that St. Mark lived, if ſo be the ſelf-ſame order were of like antiquity every where: his words therefore muſt be thus ſcholied; in the Church of Alexandria Preſbyters indeed had even from the time of St. Mark the Evangeliſt always a Biſhop to rule over them for a remedy againſt diviſions, factions, and ſchiſms; not ſo in other Churches, neither in that very Church any longer than *uſque ad Heraclam et Dionyſium*, till Heraclas and his ſucceſſor Dionyſius were Biſhops. But this conſtruction doth bereave the words conſtrued partly of wit, and partly of truth; it maketh them both abſurd and falſe. For if the meaning be that Epiſcopal government in that Church was then expired, it muſt have expired with the end of ſome one, and not of two ſeveral Biſhops' days, unleſs perhaps it fell ſick under Heraclas, and with Dionyſius gave up the ghoſt. Beſides, it is clearly untrue that the Preſbyters of that Church did then ceaſe to be under a Biſhop. Who doth not know that after Dionyſius, Maximus was Biſhop of Alexandria, after him Theonas, after him Peter, after him Achillas, after him Alexander? of whom Socrates in this ſort writeth: It fortuned on a certain time that this Alexander in the preſence of the Preſbyters which were under him, and of the reſt of the clergy there, diſcourſed ſomewhat curiouſly and ſubtilly of Socrat. lib. i. c. 3.

[a] T. C. ii. p. 82. It is to be obſerved that Jerome ſaith, it was ſo in Alexandria; ſignifying that in other Churches it was not ſo.

the

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the holy Trinity, bringing high philoſophical proofs, that there is in the Trinity an Unity. Whereupon Arius, one of the Preſbyters which were placed in that degree under Alexander, oppoſed eagerly himſelf againſt thoſe things which were uttered by the Biſhop. So that thus long Biſhops continued even in the Church of Alexandria. Nor did their regiment here ceaſe, but theſe alſo had others their ſucceſſors till St. Jerome's own time, who living long after Heraclas and Dionyſius had ended their days, did not yet live himſelf to ſee the Preſbyters of Alexandria otherwiſe than ſubject to a Biſhop. So that we cannot with any truth ſo interpret his words as to mean, that in the Church of Alexandria there had been Biſhops endued with ſuperiority over Preſbyters from St. Mark's time only to the time of Heraclas and of Dionyſius. Wherefore that St. Jerome may receive a more probable interpretation than this, we anſwer, that generally of regiment by Biſhops, and what term of continuance it had in the Church of Alexandria, it was no part of his mind to ſpeak, but to note one only circumſtance belonging to the manner of their election, which circumſtance is, that in Alexandria they uſed to chooſe their Biſhops altogether out of the college of their own Preſbyters, and neither from abroad nor out of any other inferior order of the Clergy, whereas oftentimes [a] elſewhere the uſe was to chooſe as well from abroad as at home, as well inferior unto Preſbyters as Preſbyters, when they ſaw occaſion. This cuſtom, ſaith he, the Church of Alexandria did always keep, till in Heraclas and Dionyſius they began to do otherwiſe. Theſe two were the very firſt not choſe out of their college of Preſbyters.

The drift and purpoſe of St. Jerome's ſpeech doth

[a] Unto Ignatius Biſhop of Antioch, Hero a Deacon there was made ſucceſſor. Chryſoſtom being a Preſbyter of Antioch, was choſen to ſucceed Nectarius in the biſhopric of Conſtantinople.

plainly

plainly ſhew what his meaning was; for whereas ſome did over extol the office of the Deacon in the Church of Rome, where Deacons being grown great, through wealth, challenged place above Preſbyters; St. Jerome, to abate this inſolency, writing to Evangelus, diminiſheth by all means the Deacons' eſtimation, and lifteth up Preſbyters as far as poſſible the truth might bear. *An attendant*, ſaith he, *upon tables and widows proudly to exalt himſelf above them at whoſe prayers is made the body and blood of Chriſt; above them, between whom and Biſhops there was at the firſt for a time no difference neither in authority nor in title. And whereas after ſchiſms and contentions made it neceſſary, that ſome one ſhould be placed over them, by which occaſion the title of Biſhop became proper unto that one, yet was that one choſen out of the Preſbyters, as being the chiefeſt, the higheſt, the worthieſt degree of the Clergy, and not out of Deacons: in which conſideration alſo it ſeemeth that in Alexandria, even from St. Mark to Heraclas and Dionyſius, Biſhops there, the Preſbyters evermore have choſen one of themſelves, and not a Deacon at any time to be their Biſhop. Nor let any man think that Chriſt hath one Church in Rome, and another in the reſt of the world; that in Rome he alloweth Deacons to be honoured above Preſbyters, and otherwiſe will have them to be in the next degree to the Biſhop. If it be deemed that abroad where Biſhops are poorer, the Preſbyters under them may be the next unto them in honour, but at Rome, where the Biſhop hath ample revenues, the Deacons whoſe eſtate is neareſt for wealth, may be alſo for eſtimation the next unto him; we muſt know that a Biſhop in the meaneſt city is no leſs a Biſhop than he who is ſeated in the greateſt; the countenance of a rich, and the meanneſs of a poor eſtate, doth make no odds between Biſhops: and therefore if a Preſbyter at Engubium be the next in degree to a Biſhop, ſurely, even at Rome it ought in reaſon to be ſo likewiſe, and not a Deacon for wealth's ſake only to be above, who by order ſhould be, and elſewhere is, underneath a Preſbyter.* Epiſt. ci. pag. 802. tom. iv. par. ſecund. ed. Par.

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byter. But ye will ſay, that, according to the cuſtom of Rome, a Deacon preſenteth unto the Biſhop him which ſtandeth to be ordained Preſbyter, and, upon the Deacon's teſtimony given concerning his fitneſs, he receiveth at the Biſhop's hands ordination: ſo that in Rome the Deacon having this ſpecial preeminence, the Preſbyter ought there to give place unto him. Wherefore is the cuſtom of one city brought againſt the practice of the whole world? The paucity of Deacons in the Church of Rome hath gotten the credit; as unto Preſbyters their multitude hath been cauſe of contempt: howbeit, even in the Church of Rome, Preſbyters ſit, and Deacons ſtand; an argument as ſtrong againſt the ſuperiority of Deacons, as the fore-alleged reaſon doth ſeem for it. Beſides, whoſoever is promoted muſt needs be raiſed from a lower degree to an higher; wherefore either let him which is Preſbyter be made a Deacon, that ſo the Deacon may appear to be the greater, or if of Deacons Preſbyters be made, let them know themſelves to be in regard of Deacons, though below in gain, yet above in office. And to the end we may underſtand that thoſe Apoſtolic orders are taken out of the Old Teſtament, what Aaron and his ſons and the Levites were in the Temple, the ſame in the Church may Biſhops and Preſbyters and Deacons challenge unto themſelves. This is the very drift and ſubſtance, this the true conſtruction and ſenſe of St. Jerome's whole diſcourſe in that Epiſtle: which I have therefore endeavoured the more at large to explain, becauſe no one thing is leſs effectual, or more uſual to be alleged againſt the ancient authority of Biſhops; concerning whoſe government St. Jerome's own words other where are ſufficient to ſhew his opinion, that this order was not only in Alexandria ſo ancient, but even as ancient in other Churches. We have before alleged his teſtimony touching James the Biſhop of Jeruſalem. As for Biſhops in other Churches, on the firſt of the Epiſtle to Titus thus he ſpeaketh; *Till through inſtinct of the Devil there grew in the Church factions, and among the people it began to be profeſſed,*

I am

I am of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, Churches were governed by the common advice of Preſbyters; but when every one began to reckon thoſe, whom himſelf had baptized, his own and not Chriſt's, it was decreed IN THE WHOLE WORLD, that one choſen out of the Preſbyters ſhould be placed above the reſt, to whom all care of the Church ſhould belong, and ſo the ſeeds of ſchiſm be removed. If it be ſo, that by St. Jerome's own confeſſion this order was not then begun when people in the Apoſtles' abſence began to be divided into factions by their teachers, and to rehearſe, *I am of Paul*, but that even at the very firſt appointment thereof it was agreed upon and received throughout the world; how ſhall a man be perſuaded that the ſame Jerome thought it ſo ancient no where ſaving in Alexandria, one only Church of the whole world? A ſentence there is indeed of St. Jerome's, which being not throughly conſidered and weighed, may cauſe his meaning ſo to be taken, as if he judged Epiſcopal regiment to have been the Church's invention long after, and not the Apoſtles' own inſtitution, as namely, when he admoniſheth Biſhops in this manner; *As therefore Preſbyters do know that the cuſtom of the Church makes them ſubject to the Biſhop which is ſet over them; ſo let* [a] *Biſhops know, that cuſtom rather than the truth of any ordinance of the Lord maketh them greater than the reſt, and that with common advice they ought to govern the Church.* To clear the ſenſe of theſe words therefore, as we have done already the former: laws which the Church from

Pag. 413. tom. iv. part. i. ed. Par.

[a] Biſhops he meaneth by reſtraint; for Epiſcopal power was always in the Church inſtituted by Chriſt himſelf, the Apoſtles being in government Biſhops at large, as no man will deny, having received from Chriſt himſelf that Epiſcopal authority. For which cauſe Cyprian hath ſaid of them, Meminiſſe autem Diaconi debent, quoniam Apoſtolos, id eſt, Epiſcopos et Præpoſitos Dominus elegit: Diaconos autem poſt aſcenſum Domini in cœlos Apoſtoli ſibi conſtituerunt, Epiſcopatus ſui et Eccleſiæ miniſtros. Epiſt. iii. pag. 6. ed. Oxon.

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the beginning univerſally hath obſerved were ſome delivered by Chriſt himſelf, with a charge to keep them to the world's end, as the law of baptizing and adminiſtering the holy Euchariſt; ſome brought in afterwards by the Apoſtles, yet not without the ſpecial direction of the Holy Ghoſt, as occaſions did ariſe. Of this ſort are thoſe Apoſtolical orders and laws, whereby deacons, widows, virgins, were firſt appointed in the Church.

This anſwer to St. Jerome ſeemeth dangerous; I have qualified it as I may by addition of ſome words of reſtraint: yet I ſatisfy not myſelf, in my judgment it would be altered. *Now whereas Jerome doth term the government of Biſhops by reſtraint an Apoſtolical tradition, acknowledging thereby the ſame to have been of the Apoſtles' own inſtitution, it may be demanded, how theſe two will ſtand together; namely, that the Apoſtles by divine inſtinct ſhould be, as Jerome confeſſeth, the authors of that regiment; and yet the cuſtom of the Church be accounted (for ſo by Jerome it may ſeem to be in this place accounted) the chiefeſt prop that upholdeth the ſame?* To this we anſwer, *That foraſmuch as the whole body of the Church hath power to alter, with general conſent and upon neceſſary occaſions, even the poſitive law of the Apoſtles, if there be no command to the contrary; and it manifeſtly appears to her, that change of times have clearly taken away the very reaſon of God's firſt inſtitution, as by ſundry examples may be moſt clearly proved; what laws the univerſal Church might change, and doth not, if they have long continued without any alteration, it ſeemeth that St. Jerome aſcribeth continuance of ſuch poſitive laws, though inſtituted by God himſelf, to the judgment of the Church. For they which might abrogate a law and do not, are properly ſaid to uphold, to eſtabliſh it, and to give it being. The regiment therefore whereof Jerome ſpeaketh being poſitive, and conſequently not abſolutely neceſſary, but of a changeable nature, becauſe there is no divine voice which in expreſs words forbiddeth*

it

it to be changed; he might imagine both that it came by the Apoſtles by very divine appointment at the firſt, and notwithſtanding be, after a ſort, ſaid to ſtand in force, rather by the cuſtom of the Church, chooſing to continue in it, than by the neceſſary conſtraint of any commandment from the Word, requiring perpetual continuance thereof. So that St. Jerome's admonition is reaſonable, ſenſible, and plain, being contrived to this effect; the ruling ſuperiority of one Biſhop over many Preſbyters in each Church, is an order deſcended from Chriſt to the Apoſtles, who were themſelves Biſhops at large, and from the Apoſtles to thoſe whom they in their ſteads appointed Biſhops over particular countries and cities; and even from thoſe ancient times univerſally eſtabliſhed thus many years it hath continued throughout the world; for which cauſe Preſbyters muſt not grudge to continue ſubject unto their Biſhops, unleſs they will proudly oppoſe themſelves againſt that which God himſelf ordained by his Apoſtles, and the whole Church of Chriſt approveth and judgeth moſt convenient. On the other ſide Biſhops albeit they may avouch, with conformity of truth, that their authority had thus deſcended even from the very Apoſtles themſelves, yet the abſolute and everlaſting continuance of it they cannot ſay that any commandment of the Lord doth enjoin; *And therefore muſt acknowledge that the Church hath power by univerſal conſent upon urgent cauſe to take it away, if thereunto ſhe be conſtrained through the proud, tyrannical, and unreformable dealings of her Biſhops, whoſe regiment ſhe hath thus long delighted in, becauſe ſhe hath found it good and requiſite to be ſo governed. Wherefore leſt Biſhops forget themſelves, as if none on earth had authority to touch their ſtates, let them continually bear in mind, that it is rather the force of cuſtom, whereby the Church having ſo long found it good to continue under the regiment of her virtuous Biſhops, doth ſtill uphold, maintain, and honour them in that reſpect, than that any ſuch true and heavenly Law can be ſhewed,*

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by the evidence whereof it may of a truth appear that the Lord himſelf hath appointed Preſbyters for ever to be under the regiment of Biſhops, in what ſort ſoever they behave themſelves. Let this conſideration be a bridle unto them, let it teach them not to diſdain the advice of their Preſbyters, but to uſe their authority with ſo much the greater humility and moderation, as a ſword which the Church hath power to take from them. In all this there is no let why St. Jerome might not think the authors of Epiſcopal regiment to have been the very bleſſed Apoſtles themſelves, directed therein by the ſpecial motion of the Holy Ghoſt, which the ancients all before and beſides him and himſelf alſo elſewhere being known to hold, we are not, without better evidence than this, to think him in judgment divided both from himſelf and from them. Another argument that the regiment of Churches by one Biſhop over many Preſbyters hath been always held Apoſtolical, may be this. We find that throughout all thoſe cities where the Apoſtles did plant Chriſtianity, the hiſtory of times hath noted ſucceſſion of Paſtors in the ſeat of one, not of many, (there being in every ſuch Church evermore many Paſtors,) and the firſt one in every rank of ſucceſſion we find to have been, if not ſome Apoſtle, yet ſome Apoſtle's diſciple. By Epiphanius the Biſhops of Jeruſalem are reckoned down from James to Hilarion then Biſhop. Of them which boaſted that they held the ſame things which they received of ſuch as lived with the Apoſtles themſelves, Tertullian ſpeaketh after this ſort; *Let them therefore ſhew the beginnings of their Churches, let them recite their Biſhops one by one, each in ſuch ſort ſucceeding other, that the firſt Biſhop of them have had for his author and predeceſſor ſome Apoſtle, or at leaſt ſome Apoſtolical perſon who perſevered with the Apoſtles. For ſo Apoſtolical Churches are wont to bring forth the evidence of their eſtates. So doth the Church of Smyrna, having*

Lib. ii. to. 2. Hæreſ. 66.

De Præſcript. Hæreticor. pag. 213. B. ed. Par.

having Polycarp whom John did conſecrate. Catalogues of Biſhops in a number of other Churches (Biſhops, and ſucceeding one another) from the very Apoſtles' times are by Euſebius and Socrates collected; whereby it appeareth ſo clear, as nothing in the world more, that under them and by their appointment this order began, which maketh many Preſbyters ſubject unto the regiment of ſome one Biſhop. For as in Rome while the civil ordering of the commonwealth was jointly and equally in the hands of two Conſuls, hiſtorical records concerning them did evermore mention them both, and note which two, as colleagues, ſucceeded from time to time; ſo, there is no doubt but eccleſiaſtical antiquity had done the very like, had not one Paſtor's place and calling been always ſo eminent above the reſt in the ſame Church. And what need we to ſeek far for proofs that the Apoſtles who began this order of regiment by Biſhops, did it not but by divine inſtinct, when without ſuch direction things of far leſs weight and moment they attempted not? Paul and Barnabas did not open their mouths to the Gentiles till the Spirit had ſaid, *Separate me Paul and Barnabas for the work whereunto I have ſent them.* The Eunuch by Philip was neither baptized nor inſtructed before the Angel of God was ſent to give him notice that ſo it pleaſed the Moſt High. In Aſia, Paul and the reſt were ſilent, becauſe the Spirit forbade them to ſpeak. When they intended to have ſeen Bithynia, they ſtayed their journey, the Spirit not giving them leave to go. Before Timothy was employed in thoſe Epiſcopal affairs of the Church, about which the Apoſtle St. Paul uſed him, the Holy Ghoſt gave ſpecial charge for his ordination and prophetical intelligence; more than once, what ſucceſs the ſame would have. And ſhall we think that James was made Biſhop of Jeruſalem, Evodius Biſhop of the Church of Antioch, the Angels in the Churches of Aſia Biſhops, that Biſhops every where were appointed to

Acts xiii. 2.

Acts viii. 26.

Acts xvi. 6, 7.

1 Tim. i. 18.

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take away factions, contentions, and ſchiſms, without ſome like divine inſtigation and direction of the Holy Ghoſt? Wherefore let us not fear to be herein bold and peremptory, that if any thing in the Church's government, ſurely the firſt inſtitution of Biſhops was from heaven, was even of God; the Holy Ghoſt was the author of it.

What manner of power Biſhops from the firſt beginning have had. Aug. Ep. 19. ad Hieron. et de Hæreſ. 53.

6. A Biſhop, ſaith St. Auguſtine, is a Preſbyter's ſuperior: but the queſtion is now, wherein that ſuperiority did conſiſt. The Biſhop's preeminence we ſay therefore was twofold. Firſt, he excelled in latitude of power of order; ſecondly, in that kind of power which belongeth unto juriſdiction. Prieſts in the Law had authority and power to do greater things than Levites, the High-Prieſt greater than inferior Prieſts might do; therefore Levites were beneath Prieſts, and Prieſts inferior to the High-Prieſt, by reaſon of the very degree of dignity, and of worthineſs in the nature of thoſe functions which they did execute; and not only, for that the one had power to command and control the other. In like ſort, Preſbyters having a weightier and worthier charge than Deacons had, the Deacon was in this ſort the Preſbyter's inferior; and where we ſay that a Biſhop was likewiſe ever accounted a Preſbyter's ſuperior, even according unto his very power of order, we muſt of neceſſity declare what principal duties belonging unto that kind of power a Biſhop might perform, and not a Preſbyter. The cuſtom of the primitive Church in conſecrating holy virgins and widows unto the ſervice of God and his Church, is a thing not obſcure, but eaſy to be known both by that which St. Paul himſelf concerning them hath, and by the latter conſonant evidence of other men's writings. Now a part of the preeminence which Biſhops had in their power of order was, that by them only ſuch were conſecrated. Again, the power of ordaining both Deacons and Preſbyters, the power to give the power of order unto others, this alſo hath been

1 Cor. vii. 25. 1 Tim. v. 9. Tertul. de vel. virg.

been always peculiar unto Biſhops. It hath not been heard of, that inferior Preſbyters were ever authorized to ordain. And concerning ordination, ſo great force and dignity it hath, that whereas Preſbyters by ſuch power as they have received for adminiſtration of the Sacraments are able only to beget children unto God, Biſhops, having power to ordain, do by virtue thereof create fathers to the people of God, as Epiphanius fitly diſputeth. There are which hold, that between a Biſhop and a Preſbyter, touching power of order, there is no difference. The reaſon of which conceit is, for that they ſee Preſbyters no leſs than Biſhops authorized to offer up the prayers of the Church, to preach the Goſpel, to baptize, to adminiſter the holy Euchariſt: but they conſidered not withal, as they ſhould, that the Preſbyter's authority to do theſe things is derived from the Biſhop which doth ordain him thereunto; ſo that even in thoſe things which are common unto both, yet the power of the one is as it were a certain light borrowed from the other's lamp. The Apoſtles being Biſhops at large, ordained every where Preſbyters. Titus and Timothy having received Epiſcopal power, as Apoſtolical ambaſſadors or legates, the one in Greece, the other in Epheſus, they both did, by virtue thereof, likewiſe ordain, throughout all Churches, Deacons, and Preſbyters within the circuits allotted unto them. As for Biſhops by reſtraint, their power this way incommunicable unto Preſbyters, which of the ancients do not acknowledge? I make not Confirmation any part of that power, which hath always belonged only unto Biſhops [a]; becauſe in ſome places the cuſtom was, that Preſbyters might alſo confirm in the abſence of a Biſhop, albeit, for the moſt part, none but only Biſhops were thereof the allowed miniſters.

Epiph. 3. lib. x. 1. Hær. 73.

Acts xiv. 23.

Tit. i. 5. 1 Tim. v. 22.

[a] Apud Ægyptum Preſbyteri confirmant ſi præſens non ſit Epiſcopus. Com. q. vulgo Amb. dic. in 4. Ep. ad Epheſ.

Here

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Here it will perhaps be objected, that the power of ordination itſelf was not every where peculiar and proper unto Biſhops, as may be ſeen by a Council of Carthage, which ſheweth their Church's order to have been, that Preſbyters ſhould together with the Biſhop lay hands upon the ordained. But the anſwer hereunto is eaſy; for doth it hereupon follow that the power of ordination was not principally and originally in the Biſhop? Our Saviour hath ſaid unto his Apoſtles, *With me ye ſhall ſit and judge the twelve tribes of Iſrael*; yet we know that to him alone it belongeth to judge the world, and that to him all judgment is given. With us even at this day Preſbyters are licenſed to do as much as that Council ſpeaketh of, if any be preſent. Yet will not any man thereby conclude that in this Church others than Biſhops are allowed to ordain. The aſſociation of Preſbyters is no ſufficient proof that the power of ordination is in them; but rather that it never was in them we may hereby underſtand, for that no man is able to ſhew either Deacon or Preſbyter ordained by Preſbyters only, and his ordination accounted lawful in any ancient part of the Church; every where examples being found both of Deacons and Preſbyters ordained by Biſhops alone oftentimes, neither even in that reſpect thought unſufficient. Touching that other chiefty, which is of juriſdiction; amongſt the Jews he which was higheſt through the worthineſs of peculiar duties incident unto his function in the legal ſervice of God, did bear always in Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction the chiefeſt ſway. As long as the glory of the Temple of God did laſt, there were in it ſundry orders of men conſecrated unto the ſervice thereof, one ſort of them inferior unto another in dignity and degree; the Nathiners ſubordinate unto the Levites, the Levites unto the Prieſts, the reſt of the Prieſts to thoſe twenty-four which were chief Prieſts, and they all to the High-Prieſt. If any man ſurmiſe that the difference between

tween them was only by distinction in the former kind of power, and not in this latter of jurisdiction, are not the words of the Law manifest which made Eleazer the son of Aaron the Priest chief captain of the Levites, and overseer of them unto whom the charge of the sanctuary was committed? Again, at the commandment of Aaron and his sons, are not the Gersonites themselves required to do all their service in the whole charge belonging unto the Gersonites, being inferior Priests, as Aaron and his sons were High-Priests? Did not Jehoshaphat appoint Amarias the Priest to be chief over them who were judges for the cause of the Lord in Jerusalem? *Priests*, saith Josephus, *worship God continually, and the eldest of the stock are governors over the rest. He doth sacrifice unto God before others, he hath care of the laws, judgeth controversies, correcteth offenders, and whosoever obeyeth him not, is convict of impiety against God.* But unto this they answer, that the reason thereof was because the High-Priest did prefigure Christ, and represent to the people that chiefty of our Saviour which was to come; so that Christ being now come, there is no cause why such preeminence should be given unto any one. Which fancy pleaseth so well the humour of all sorts of rebellious spirits, that they all seek to shroud themselves under it. Tell the Anabaptist, which holdeth the use of the sword unlawful for a Christian man, that God himself did allow his people to make wars; they have their answer round and ready, *Those ancient wars were figures of the spiritual wars of Christ.* Tell the Barrowist what sway David, and others the kings of Israel, did bear in the ordering of spiritual affairs, the same answer again serveth, namely, *That David, and the rest of the kings of Israel, prefigured Christ.* Tell the Martinist of the High-Priest's great authority and jurisdiction amongst the Jews, what other thing doth serve his turn but the self-same shift; *By the power of the High-Priest the universal supreme*

Numb. iii. 32.

Numb. iv. 27.

2 Chron. xix. 11.

Joseph. Antiq. p. 612.

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ſupreme authority of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt was ſhadowed. The thing is true, that indeed High-Prieſts were figures of Chriſt, yet this was in things belonging unto their power of order; they figured Chriſt by entering into the holy place, by offering for the ſins of all the people once a year, and by other the like duties: but, that to govern and maintain order amongſt thoſe that were ſubject to them, is an office figurative, and abrogated by Chriſt coming into the miniſtry; that their exerciſe of juriſdiction was figurative, yea figurative in ſuch ſort, that it had no other cauſe of being inſtituted, but only to ſerve as a repreſentation of ſomewhat to come, and that herein the Church of Chriſt ought not to follow them; this article is ſuch as muſt be confirmed, if any way, by miracle, otherwiſe it will hardly enter into the heads of reaſonable men, why the High-Prieſt ſhould more figure Chriſt in being a judge, than in being whatſoever he might be beſides. St. Cyprian deemed it no wreſting of Scripture to challenge as much for Chriſtian Biſhops, as was given to the High-Prieſt among the Jews, and to urge the Law of Moſes as being moſt effectual to prove it. St. Jerome likewiſe thought it an argument ſufficient to ground the authority of Biſhops upon. *To the end*, ſaith he, *we may underſtand Apoſtolical traditions to have been taken from the Old Teſtament; that which Aaron, and his ſons, and the Levites were in the Temple, Biſhops, and Preſbyters, and Deacons in the Church may lawfully challenge to themſelves.* In the office of a Biſhop Ignatius obſerveth theſe two functions, ἱερατεῖον καὶ ἀρχεῖον: concerning the one, ſuch is the preeminence of a Biſhop, that he only hath the heavenly myſteries of God committed originally unto him, ſo that otherwiſe than by his ordination, and by authority received from him, others beſides him are not licenſed therein to deal as ordinary miniſters of God's Church; and touching the other part of their ſacred function, wherein the power of their juriſdiction doth appear, firſt how the Apoſtles themſelves, and ſecondly how Titus and Timothy had rule

Cypr. Epiſt. ad Rogatianum.

Hieron. Ep. ci. tom. iv. part. ii. ed. Par.

Ep. ad Smyr.

rule and jurisdiction over Presbyters[a], no man is ignorant. And had not Christian Bishops afterward the like power? Ignatius Bishop of Antioch being ready by blessed martyrdom to end his life, writeth unto his Presbyters, the Pastors under him, in this sort: Οἱ Πρεσβύτεροι ποιμάνετε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποιμνίον, ἕως ἀναδείξη ὁ Θεὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἄρχειν ὑμῶν· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σπένδομαι. Ignat. Epist. ad Antioch. Cypr. Epist. ix. pag. 18. et xxx. pag. 58. ed. Oxon. After the death of Fabian Bishop of Rome, there growing some trouble about the receiving of such persons into the Church as had fallen away in persecution, and did now repent their fall, the Presbyters and Deacons of the same Church advertised St. Cyprian thereof, signifying, *That they must of necessity defer to deal in that cause till God did send them a new Bishop which might moderate all things.* Much we read of extraordinary fasting usually in the Church; and in this appeareth also somewhat concerning the chiefty of Bishops. *The custom is*, saith Tertullian[b], *that Bishops do appoint when the people shall all fast. Yea, it is not a matter left to our own free choice whether Bishops shall rule or no, but the will of our Lord and Saviour is*, saith Cyprian, *that every act of the Church be governed by her Bishops.* An argument it is of the Bishop's high preeminence, rule, and government over all the rest of the Clergy, even that the sword of persecution did strike, especially, always at the Bishop as at the head, the rest by reason of their lower estate being more secure, as the self-same Cyprian noteth; the very manner of whose speech unto his own both Deacons and Presbyters who remained safe, when himself then Bishop was driven into exile, argueth likewise his eminent authority and rule over them. *By these letters*, saith he, *I both exhort and command, that ye whose presence there is not envied at, nor so much beset with dangers, supply my room in doing those things which the exercise of Religion doth re-*

Epist. xxxiii. pag. 66.

Cypr. Ep. Vide Ignat. ad Magnes.

[a] 1 Tim. v. 19. Against a Presbyter receive no accusation under two or three witnesses.

[b] Tertul. de Jejuniis, pag. 551. C. ed. Par. Episcopi universæ plebi mandare jejunia assolent.

quire.

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quire. Unto the ſame purpoſe ſerve moſt directly thoſe compariſons, than which nothing is more familiar in the books of the ancient Fathers, who as oft as they ſpeak of the ſeveral degrees in God's Clergy, if they chance to compare Preſbyters with Levitical Prieſts of the Law, the Biſhop [a] they compare unto Aaron the High-Prieſt; if they compare the one with the Apoſtles, the other they compare (although in a lower proportion) ſometime [b] to Chriſt, and ſometime to God himſelf, evermore ſhewing that they placed the Biſhop in an eminent degree of ruling authority and power above other Preſbyters. Ignatius comparing Biſhops with Deacons, and with ſuch miniſters of the word and ſacraments as were but Preſbyters, and had no authority over Preſbyters; *What is,* ſaith he, *the Biſhop but one which hath all principality and power over all, ſo far forth as man may have it, being to his power a follower even of God's own Chriſt?* Mr. Calvin himſelf, though an enemy unto regiment by Biſhops, doth notwithſtanding confeſs, that in old time the miniſters which had charge to teach, choſe of their company one in every city, to whom they appropriated the title of Biſhop, leſt equality ſhould breed diſſenſion. He addeth farther, that look what duty the Roman Conſuls did execute in propoſing matter unto the Senate, in aſking their opinions, in directing them by advice, admonition, exhortation, in guiding actions by their authority, and in ſeeing that performed which was with common conſent agreed on, the like charge had the Biſhop in the aſſembly of other miniſters. Thus much Calvin being forced by the evidence of truth to grant, doth yet deny the Biſhops to have been ſo in authority at the firſt as to bear rule over other miniſters; wherein what rule he doth mean I know not. But if the Biſhops were ſo far in dignity above other miniſters, as the Conſuls

Ignat. Ep. ad Tra.

Inſtit. l. iv. c. 4. ſect. 2.

[a] Quod Aaron et filios ejus, hoc Epiſcopum et Preſbyteros eſſe noverimus. Hier. Ep. 2. ad Nepotianum.

[b] Ita eſt ut in Epiſcopis Dominum, in Preſbyteris Apoſtolos recognoſcas. Auctor opuſc. de Septem Ord. Eccl. inter opera Hieron.

of

of Rome for their year above other Senators, it is as much as we require. And undoubtedly, if as the Conſuls of Rome, ſo the Biſhops in the Church of Chriſt had ſuch authority, as both to direct other miniſters, and to ſee that every of them ſhould obſerve that which their common conſent had agreed on, how this could be done by the Biſhop not bearing rule over them, for mine own part I muſt acknowledge that my poor conceit is not able to comprehend. One objection there is of ſome force to make againſt that which we have hitherto endeavoured to prove, if they miſtake it not who allege it. St. Jerome comparing other Preſbyters with him, unto whom the name of Biſhop was then appropriate, aſketh, *What a Biſhop by virtue of his place and calling may do more than a Preſbyter, except it be only to ordain?* In like ſort Chryſoſtom having moved a queſtion, wherefore St. Paul would give Timothy precept concerning the quality of Biſhops, and deſcend from them to Deacons, omitting the order of Preſbyters between, he maketh thereunto this anſwer: *What things he ſpake concerning Biſhops, the ſame are alſo meet for Preſbyters, whom Biſhops ſeem not to excel in any thing but only in the power of ordination.* Wherefore ſeeing this doth import no ruling ſuperiority, it follows that Biſhops were as then no rulers over that part of the clergy of God. Whereunto we anſwer, that both St. Jerome and St. Chryſoſtom had in thoſe their ſpeeches an eye no farther than only to that function for which Preſbyters and Biſhops were conſecrated unto God. Now we know that their conſecration had reference to nothing but only that which they did by force and virtue of the power of order, wherein ſith Biſhops received their charge, only by that one degree, to ſpeak of, more ample than Preſbyters did theirs, it might be well enough ſaid that Preſbyters were that way authorized to do, in a manner, even as much as Biſhops could do, if we conſider what each of them did by virtue of ſolemn conſecration: for as concerning power of regiment

Hieron. Ep. ci. ad Evang. pag. 803. tom. iv. ed. Par. Chryſ. x. in 1 Tim. 3. pag. 470. tom. vi. ed. Par.

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ment and juriſdiction, it was a thing withal added unto Biſhops for the neceſſary uſe of ſuch certain perſons and people as ſhould be thereunto ſubject in thoſe particular Churches whereof they were Biſhops, and belonging to them only, as Biſhops of ſuch or ſuch a Church; whereas the other kind of power had relation indefinitely unto any of the whole ſociety of Chriſtian men, on whom they ſhould chance to exerciſe the ſame, and belonging to them abſolutely, as they were Biſhops, whereſoever they lived. St. Jerome's concluſion thereof is, *That ſeeing in the one kind of power there is no greater difference between a Preſbyter and a Biſhop, Biſhops ſhould not, becauſe of their preeminence in the other, too much lift up themſelves above the Preſbyters under them.* St. Chryſoſtom's collection, *That where the Apoſtle doth ſet down the qualities, whereof regard ſhould be had in the conſecration of Biſhops, there was no need to make a ſeveral diſcourſe how Preſbyters ought to be qualified when they are ordained; becauſe there being ſo little difference in the functions, whereunto the one and the other receive ordination, the ſame precepts might well ſerve for both; at leaſtwiſe by the virtues required in the greater, what ſhould need in the leſs might be eaſily underſtood. As for the difference of juriſdiction, the truth is, the Apoſtles yet living, and themſelves, where they were reſident, exerciſing the juriſdiction in their own perſons, it was not every where eſtabliſhed in Biſhops.* When the Apoſtles preſcribed thoſe laws, and when Chryſoſtom thus ſpake concerning them, it was not by him at all reſpected, but his eye was the ſame way with Jerome's; his cogitation was wholly fixed on that power which by conſecration is given to Biſhops more than to Preſbyters, and not on that which they have over Preſbyters by force of their particular acceſſary juriſdiction. Wherein if any man ſuppoſe that Jerome and Chryſoſtom knew no difference at all between a Preſbyter and a Biſhop, let him weigh but one or two of their ſentences. The pride of inſolent Biſhops hath not a ſharper enemy than Jerome, for which cauſe he taketh

Ep. xxxiv. pag. 261. tom. iv. par. ii. ed. Par.

taketh often occaſions moſt ſeverely to inveigh againſt them, ſometimes for[a] ſhewing diſdain and contempt of the Clergy under them; ſometimes for not[b] ſuffering themſelves to be told of their faults, and admoniſhed of their duty by inferiors; ſometimes for not[c] admitting their Preſbyters to teach, if ſo be themſelves were in preſence; ſometimes for not vouchſafing to uſe any conference with them, or to take any counſel of them. Howbeit never doth he, in ſuch wiſe, bend himſelf againſt their diſorders as to deny their rule and authority over Preſbyters. Of Vigilantius being a Preſbyter he thus writeth; *Miror ſanctum Epiſcopum, in cujus parochia eſſe Preſbyter dicitur, acquieſcere furori ejus; et non virga Apoſtolica virgaque ferrea confringere vas inutile. I marvel that the holy Biſhop, under whom Vigilantius is ſaid to be a Preſbyter, doth yield to his fury, and not break that unprofitable veſſel with his Apoſtolic and iron rod.* With this agreeth moſt fitly the grave advice he giveth to Nepotian: *Be thou ſubject unto thy Biſhop, and receive him as the father of thy ſoul. This alſo I ſay, that Biſhops ſhould know themſelves to be prieſts, and not lords*[d]; *that they ought to honour the Clergy as becometh the Clergy to be honoured, to the end their Clergy may yield them the honour which, as Biſhops, they ought to have.* That of the orator Domitius is

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Ep. 54. ad Ripar. pag. 279 Ep. 37. tom. iv. part. ii. ed. Par.

Hieron. ad Nepot. Epiſt. xxxiv pag. 261. ibid.

[a] Velut in aliqua ſublimi ſpecula conſtituti vix dignantur videre mortales et alloqui conſervos ſuos. In 4. c. Epiſt. ad Gal. pag. 273. tom. iv. part. i. ed. Par.

[b] Nemo peccantibus Epiſcopis audet contradicere: nemo audet accuſare majorem, propterea quaſi ſancti et beati et in præceptis Domini ambulantes augent peccata peccatis. Difficilis eſt accuſatio in Epiſcopum. Si enim peccaverit, non creditur; et ſi convictus fuerit, non punitur. In cap. 8. Eccleſiaſt. pag. 761. tom. ii. ed Par.

[c] Peſſimæ conſuetudinis eſt, in quibuſdam Eccleſiis facere Preſbyteros et præſentibus Epiſcopis non loqui; quaſi aut invideant aut non dignentur audire. Ad Nepotian. Epiſt. xxxiv. pag. 262. tom. iv. part. ii. ed. Par.

[d] No Biſhop may be a lord in reference unto the Preſbyters, which are under him, if we take that name in the worſe part, as Jerome here doth. For a Biſhop is to rule his Preſbyters, not as lords do their ſlaves, but as fathers do their children.

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famous; *Wherefore ſhould I eſteem of thee as of a Prince, when thou makeſt not of me that reckoning, which ſhould in reaſon be made of a Senator? Let us know the Biſhop and his Preſbyters to be the ſame which Aaron ſometimes and his ſons were.* Finally, writing againſt Heretics which were named Luciferians, *The very ſafety of the Church*, ſaith he, *dependeth on the dignity of the Chief Prieſt, to whom unleſs men grant an exceeding and an eminent power, there will grow in Churches even as many ſchiſms as there are perſons which have authority.*

Hieronym. pag. 295. tom. iv. part. ii. ed. Par.

Touching Chryſoſtom, to ſhew that by him there was alſo acknowledged a ruling ſuperiority of Biſhops over Preſbyters, both then uſual, and in no reſpect unlawful, what need we allege his words and ſentences, when the hiſtory of his own Epiſcopal actions in that very kind is till this day extant for all men to read that will? For St. Chryſoſtom, of a Preſbyter in Antioch, grew to be afterwards Biſhop of Conſtantinople; and in proceſs of time, when the Emperor's heavy diſpleaſure had, through the practice of a powerful faction againſt him, effected his baniſhment, Innocent the Biſhop of Rome underſtanding thereof, wrote his letters unto the Clergy of that Church, *That no ſucceſſor ought to be choſen in Chryſoſtom's room; Nec ejus clerum alii parere Pontifici, Nor his clergy OBEY any other Biſhop than him.* A fond kind of ſpeech, if ſo be there had been, as then, in Biſhops no ruling ſuperiority over Preſbyters. When two of Chryſoſtom's Preſbyters had joined themſelves to the faction of his mortal enemy Theophilus, Patriarch in the Church of Alexandria, the ſame Theophilus and other Biſhops which were of his conventicle, having ſent thoſe two amongſt others to cite Chryſoſtom their lawful Biſhop, and to bring him into public judgment, he taketh againſt this one thing ſpecial exception, as being contrary to all order, that thoſe Preſbyters ſhould come as meſſengers, and call him to judgment who were a part of that Clergy, whereof himſelf was ruler and judge. So that Biſhops to have had in thoſe times a ruling ſuperiority over Preſbyters, neither could

In vita Chryſ. per Caſſiod. Sen.

Pallad. in vita Chryſ.

Jerome

Jerome nor Chryſoſtom be ignorant, and therefore, hereupon it were ſuperfluous that we ſhould any longer ſtand. BOOK VII.

7. Touching the next point, how Biſhops together with Preſbyters have uſed to govern the Churches which were under them—It is by Zonaras ſomewhat plainly and at large declared, that the Biſhop had his ſeat on high in the Church above the reſidue who were preſent; that a number of Preſbyters did always there aſſiſt him; and that in the overſight of the people thoſe Preſbyters were [a] after a ſort the Biſhop's coadjutors. The Biſhops and Preſbyters, who, together with him, governed the Church, are for the moſt part by Ignatius jointly mentioned. In the Epiſtle to them of Trallis, he ſaith of Preſbyters, that they are Σύμβουλοι καὶ Συνέδρευται τῦ Ἐπισκόπυ, *Counſellors and Aſſiſtants of the Biſhop*, and concludeth in the end, *He that ſhould diſobey theſe, were a plain Atheiſt and an irreligious perſon, and one that did ſet Chriſt himſelf and his own ordinances at nought.* Which orders making Preſbyters or Prieſts the Biſhop's aſſiſtants, do not import that they were of equal authority with him, but rather ſo adjoined that they alſo were ſubject, as hath been proved. In the writings of St. Cyprian [b] nothing is more uſual, than to make mention of the college of Preſbyters ſubject unto the Biſhop; although in handling the common affairs of the Church they aſſiſted him. But of all other places which open the ancient order of Epiſcopal Preſbyters, the moſt clear is that Epiſtle of Cornelius unto Cyprian, concerning certain Novatian Heretics, received again upon their converſion into the unity of the Church. *After that Urbanus and Sidonius, Confeſſors, had come and ſignified unto our Preſbyters, that Maximus, a Confeſſor and Preſbyter, did, together with them, deſire to return into the Church, it ſeemed meet to hear from*

After what ſort Biſhops, together with Preſbyters, have uſed to govern the Churches which were under them.

Epiſt. 49. pag. 92. Ep. Cypr. ed. Oxon.

[a] Ὥσπερ σύμπονοι δεδόντις τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ. Zon. in Can. Apoſt.

[b] Cum Epiſcopo Preſbyteri Sacerdotali honore conjuncti. Ego et Com-preſbyteri noſtri qui nobis adſidebant. Epiſt.

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their own mouths and confeſſions that which by meſſage they had delivered. When they were come, and had been called to account by the Preſbyters touching thoſe things they had committed, their anſwer was, That they had been deceived; and did requeſt that ſuch things as there they were charged with might be forgotten. It being brought unto me what was done, I took order that the Preſbytery might be aſſembled. There were alſo preſent five Biſhops, that, upon ſettled advice, it might be with conſent of all determined what ſhould be done about their perſons. Thus far Cornelius to St. Cyprian. Wherein it may be, peradventure, demanded, whether he and other Biſhops did thus proceed with advice of their Preſbyters in all ſuch public affairs of the Church, as being thereunto bound by Eccleſiaſtical Canons, or elſe that they voluntarily ſo did, becauſe they judged it in diſcretion as then moſt convenient. Surely the words of Cyprian are plain, that he, of his own accord, choſe this way of proceeding. *Unto that*, ſaith he, *which Donatus, and Fortunatus, and Novatus, and Gordius, our Com-preſbyters, have written, I could by myſelf alone make no anſwer, foraſmuch as at the very firſt entrance into my biſhopric I reſolutely determined not to do any thing of mine own private judgment, without your counſel and the people's conſent.* The reaſon whereof he rendereth in the ſame Epiſtle, ſaying, *When by the grace of God myſelf ſhall come unto you*, (for St. Cyprian was now in exile,) *of things which either have been or muſt be done we will conſider*, ſicut honor mutuus poſcit, *as the law of courteſy which one doth owe to another of us requireth.* And at this very mark doth St. Jerome evermore aim, in telling Biſhops, that Preſbyters were at the firſt their equals; that, in ſome Churches, for a long time no Biſhop was made, but only ſuch as the Preſbyters did chooſe out amongſt themſelves, and therefore no cauſe why the Biſhop ſhould diſdain to conſult with them, and in weighty affairs of the Church to uſe their advice; ſometime to countenance their own actions, or to repreſs the boldneſs of proud

Cypr. Ep. 14. pag. 33. ed. Oxon.

and

and insolent spirits, that which Bishops had in themselves sufficient authority and power to have done, notwithstanding they would not do alone, but craved therein the aid and assistance of other Bishops, as in the case of those Novatian Heretics, before alleged, Cyprian himself did. And in Cyprian we find of others the like practice. Rogatian, a Bishop having been used contumeliously by a Deacon of his own Church, wrote thereof his complaint unto Cyprian and other Bishops. In which case their answer was, *That although in his own cause he did of humility rather shew his grievance, than himself take revenge, which by the rigour of his Apostolical office, and the authority of his chair, he might have presently done, without any further delay*; yet if the party should do again, as before their judgments were, *Fungaris circa eum potestate honoris tui, et eum vel deponas vel abstineas*; use on him that power which the honour of thy place giveth thee, either to depose him, or exclude him from access unto holy things. The Bishop, for his assistance and ease, had under him, to guide and direct Deacons in their charge, his Archdeacon, so termed, in respect of care over Deacons, albeit himself were not Deacon but Presbyter. For the guidance of Presbyters in their function, the Bishop had likewise under him one of the self-same order with them, but above them in authority, one whom the ancients termed usually an [a] Arch-Presbyter, we at this day name him Dean. For, most certain truth it is, that Churches Cathedral and the Bishops of them are as glasses, wherein the face and very countenance of Apostolical antiquity remaineth even as yet to be seen, notwithstanding the alterations which tract of time and the course of the world hath brought. For defence

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Cypr. Ep. pag. 5. ed. Oxon.

Ibid. pag. 6.

[a] Such a one was that Peter whom Cassiodore, writing the life of Chrysostom, doth call the Arch-Presbyter of the Church of Alexandria under Theophilus, at that time Bishop.

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and maintenance of them we are moſt earneſtly bound to ſtrive, even as the Jews were for their Temple and the High-Prieſt of God therein: the overthrow and ruin of the one, if ever the ſacrilegious avarice of Atheiſts ſhould prevail ſo far, which God of his infinite mercy forbid, ought no otherwiſe to move us than the people of God were moved, when having beheld the ſack and combuſtion of his ſanctuary in moſt lamentable manner flaming before their eyes, they uttered from the bottom of their grieved ſpirits thoſe voices of doleful ſupplication, *Exſurge Domine et miſerearis Sion; Servi tui diligunt lapides ejus, pulveris ejus miſeret eos.*

Pſal. cii. 13, 14.

How far the power of Biſhops hath reached from the beginning in reſpect of territory, or local compaſs.

8. How far the power which Biſhops had did reach, what number of perſons was ſubject unto them at the firſt, and how large their territories were, it is not for the queſtion we have in hand a thing very greatly material to know. For if we prove that Biſhops have lawfully of old ruled over other miniſters, it is enough, how few ſoever thoſe miniſters have been, how ſmall ſoever the circuit of place which hath contained them. Yet hereof ſomewhat, to the end we may ſo far forth illuſtrate Church antiquities. A law imperial there is, which ſheweth that there was great care had to provide for every Chriſtian city a Biſhop as near as might be [a], and that each city had ſome territory belonging unto it, which territory was alſo under the Biſhop of the ſame city; that becauſe it was not univerſally thus, but in ſome countries one Biſhop had ſubject unto him many cities and their territories, the law which provided for eſtabliſhment of the

[a] Ἑκάστη πόλις ἴδιον Ἐπίσκοπον ἐχέτω· Καὶ κἂν διὰ θείας ἀντιγραφῆς τολμήσῃ τὶς ἀφιλέσθαι πόλιν τῇ ἰδίᾳ Ἐπισκόπῃ ἢ τῆς περιοικίδος αὐτῆς ἢ τινὸς ἄλλῃ δικαίᾳ, γυμνῶται τῶν ὄντων καὶ ἀτιμῶται. Ἐξήρηται δὲ ἡ Τομέων Σκυθίας πόλις. Ὁ γὰρ Ἐπίσκοπος αὐτῆς κῆ τῶν λοιπῶν προνοεῖ. Καὶ ἡ Λεοντόπολις Ἰσαυρίας ὑπὸ τὸν Ἐπίσκοπόν ἐστιν Ἰσαυροπόλεως. Can. 35. pag. 1258. tom. ii. Bibliothec. Jur. Canon. Juſtell. ed. Par. Beſides Cypr. Ep. 55. pag. 112. Cum jampridem per omnes provincias et per urbes ſingulas ordinati ſunt Epiſcopi.

other

other orders, ſhould not prejudice thoſe churches wherein this contrary cuſtom had before prevailed. Unto the Biſhop of every ſuch city, not only the Preſbyters of the ſame city, but alſo of the territory thereunto belonging, were from the firſt beginning ſubject. For we muſt note, that when as yet there were in cities no pariſh churches, but only colleges of Preſbyters under their Biſhop's regiment, yet ſmaller congregations and churches there were even then abroad, in which churches there was but ſome one only Preſbyter to perform among them divine duties [a]. Towns and villages abroad receiving the faith of Chriſt from cities whereunto they were adjacent, did as ſpiritual and heavenly colonies, by their ſubjection, honour thoſe ancient mother-churches out of which they grew. And in the Chriſtian cities themſelves, when the mighty increaſe of believers made it neceſſary to have them divided into certain ſeveral companies, and over every of thoſe companies one only Paſtor to be appointed for the miniſtry of holy things; between the firſt, and the reſt after it, there could not be but a natural inequality, even as between the temple and ſynagogues in Jeruſalem. The Clergy of cities were termed *Urbici*, to ſhew a difference between them and the Clergies of towns, of villages, of caſtles abroad. And how many ſoever theſe pariſhes or congregations were in number which did depend on any one principal city church, unto the Biſhop of that one church they and their ſeveral ſole Preſbyters were all ſubject. BOOK VII. Cypr. Ep. 25.

For if ſo be, as ſome imagine, every petty congregation or hamlet had had its own particular Biſhop, what ſenſe could there be in thoſe words of Jerome concerning caſtles, villages, and other places abroad, which, having only Preſbyters to teach them, Hieron. adverſ. Lucifer.

[a] Ubi Eccleſiaſtici ordinis non eſt conſeſſus, et offert et tingit Sacerdos qui eſt ibi ſolus. Tert. exhort. ad caſtit.

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and to minister unto them the Sacraments, were resorted unto by Bishops for the administration of that wherewith their Presbyters were not licensed to meddle? To note a difference of that one Church where the Bishop hath his seat, and the rest which depend upon it, that one hath usually been termed Cathedral, according to the same sense wherein Ignatius, speaking of the Church of Antioch, termeth it his throne; and Cyprian making mention of Euaristus who had been Bishop and was now deposed, termeth him *Cathedræ extorrem*, one that was thrust besides his chair. The Church where the Bishop is set with his college of Presbyters about him we call a See; the local compass of his authority we term a Diocese. Unto a Bishop within the compass of his own both See and Diocese it hath by right of his place evermore appertained [a] to ordain Presbyters, to make Deacons, and with judgment to dispose of all things of weight. The Apostle St. Paul had episcopal authority, but so at large, that we cannot assign unto him any one certain Diocese. His [b] positive orders and constitutions Churches every where did obey. Yea, *a charge and care*, saith he, *I have even of all the Churches*. The walks of Titus and Timothy were limited within the bounds of a narrow precinct. As for other Bishops, that which Chrysostom hath concerning them, if they be evil, could not possibly agree unto them, unless their authority had reached farther than to some one only congregation. *The danger being so great, as it is, to him that scandalizeth one soul; what shall he*, saith Chrysostom, speaking of a Bishop, *what shall he deserve, by whom so many souls,*

Cypr. Ep. 49.

2 Cor. xi. 28.

Chryf. in 1. ad Tit. Hom. 1. pag. 625. B. tom. vi. ed. Par.

[a] Con. Antioch. cap. 9. Ἀκλήτους δὲ Ἐπισκόπους ὑπὲρ διοικησιν μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν ἀϑι χειροτονίᾳ ἢ τισιν ἄλλαις οἰκονομιαις ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς Conc. Const. c. 2. Τοῦτο γὰρ πρότερον διὰ τὰς διαγμὰς ἐγίνετο ἀδιαφόρως. Socr. lib. v. cap. 8.

[b] 1 Cor. xvi. 1. As I have ordained in the Churches of Galatia, the same do ye also.

yea,

yea, even whole cities and peoples, men, women, and children, citizens, peaſants, inhabitants, both of his own city, and of other towns ſubject unto it, are offended? A thing ſo unuſual it was for a Biſhop not to have ample juriſdiction, that Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, for making one a Biſhop of a ſmall town, is noted a proud deſpiſer of the commendable orders of the Church with this cenſure; *Such novelties Theophilus preſumed every where to begin, taking upon him, as it had been another Moſes.* Whereby is diſcovered alſo their error, who think, that ſuch as in Eccleſiaſtical writings they find termed *Chorepiſcopos* were the ſame in the country which the Biſhop was in the city: whereas the old *Chorepiſcopi* are they that were appointed of the Biſhops to have, as his vicegerents, ſome overſight of thoſe Churches abroad, which were ſubject unto his See; in which Churches they had alſo power to make ſub-deacons, readers, and ſuch like petty church-officers. With which power ſo ſtinted, they not contenting themſelves, but adventuring, at the length, to ordain even Deacons and Preſbyters alſo, as the Biſhop himſelf did, their preſumption herein was controlled and ſtayed by the ancient edict of Councils. For example, that of Antioch—*It hath ſeemed good to the holy ſynod that ſuch in towns and countries as are called* Chorepiſcopi, *do know their limits, and govern the Churches under them, contenting themſelves with the charge thereof, and with authority to make readers, ſub-deacons, exorciſts, and to be leaders or guiders of them; but not to meddle with the ordination either of a Preſbyter or of a Deacon, without the Biſhop of that city, whereunto the* Chorepiſcopus *and his territory alſo is ſubject.* The ſame ſynod appointeth likewiſe that thoſe *Chorepiſcopi* ſhall be made by none but the Biſhop of that city under which they are. Much might hereunto be added, if it were further needful to prove, that the local compaſs of a Biſhop's au-

Pallad. in vita Chryſ.

Concil. Antioch. c. 10. pag. 566. Concil. tom. ii. ed. Par.

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thority and power was never ſo ſtraitly liſted, as ſome men would have the world to imagine. But to go forward; degrees there are, and have been of old, even amongſt Biſhops alſo themſelves; one ſort of Biſhops being ſuperiors unto Preſbyters only, another ſort having preeminence alſo above Biſhops. It cometh here to be conſidered in what reſpect inequality of Biſhops was thought, at the firſt, a thing expedient for the Church, and what odds there hath been between them, by how much the power of one hath been larger, higher, and greater than that of another. Touching the cauſes for which it hath been eſteemed meet that Biſhops themſelves ſhould not every way be equals; they are the ſame for which the wiſdom both of God and man hath evermore approved it as moſt requiſite that where many governors muſt of neceſſity concur, for the ordering of the ſame affairs, of what nature ſoever they be, one ſhould have ſome kind of ſway or ſtroke more than all the reſidue. For where number is, there muſt be order, or elſe of force there will be confuſion. Let there be divers agents, of whom each hath his private inducements with reſolute purpoſe to follow them, (as each may have,) unleſs in this caſe ſome had preeminence above the reſt, a chance it were, if ever any thing ſhould be either begun, proceeded in, or brought unto any concluſion by them; deliberations and counſels would ſeldom go forward, their meetings would always be in danger to break up with jars and contradictions. In an army a number of captains, all of equal power, without ſome higher to over-ſway them—what good would they do? In all nations where a number are to draw any one way, there muſt be ſome one principal mover. Let the practice of our very adverſaries themſelves herein be conſidered; are the Preſbyters able to determine of church-affairs, unleſs their Paſtors do ſtrike the chiefeſt ſtroke, and have power above the reſt? Can their paſtoral ſynod do

any

any thing, unleſs they have ſome preſident amongſt them? In ſynods, they are forced to give one Paſtor preeminence and ſuperiority above the reſt. But they anſwer, that he, who being a Paſtor according to the order of their diſcipline is for the time ſome little deal mightier than his brethren, doth not continue ſo longer than only during the ſynod. Which anſwer ſerveth not to help them out of the briars; for, by their practice they confirm our principle, touching the neceſſity of one man's preeminence whereſoever a concurrency of many is required unto any one ſolemn action: this nature teacheth, and this they cannot chooſe but acknowledge. As for the change of his perſon to whom they give this preeminence, if they think it expedient to make for every ſynod a new ſuperior, there is no law of God which bindeth them ſo to do; neither any that telleth them, that they might ſuffer one and the ſame man being made preſident, even to continue ſo during life, and to leave his preeminence unto his ſucceſſors after him, as by the ancient order of the Church, Archbiſhops, Preſidents amongſt Biſhops, have uſed to do. The ground therefore of their preeminence above Biſhops, is the neceſſity of often concurrency of many Biſhops about the public affairs of the Church; as conſecrations of Biſhops, conſultations of remedy of general diſorders, audience judicial, when the actions of any Biſhop ſhould be called in queſtion, or appeals are made from his ſentence by ſuch as think themſelves wronged. Theſe and the like affairs uſually requiring that many Biſhops ſhould orderly aſſemble, begin, and conclude ſomewhat; it hath ſeemed, in the eyes of reverend antiquity, a thing moſt requiſite, that the Church ſhould not only have Biſhops, but even amongſt Biſhops ſome to be in authority chiefeſt. Unto which purpoſe, the very ſtate of the whole world, immediately before Chriſtianity took place, doth ſeem by the ſpecial providence of God

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God to have been prepared. For we muſt know, that the countries where the Goſpel was firſt planted, were for the moſt part ſubject to the Roman empire. The Romans' uſe was commonly, when by war they had ſubdued foreign nations, to make them provinces, that is, to place over them Roman governors, ſuch as might order them according to the laws and cuſtoms of Rome. And to the end that all things might be the more eaſily and orderly done, a whole country being divided into ſundry parts, there was in each part ſome one city, whereinto they about did reſort for juſtice. Every ſuch part was termed a [a] Dioceſe. Howbeit the name Dioceſe is ſometime ſo generally taken, that it containeth not only more ſuch parts of a province, but even more provinces alſo than one; as the dioceſe of Aſia containing eight, the dioceſe of Africa ſeven. Touching dioceſes according unto a ſtricter ſenſe, whereby they are taken for a part of a province, the words of Livy do plainly ſhew what orders the Romans did obſerve in them. For at what time they had brought the Macedonians into ſubjection, the Roman governor, by order from the Senate of Rome, gave charge that Macedonia ſhould be divided into four regions or dioceſes. *Capita Regionum ubi conſilia fierent, primæ ſedis Amphipolim, ſecundæ Theſſalonicen, tertiæ Pellam, quartæ Pelagoniam fecit. Eo, conſilia ſuæ cujuſque Regionis indici, pecuniam conferri, ibi Magiſtratus creari juſſit.* This being before the days of the emperors, by their appointment Theſſalonica was afterwards the chiefeſt, and in it the higheſt governor of Macedonia had his ſeat. Whereupon

[a] Cic. Fam. Ep. 53? Lib. xiii. Si quid habebis cum aliquo Helleſpontio controverſiæ, ut in illam διοίκησιν rejicias. The ſuit which Tully maketh was this, that the party in whoſe behalf he wrote to the Proprætor, might have his cauſes put over to that court which was held in the dioceſe of Helleſpont, where the man did abide, and not to his trouble be forced to follow them at Epheſus, which was the chiefeſt court in that province.

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the other three dioceſes were in that reſpect inferior unto it as daughters unto a mother city; for not unto every town of juſtice was that title given, but was peculiar unto thoſe cities wherein principal courts were kept. Thus in Macedonia the mother city was Theſſalonica; in Aſia, Epheſus; in Africa, Carthage; for ſo [a] Juſtinian in his time made it. The governors, officers, and inhabitants of theſe mother-cities were termed for difference ſake Metropolites, that is to ſay, Mother-city-men; than which nothing could poſſibly have been deviſed more fit to ſuit with the nature of that form of ſpiritual regiment, under which afterwards the Church ſhould live. Wherefore if the Prophet ſaw cauſe to acknowledge unto the Lord, that the light of his gracious providence did ſhine no where more apparently to the eye, than in preparing the land of Canaan to be a receptacle for that Church which was of old, *Thou haſt brought a vine out of Egypt, thou haſt caſt out the Heathen and planted it, thou madeſt room for it, and when it had taken root it filled the land*; how much more ought we to wonder at the handy-work of Almighty God, who, to ſettle the kingdom of his dear Son, did not caſt out any one people, but directed in ſuch ſort the politic counſels of them who ruled far and wide over all, that they throughout all nations, people, and countries upon earth, ſhould unwittingly prepare the field wherein the vine which God did intend, that is to ſay, the Church of his dearly beloved Son, was to take root. For unto nothing elſe can we attribute it, ſaving only unto the very incomprehenſible force of divine

Cic. ad Attic. lib. v. Ep. 13. Item, l. obſerv. D. de officio Proconſulis et Legati.

Pſal. lxxx. 8, 9.

[a] Lib. i. Tit. 27. ſect. 1. et 2. Cod. Juſtinian. tom. ii. pag. 50. Corp. Jur. Civil. ed. Amſtelodam. Sancimus ut ſicut Oriens atque Illyricum, ita et Africa prætoriana maxima poteſtate ſpecialiter a noſtra clementia decoretur. Cujus ſedem jubemus eſſe Carthaginem, et ab ea, auxiliante Deo, ſeptem provinciæ cum ſuis judicibus diſponantur.

Providence,

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Providence, that the world was in ſo marvellous fit ſort divided, levelled, and laid out beforehand. Whoſe work could it be but his alone to make ſuch proviſion for the direct implantation of his Church? Wherefore inequality of Biſhops being found a thing convenient for the Church of God, in ſuch conſideration as hath been ſhewed, when it came ſecondly in queſtion, which Biſhops ſhould be higher and which lower, it ſeemed herein not to the civil monarch only, but to the moſt, expedient that the dignity and celebrity of mother-cities ſhould be reſpected[a]. They which dream, that if civil authority had not given ſuch preeminence unto one city more than another, there had never grown an inequality among Biſhops, are deceived. Superiority of one Biſhop over another would be requiſite in the Church, although that civil diſtinction were aboliſhed. Other cauſes having made it neceſſary, even amongſt Biſhops, to have ſome in degree higher than the reſt, the civil dignity of place was conſidered only as a reaſon wherefore this Biſhop ſhould be preferred before that: which deliberation had been likely enough to have raiſed no ſmall trouble, but that ſuch was the circumſtance of place, as being followed in that choice, beſides the manifeſt conveniency thereof, took away all ſhew of partiality, prevented ſecret emulations, and gave no man occaſion to think his perſon diſgraced, in that another was preferred before him.

Thus we ſee upon what occaſion Metropolitan Biſhops became Archbiſhops. Now while the whole Chriſtian world, in a manner, ſtill continued under the civil government, there being oftentimes within ſome one more large territory, divers and ſundry

[a] Concil. Antiochen. c. 9. Τὰς καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν Ἐπισκόπους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστῶτα Ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας, διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει πανταχόθεν συντρέχειν πάντας τοὺς τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντας, ὅθεν ἔδοξε καὶ τῇ τιμῇ πρωτεύειν αὐτόν.

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mother-churches, the Metropolitans whereof were Archbiſhops, as, for order's ſake, it grew hereupon expedient, there ſhould be a difference alſo among them; ſo no way ſeemed, in thoſe times, more fit than to give preeminence unto them whoſe Metropolitan Sees were of ſpecial deſert or dignity. For which cauſe theſe, as being Biſhops in the chiefeſt mother-churches, were termed Primates, and at the length, by way of excellency, Patriarchs. For ignorant we are not, how ſometimes the title of Patriarch is generally given to all Metropolitan Biſhops. They are mightily therefore to blame which are ſo bold and confident, as to affirm that, for the ſpace of above four hundred and thirty years after Chriſt, all Metropolitan Biſhops were in every reſpect equals, till the ſecond Council of Conſtantinople exalted certain Metropolitans above the reſt. True it is, they were equals as touching the exerciſe of ſpiritual power within their dioceſes, when they dealt with their own flock. For what is it that one of them might do within the compaſs of his own precinct, but another within his might do the ſame? But that there was no ſubordination at all, of one of them unto another; that when they all, or ſundry of them, were to deal in the ſame cauſes, there was no difference of firſt and ſecond in degree, no diſtinction of higher and lower in authority acknowledged amongſt them, is moſt untrue. The great Council of Nice was after our Saviour Chriſt but three hundred twenty four years, and in that Council certain Metropolitans are ſaid even then to have had ancient preeminence and dignity above the reſt, namely, the Primate of Alexandria, of Rome, and of Antioch. Threeſcore years after this, there were ſynods under the Emperor Theodoſius, which ſynod was the firſt at Conſtantinople, whereat one hundred and fifty Biſhops were aſſembled: at which Council it was decreed, that the Biſhop of Conſtantinople ſhould not only be added unto the former Primates, but alſo that his place

Villerius de ſtatu primitivæ Eccleſiæ.

Socr. l. iii. c. 8.

ſhould

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ſhould be ſecond amongſt them, the next to the Biſhop of Rome in dignity. The ſame decree was
Can. 28. again renewed concerning Conſtantinople, and the
Can. 36. reaſon thereof laid open in the Council of Chalcedon. At the length came that ſecond of Conſtantinople, whereat were ſix hundred and thirty Biſhops for a third confirmation thereof. Laws imperial there are likewiſe extant to the ſame effect. Herewith the Biſhop of Conſtantinople being over much puffed up, not only could not endure that See to be in eſtimation higher, whereunto his own had preferment to be the next, but he challenged more than ever any Chriſtian Biſhop in the world before either had, or with reaſon could have. What he challenged, and was therein as then refuſed by the Biſhop of Rome, the ſame the Biſhop of Rome in proceſs of time obtained for himſelf, and having gotten it by bad means, hath both upheld and augmented it, and upholdeth it by acts and practices much worſe. But Primates, according
Novel. cxxiii. 23. to their firſt inſtitution, were all, in relation unto Archbiſhops, the ſame by prerogative which Archbiſhops were, being compared unto Biſhops. Before the Council of Nice, albeit there were both Metropolitans and Primates, yet could not this be a means forcible enough to procure the peace of the Church: but all things were wonderful tumultuous and troubleſome, by reaſon of one ſpecial practice common unto the Heretics of thoſe times; which was, that when they had been condemned and caſt out of the Church by the ſentence of their own Biſhops, they, contrary to the ancient received orders of the Church, had a cuſtom to wander up and down, and to inſinuate themſelves into favour where they were not known, imagining themſelves to be ſafe enough, and not to be clean cut off from the body of the Church, if they could any where find a Biſhop which was content to communicate with them; whereupon enſued, as in that caſe there needs muſt, every day quarrels and jars unappeaſable amongſt Biſhops.

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The Nicene Council, for redreſs hereof, conſidered the bounds of every Archbiſhop's Eccleſiaſtical juriſdictions, what they had been in former times; and accordingly appointed unto each grand part of the Chriſtian world ſome one Primate, from whoſe judgment no man living within his territory might appeal, unleſs it were to a council general of all Biſhops. The drift and purport of which order was, that neither any man oppreſſed by his own particular Biſhop might be deſtitute of a remedy, through appeal unto the more indifferent ſentence of ſome other ordinary judge; nor yet every man be left to ſuch liberty, as before, to ſhift himſelf out of their hands for whom it was moſt meet to have the hearing and determining of his cauſe. The evil, for remedy whereof this order was taken, annoyed at that preſent eſpecially the Church of Alexandria in Egypt, where Arianiſm begun. For which cauſe the ſtate of that Church is in the Nicene Canons concerning this matter mentioned before the reſt. The words of their ſacred edict are theſe: *Let thoſe cuſtoms remain in force which have been of old the cuſtoms of Egypt and Libya, and Pentapolis; by which cuſtoms the Biſhop of Alexandria hath authority over all theſe; the rather, for that this hath alſo been the uſe of the Biſhops of Rome, yea the ſame hath been kept in Antioch, and in other provinces.* Now, becauſe the cuſtom likewiſe had been, that great honour ſhould be done to the Biſhop of Ælia or Jeruſalem; therefore leſt their decree concerning the Primate of Antioch ſhould any whit prejudice the dignity and honour of that ſee, ſpecial proviſion is made, that although it were inferior in degree, not only unto Antioch the chief of the Eaſt, but even unto Cæſarea too; yet ſuch preeminence it ſhould retain as belonged to a mother-city, and enjoy whatſoever ſpecial prerogative or privilege it had beſides. Let men therefore hereby judge of what continuance this order which upholdeth de-

Conc. Nic. c. 6. pag. 31. tom. ii. Concil. ed. Par.

Ejuſd. Conc. c. 7.

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grees of Biſhops muſt needs have been, when a general council of three hundred and eighteen Biſhops, living themſelves within three hundred years after Chriſt, doth reverence the ſame for antiquity's ſake, as a thing which had been even then of old obſerved in the moſt renowned parts of the Chriſtian world. Wherefore needleſs altogether are thoſe vain and wanton demands, No mention of an Archbiſhop in Theophilus Biſhop of Antioch? none in Ignatius? none in Clemens of Alexandria? none in Juſtin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian? none in all thoſe old hiſtoriographers, out of which Euſebius gathereth his ſtory? none till the time of the Council of Nice, three hundred and twenty years after Chriſt [a]? As if the mention, which is thereof made in that very Council where ſo many Biſhops acknowledge Archiepiſcopal dignity even then ancient, were not of far more weight and value than if every of thoſe Fathers had written large diſcourſes thereof. But what is it which they will bluſh at who dare ſo confidently ſet it down, that in the Council of Nice ſome Biſhops being termed Metropolitans, no more difference is thereby meant to have been between one Biſhop and another than is ſhewed between one miniſter and another, when we ſay ſuch a one is a miniſter in the city of London, and ſuch a one a miniſter in the town of Newington? So that

[a] T. C. l. i. 92. What? no mention of him in Theophilus Biſhop of Antioch? none in Clemens Alexandrinus? none in Ignatius? none in Juſtin Martyr? in Irenæus, in Tertullian, in Origen, in Cyprian? in thoſe old hiſtoriographers, out of which Euſebius gathered his ſtory? Was it for his baſeneſs and ſmallneſs that he could not be ſeen amongſt the Biſhops, Elders, and Deacons, being the chief and principal of them all? Can the cedar of Lebanon be hidden amongſt the box-trees? T. C. l. i. ubi ſupra. A Metropolitan Biſhop was nothing elſe but a Biſhop of that place which it pleaſed the emperor or magiſtrate to make the chief of the diocеſe or ſhire; and as for this name, it makes no more difference between a Biſhop and a Biſhop, than when I ſay a miniſter of London, and a miniſter of Newington.

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to be termed a Metropolitan Biſhop did, in their conceit, import no more preeminence above other Biſhops, than we mean that a girdler hath over others of the ſame trade, if we term him which doth inhabit ſome mother-city for difference ſake a Metropolitan girdler. But the truth is too manifeſt to be eluded; a Biſhop at that time had power in his own dioceſe over all other miniſters there, and a Metropolitan Biſhop ſundry preeminences above other Biſhops, one of which preeminences was, in the ordination of Biſhops, to have κύρος τῶν γινομένων, the chief power of ordering all things done [a]. Which preeminence that Council itſelf doth mention, as alſo a greater belonging unto the Patriarch or Primate of Alexandria, concerning whom it is there likewiſe ſaid, that to him did belong ἐξκσία, *authority and power over all Egypt, Pentapolis, and Libya*; within which compaſs ſundry Metropolitan ſees to have been, there is no man ignorant, which in thoſe antiquities have any knowledge. Certain prerogatives there are wherein Metropolitans excelled other Biſhops, certain alſo wherein Primates excelled other Metropolitans. Archiepiſcopal or Metropolitan prerogatives are thoſe mentioned in the old Imperial Conſtitutions, to convocate the holy Biſhops under them, within the compaſs of their own provinces, when need required their meeting together for inquiſition and redreſs of public diſorders; to grant unto Biſhops under them leave and faculty of abſence from their own dioceſes, when it ſeemed neceſſary that they ſhould other where converſe for ſome reaſonable while; to give notice unto Biſhops under them of things commanded by ſupreme authority; to have the hearing and firſt determining of

Nov. cxxiii. can. 10.

Nov. cxxiii. can. 9.

Nov. lxxiii. can. 2.

Nov. cxxii. can. 22.

[a] Conc. Nicen. c. 6. pag. 31. tom. ii. Concil. ed. Par. Illud autem omnino manifeſtum, quod ſiquis abſque Metropolitani ſententia factus ſit Epiſcopus, hunc magna Synodus definivit Epiſcopum eſſe non oportere.

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Nov. cxxiii. can. 23.

Can. 9. pag. 566. tom. ii. Concil. ed. Par.

Can. 16.

Can. 4. τὸ κύρος τῶν γινομένων

Can. 23.

Can. 34.

Caſſiod. in. vita Chryſ.

ſpect ſaid to have had the care and charge not only of the city of Conſtantinople, *ſed etiam totius Thraciæ quæ ſex præfecturis eſt diviſa, et Aſiæ totius quæ ab undecim præſidibus regitur.* The reſt of the Eaſt was under Antioch, the South under Alexandria, and the Weſt under Rome. Whereas therefore John the Biſhop of Jeruſalem being noted of hereſy, had written an apology for himſelf unto the Biſhop of Alexandria, named Theophilus; St. Jerome reproveth his breach of the order of the Church herein, ſaying, *Tu qui regulas quæris Eccleſiaſticas, et Niceni Concilii canonibus uteris,—reſponde mihi, ad Alexandrinum Epiſcopum Paleſtina quid pertinet? Ni fallor, hoc ibi decernitur ut Paleſtinæ Metropolis Cæſarea ſit, et totius Orientis Antiochia. Aut igitur ad Cæſarienſem Epiſcopum referre debueras,—aut ſi procul expetendum judicium erat, Antiochiam potius literæ dirigendæ.* Thus much concerning that local compaſs which was anciently ſet out to Biſhops; within the bounds and limits whereof we find, that they did accordingly exerciſe that Epiſcopal authority and power which they had over the Church of Chriſt.

Hieron. Ep. 38. pag. 330. tom. iv. part. 2. ed. Par.

9. The firſt whom we read to have bent themſelves againſt the ſuperiority of Biſhops were Aerius and his followers. Aerius ſeeking to be made a Biſhop, could not brook that Euſtathius was thereunto preferred before him. Whereas therefore he ſaw himſelf unable to riſe to that greatneſs which his ambitious pride did affect, his way of revenge was to try what wit, being ſharpened with envy and malice, could do, in raiſing a new ſeditious opinion that the ſuperiority which Biſhops had, was a thing which they ſhould not have; that a Biſhop might not ordain, and that a Biſhop ought not any way to be diſtinguiſhed from a Preſbyter [a]. For ſo

In what reſpects Epiſcopal regiment hath been gainſaid of old by Aerius.

Aug. de hær. ad quod vult deu.

[a] Aeriani ab Aerio quodam ſunt nominati qui quum eſſet Preſbyter, doluiſſe fertur, quod Epiſcopus non poteſt ordinari. Dicebat Epiſcopum a Preſbytero nulla ratione debere diſcerni. Aug. de hær. pag. 18. tom. viii. ed. Par.

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doth St. Auguſtine deliver the opinion of Aerius. Epiphanius not ſo plainly, nor ſo directly, but after a more rhetorical ſort. *His ſpeech was rather furious than convenient for man to uſe: What is*, ſaith he, *a Biſhop more than a Preſbyter? The one doth differ from the other nothing. For their order is one, their honour one, one their dignity. A Biſhop impoſeth his hands, ſo doth a Preſbyter. A Biſhop baptizeth, the like doth a Preſbyter. The Biſhop is a miniſter of divine ſervice, a Preſbyter the ſame. The Biſhop ſitteth as a judge in a throne, even the Preſbyter ſitteth alſo.* A Preſbyter therefore doing thus far the ſelf-ſame thing which a Biſhop did, it was by Aerius enforced, that they ought not in any thing to differ. Are we to think Aerius had wrong in being judged an heretic for holding this opinion? Surely if hereſy be an error falſely fathered upon Scriptures, but indeed repugnant to the truth of the Word of God, and by the conſent of the univerſal Church in the Councils, or in her contrary uniform practice throughout the whole world declared to be ſuch; and the opinion of Aerius in this point be a plain error of that nature, there is no remedy, but Aerius ſo ſchiſmatically and ſtiffly maintaining it, muſt even ſtand where Epiphanius and Auguſtine have placed him. An error repugnant unto the truth of the Word of God is held by them, whoſoever they be, that ſtand in defence of any concluſion drawn erroneouſly out of Scripture, and untruly thereon fathered. The opinion of Aerius therefore being falſely collected out of Scripture, muſt needs be acknowledged an error repugnant unto the truth of the Word of God. His opinion was, that there ought not to be any difference between a Biſhop and a Preſbyter. His grounds and reaſons for his opinion were ſentences of Scripture. Under pretence of which ſentences, whereby it ſeemed that Biſhops and Preſbyters at the firſt did not differ, it was concluded by Aerius, that the Church did ill in permitting any difference to be made.

made. The anſwer which Epiphanius maketh unto ſome part of the proofs by Aerius alleged, was not greatly ſtudied or laboured; for through a contempt of ſo baſe an error, (for this himſelf did perceive and profeſs,) yieldeth he thereof expreſsly this reaſon; men that have wit do evidently ſee that all this is mere fooliſhneſs. But how vain and ridiculous ſoever his opinion ſeemed unto wiſe men, with it Aerius deceived many [a], for which cauſe ſomewhat was convenient to be ſaid againſt it. And in that very extemporal ſlightneſs which Epiphanius there uſeth, albeit the anſwer made to Aerius be [b] in part but raw, yet ought not hereby the truth to find any leſs favour than in other cauſes it doth, where we do not therefore judge hereſy to have the better, becauſe now and then it allegeth that for itſelf, which defenders of the truth do not always ſo fully anſwer. Let it therefore ſuffice, that Aerius did bring nothing unanſwerable. The weak ſolutions which the one doth give, are to us no prejudice againſt the cauſe, as long as the other's oppoſitions are of no greater ſtrength and validity. Did not Aerius, trow ye, deſerve to be eſteemed as a new Apollos, mighty and powerful in the word, which could for maintenance of his cauſe bring forth ſo plain divine authorities, to prove by the Apoſtles' own writings that Biſhops ought not in any thing to differ from other Preſbyters? For example, where it is ſaid that Preſbyters made Timothy Biſhop, is it not clear

[a] Ἐν τούτῳ πολλοὺς ἠπάτησε.

[b] As in that he ſaith, the Apoſtle doth name ſometimes Preſbyters and not Biſhops, 1 Tim. iv. 14. ſometimes Biſhops and not Preſbyters, Phil. i. 1. becauſe all Churches had not both, for want of able and ſufficient men. In ſuch Churches therefore as had but the one, the Apoſtle could not mention the other. Which anſwer is nothing to the latter place above mentioned: for that the Church of Philippi ſhould have more Biſhops than one, and want a few able men to be Preſbyters under the regiment of one Biſhop, how ſhall we think it probable or likely?

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that a Biſhop ſhould not differ from a Preſbyter, by having power of ordination? Again, if a Biſhop might by order be diſtinguiſhed from a Preſbyter, would the Apoſtle have given[a] as he doth unto Preſbyters the title of Biſhops? Theſe were the invincible demonſtrations wherewith Aerius did ſo fiercely aſſault Biſhops. But the ſentence of Aerius perhaps was only, that the difference between a Biſhop and a Preſbyter hath grown by the order and cuſtom of the Church, the Word of God not appointing that any ſuch difference ſhould be. Well, let Aerius then find the favour to have his ſentence ſo conſtrued; yet his fault in condemning the order of the Church, his not ſubmitting himſelf unto that order, the ſchiſm which he cauſed in the Church about it, who can excuſe? No, the truth is, that theſe things did even neceſſarily enſue, by force of the very opinion which he and his followers did hold. His concluſion was, that there ought to be no difference between a Preſbyter and a Biſhop; his proofs, thoſe Scripture ſentences which make mention of Biſhops and Preſbyters without any ſuch diſtinction or difference. So that if between his concluſion and the proofs whereby he laboured to ſtrengthen the ſame, there be any ſhew of coherence at all, we muſt of neceſſity confeſs, that when Aerius did plead, there is by the Word of God no difference between a Preſbyter and a Biſhop, his meaning was, not only that the Word of God itſelf appointeth not, but that it enforceth on us the duty of not appointing, or allowing, that any ſuch difference ſhould be made.

[a] 1 Tim. iv. 14. With the impoſition of the Preſbytery's hand. Of which Preſbytery St. Paul was chief, 2 Tim. i. 6. And I think no man will deny that St. Paul had more than a ſimple Preſbyter's authority, Phil. i. 1. To all the Saints at Philippi, with the Biſhops and Deacons. For as yet in the Church of Philippi, there was no one which had authority beſides Apoſtles, but their Preſbyters or Biſhops were all both in title and in power equal.

10. And

10. And of the ſelf-ſame mind are the enemies of government by Biſhops, even at this preſent day. They hold, as Aerius did, that if Chriſt and his Apoſtles were obeyed, a Biſhop ſhould not be permitted to ordain; that between a Preſbyter and a Biſhop the Word of God alloweth not any inequality or difference to be made; that their order, their authority, their power ought to be one; that it is but by uſurpation and corruption, that the one ſort are ſuffered to have rule over the other, or to be any way ſuperior unto them. Which opinion having now ſo many defenders, ſhall never be able while the world doth ſtand to find in ſome, believing antiquity, as much as one which hath given it countenance, or borne any friendly affection towards it. Touching theſe men therefore, whoſe deſire is to have all equal, three ways there are whereby they uſually oppugn the received order of the Church of Chriſt. Firſt, by diſgracing the inequality of paſtors, as a new and mere human invention, a thing which was never drawn out of Scripture, where all paſtors are found (they ſay) to have one and the ſame power both of order and juriſdiction. Secondly, by gathering together the differences between that power which we give to Biſhops, and that which was given them of old in the Church: ſo that, albeit even the ancient took more than was warrantable, yet ſo far they ſwerved not as ours have done. Thirdly, by endeavouring to prove, that the Scripture directly forbiddeth, and that the judgment of the wiſeſt, the holieſt, the beſt in all ages, condemneth utterly the inequality which we allow.

In what reſpects Epiſcopal regiment is gainſaid by the authors of pretended reformation at this day.

11. That inequality of paſtors is a mere human invention, a thing not found in the Word of God, they prove thus:

Their arguments in diſgrace of regiment by Biſhops, as being a mere invention of man, and not found in Scripture, anſwered.

1. *All the places of Scripture where the word* Biſhop *is uſed, or any other derived of that name, ſignify an overſight in reſpect of ſome particular congregation only, and never in regard of Paſtors committed unto his overſight.*

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ſight. For which cauſe the names of Biſhops, and Preſbyters, or Paſtoral Elders, are uſed indifferently, to ſignify one and the ſelf-ſame thing. Which ſo indifferent and common uſe of theſe words for one and the ſelf-ſame office, ſo conſtantly and perpetually in all places, declareth that the word Biſhop *in the Apoſtles' writing importeth not a Paſtor of higher power and authority over other Paſtors.*

Titus i. 5. 1 Tim. iii. 5. Phil. i. 1. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2.

2. *All Paſtors are called to their office by the ſame means of proceeding; the Scripture maketh no difference in the manner of their trial, election, ordination: which proveth their office and power to be by Scripture all one.*

3. *The Apoſtles were all of equal power, and all Paſtors do alike ſucceed the Apoſtles in their miniſtry and power, the commiſſion and authority whereby they ſucceed being in Scripture but one and the ſame that was committed to the Apoſtles, without any difference of committing to one Paſtor more, or to another leſs.*

4. *The power of the cenſures and keys of the Church, and of ordaining and ordering miniſters, (in which two points eſpecially this ſuperiority is challenged,) is not committed to any one Paſtor of the Church more than to another; but the ſame is committed as a thing to be carried equally in the guidance of the Church. Whereby it appeareth, that Scripture maketh all Paſtors, not only in the miniſtry of the Word and Sacraments, but alſo in all Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction and authority, equal.*

5. *The Council of Nice doth attribute this difference, not unto any ordination of God, but to an ancient cuſtom uſed in former times, which judgment is alſo followed afterward by other Councils*; Concil. Antioch. cap. ix.

6. Upon theſe premiſes, their ſummary collection and concluſion is, *that the miniſtry of the Goſpel, and the functions thereof, ought to be from heaven and of God,* Joh. i. 23. *that if they be of God, and from heaven, then are they ſet down in the Word of God*[b];

[a] T. C. lib. i. pag. 13. So that it appeareth that the miniſtry of the Goſpel, and the functions thereof, ought to be from heaven

that if they be not in the Word of God, (as by the premiſes it doth appear (they ſay) *that our kinds of Biſhops are not,) it followeth, they are invented by the brain of men, and are of the earth, and that conſequently they can do no good in the Church of Chriſt, but harm.*

Our anſwer hereunto is, firſt, that their proofs are unavailable to ſhew that Scripture affordeth no evidence for the inequality of Paſtors. Secondly, that albeit the Scripture did no way inſinuate the ſame to be God's ordinance, and the Apoſtles to have brought it in, albeit the Church were acknowledged by all men to have been the firſt beginner thereof a long time after the Apoſtles were gone, yet is not the authority of Biſhops hereby diſannulled, it is not hereby proved unfit or unprofitable for the Church. Anſwer.

1. *That the Word of God doth acknowledge no inequality of power amongſt Paſtors of the Church,* neither doth it appear by the ſignification of this word *Biſhop,* nor by the indifferent uſe thereof. For, concerning ſignification, firſt it is clearly untrue that no other thing is thereby ſignified but only an overſight in reſpect of a particular church and congregation. For, I beſeech you, of what pariſh or particular congregation was Matthias Biſhop? His office Scripture doth term Epiſcopal; which being no other than was common unto all the Apoſtles of Chriſt, foraſmuch as in that number there is not any to whom the overſight of many Paſtors did not belong by force and virtue of that office; it followeth that the very word doth ſometimes, even in Scripture, ſignify an overſight ſuch as includeth charge over Paſtors themſelves. And if we look to the Acts i. 20.

ven; from heaven, I ſay, and heavenly, becauſe although it be executed by earthly men, and miniſters are choſen alſo by men like unto themſelves, yet becauſe it is done by the word and inſtitution of God, it may well be accounted to come from heaven and from God.

uſe,

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uſe of the word, being applied with reference unto ſome one Church, as Epheſus, Philippi, and ſuch like, albeit the guides of thoſe Churches be interchangeably in Scripture termed ſometime Biſhops, ſometime Preſbyters, to ſignify men having overſight and charge, without relation at all unto other than the Chriſtian Laity alone; yet this doth not hinder, but that Scripture may in ſome place have other names, whereby certain of thoſe Preſbyters or Biſhops are noted to have the overſight and charge of Paſtors, as out of all peradventure they had whom St. John doth entitle Angels.

Rev. ii. 1.

2. *As for thoſe things which the Apoſtle hath ſet down concerning trial, election, and ordination of Paſtors, that he maketh no difference in the manner of their calling*, this alſo is but a ſilly argument to prove their office and their power equal by the Scripture. The form of admitting each ſort unto their offices, needed no particular inſtruction: there was no fear, but that ſuch matters of courſe would eaſily enough be obſerved. The Apoſtle therefore toucheth thoſe things wherein judgment, wiſdom, and conſcience is required; he carefully admoniſheth of what quality Eccleſiaſtical perſons ſhould be, that their dealing might not be ſcandalous in the Church. And foraſmuch as thoſe things are general, we ſee that of Deacons there are delivered, in a manner, the ſelf-ſame precepts which are given concerning Paſtors, ſo far as concerneth their trial, election, and ordination. Yet who doth hereby collect that Scripture maketh Deacons and Paſtors equal? If notwithſtanding it be yet demanded, *Wherefore he which teacheth what kind of perſons Deacons and Preſbyters ſhould be, hath nothing in particular about the quality of chief Preſbyters, whom we call Biſhops?* I anſwer briefly, that there it was no fit place for any ſuch diſcourſe to be made, inaſmuch as the Apoſtle wrote unto Timothy and Titus, who having by commiſſion Epiſcopal authority, were to exerciſe

exerciſe the ſame in ordaining, not Biſhops, (the Apoſtles themſelves yet living, and retaining that power in their own hands,) but Preſbyters, ſuch as the Apoſtles at the firſt did create throughout all Churches. Biſhops by reſtraint (only James at Jeruſalem excepted) were not yet in being.

3. About equality amongſt the Apoſtles there is by us no controverſy moved. If in the rooms of the Apoſtles, which were of equal authority, all Paſtors do by Scripture ſucceed alike, where ſhall we find a commiſſion in Scripture which they ſpeak of, which appointed all to ſucceed in the ſelf-ſame equality of power? except that commiſſion which doth authorize to preach and baptize ſhould be alleged, which maketh nothing to the purpoſe; for in ſuch things all Paſtors are ſtill equal. We muſt, I fear me, wait very long before any other will be ſhewed. For howſoever the Apoſtles were equals amongſt themſelves, all other Paſtors were not equals with the Apoſtles while they lived, neither are they any where appointed to be afterward each other's equals. Apoſtles had, as we know, authority over all ſuch as were no Apoſtles; by force of which their authority they might both command and judge. It was for the ſingular good and benefit of thoſe Diſciples whom Chriſt left behind him, and of the Paſtors which were afterwards choſen; for the great good, I ſay, of all ſorts, that the Apoſtles were in power above them. Every day brought forth ſomewhat wherein they ſaw by experience, how much it ſtood them in ſtead to be under controlment of thoſe ſuperiors and higher governors of God's Houſe. Was it a thing ſo behoveful that Paſtors ſhould be ſubject unto Paſtors in the Apoſtles' own times? and is there any commandment that this ſubjection ſhould ceaſe with them, and that the Paſtors of the ſucceeding ages ſhould be all equals? No, no, this ſtrange and abſurd conceit of equality amongſt Paſtors (the mother of ſchiſm and of confuſion),

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confuſion) is but a dream newly brought forth, and ſeen never in the Church before.

4. Power of cenſure and ordination appeareth even by Scripture marvellous probable to have been derived from Chriſt to his Church, without this ſurmiſed equality in them to whom he hath committed the ſame. For I would know, whether Timothy and Titus were commanded by St. Paul to do any thing more than Chriſt hath authorized Paſtors to do? And to the one it is Scripture which ſaith, *Againſt a Preſbyter receive thou no accuſation, ſaving under two or three witneſſes*; Scripture which likewiſe hath ſaid to the other, *For this very cauſe left I THEE in Crete, that THOU ſhouldeſt redreſs the things that remain, and ſhouldeſt ORDAIN Preſbyters in every city, as I appointed THEE.* In the former place the power of cenſure is ſpoken of, and the power of ordination in the latter. Will they ſay that every Paſtor there was equal to Timothy and Titus in theſe things? If they do, the Apoſtle himſelf is againſt it, who ſaith, that of their two very perſons he had made choice, and appointed in thoſe places them for performances of thoſe duties: whereas, if the ſame had belonged unto others no leſs than to them, and not principally unto them above others, it had been fit for the Apoſtle accordingly to have directed his letters concerning theſe things in general unto them all which had equal intereſt in them; even as it had been likewiſe fit to have written thoſe Epiſtles in St. John's Revelation, unto whole Eccleſiaſtical Senates, rather than only unto the Angels of each Church, had not ſome one been above the reſt in authority to order the affairs of the Church. Scripture therefore doth moſt probably make for the inequality of Paſtors, even in all Eccleſiaſtical affairs, and by very expreſs mention, as well in cenſures, as ordinations.

1 Tim. v. 19.

Tit. i. 5.

5. In the Nicene Council there are confirmed certain prerogatives and dignities belonging unto Primates

Primates or Archbiſhops, and of them it is ſaid, that the ancient cuſtom of the Church had been to give them ſuch preeminence, but no ſyllable whereby any man ſhould conjecture that thoſe Fathers did not honour the ſuperiority which Biſhops had over other Paſtors only upon ancient cuſtom, and not as a true apoſtolical, heavenly, and divine ordinance.

6. Now, although we ſhould leave the general received perſuaſion held from the firſt beginning, that the Apoſtles themſelves left Biſhops inveſted with power above other Paſtors; although, I ſay, we would give over this opinion, and embrace that other conjecture which ſo many have thought good to follow [a], and which myſelf did ſometimes judge a great deal more probable than now I do, merely that after the Apoſtles were deceaſed, Churches did agree amongſt themſelves, for preſervation of peace and order, to make one Preſbyter in each city, chief over the reſt, and to tranſlate unto him that power by force and virtue whereof the Apoſtles, while they were alive, did preſerve and uphold order in the Church, exerciſing ſpiritual juriſdiction, partly by themſelves, and partly by Evangeliſts, becauſe they could not always every where themſelves be preſent: this order taken by the Church itſelf (for ſo let us ſuppoſe, that the Apoſtles did neither by word nor deed appoint it) were notwithſtanding more warrantable, than that it ſhould give place and be abrogated, becauſe the miniſtry of the Goſpel, and the functions thereof, ought to be from Heaven. There came Chief-Prieſts and Elders unto our Saviour Chriſt as he was teaching in the Temple, and the queſtion which they moved unto him was this: *By what authority doſt thou theſe things, and who gave*

Tit. i. 5.

John i.

[a] They of Walden, Aen. Syl. hiſt. Boem. Marſilius Defenſ. pac. Niel. Thomas Wald. c. 1. l. ii. c. 60. Calvin. Com. in 1. ad Tit. Bullenger, Decad. 1 Ser. iii. Juel. Def. apol. par. ii. c. 9. Di. i. Fulk. Anſw. to the Teſt.

thee

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thee this authority? their queſtion he repelled with a counter-demand: *The Baptiſm of John whence was it, from Heaven, or of men?* Hereat they pauſed, ſecretly diſputing within themſelves, *If we ſhould ſay, From Heaven, he will aſk, Wherefore did ye not then believe him? And if we ſay, Of men, we fear the people; for all hold John a prophet.* What is it now which hereupon theſe men would inſer? That all functions Eccleſiaſtical ought in ſuch ſort to be from Heaven, as the function of John was? No ſuch matter here contained. Nay, doth not the contrary rather appear moſt plainly by that which is here ſet down? For when our Saviour doth aſk concerning the Baptiſm, that is to ſay, the whole ſpiritual function of John, whether it were from Heaven or of men, he giveth clearly to underſtand that men give authority unto ſome, and ſome God himſelf from Heaven doth authorize. Nor is it ſaid, or in any ſort ſignified, that none have lawful authority which have it not in ſuch manner as John, from Heaven. Again, when the Prieſts and Elders were loth to ſay that John had his calling from men, the reaſon was not becauſe they thought that ſo John ſhould not have any good or lawful calling, but becauſe they ſaw that by this means they ſhould ſomewhat embaſe the calling of John; whom all men knew to have been ſent from God, according to the manner of prophets, by a mere celeſtial vocation. So that out of the evidence here alleged, theſe things we may directly conclude; firſt, that whoſo doth exerciſe any kind of function in the Church, he cannot lawfully ſo do, except authority be given him: ſecondly, that if authority be not given him from men, as the authority of teaching was given unto Scribes and Phariſees, it muſt be given him from Heaven, as authority was given unto Chriſt, Elias, John Baptiſt, and the Prophets. For theſe two only ways there are to have authority. But a ſtrange concluſion it is, God himſelf did from Heaven authorize John

Mat. xxi. 23—26.

to

to bear witneſs of the Light, to prepare a way for the promiſed Meſſiah, to publiſh the nearneſs of the kingdom of God, to preach repentance, and to baptize, (for by this part, which was in the function of John moſt noted, all the reſt are together ſignified;) therefore the Church of God hath no power upon new occurrences to appoint, to ordain an Eccleſiaſtical function, as Moſes did upon Jethro's advice deviſe a Civil. All things we grant which are in the Church ought to be of God. But, foraſmuch as they may be two ways accounted ſuch; one, if they be of his own inſtitution, and not of ours; another, if they be of ours, and yet with his approbation; this latter way there is no impediment, but that the ſame thing which is of men, may be alſo juſtly and truly ſaid to be of God, the ſame thing from heaven which is from earth. Of all good things God himſelf is author, and conſequently an approver of them. The rule to diſcern when the actions of men are good, when they are ſuch as they ought to be, is more ample and large than the Law which God hath ſet particular down in his holy Word; the Scripture is but a part of that rule, as hath been heretofore at large declared. If there- Lib. i. fore all things be of God which are well done; and if all things be well done, which are according to the rule of well-doing; and if the rule of well-doing be more ample than the Scripture, what neceſſity is there, that every thing which is of God ſhould be ſet down in Holy Scripture? True it is in things of ſome one kind, true it is, that what we are now of neceſſity for ever bound to believe or obſerve in the ſpecial myſteries of ſalvation, Scripture muſt needs give notice of it unto the world; yet true it cannot be, touching all things that are of God. Sufficient it is for the proof of lawfulneſs in any thing done, if we can ſhew that God approveth it: and of his approbation, the evidence is ſufficient, if either himſelf have by revelation in his

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Word warranted it, or we by ſome diſcourſe of reaſon find it good of itſelf, and unrepugnant unto any of his revealed laws and ordinances. Wherefore injurious we are unto God, the author and giver of human capacity, judgment, and wit, when, becauſe of ſome things wherein he preciſely forbiddeth men to uſe their own inventions, we take occaſion to diſauthorize and diſgrace the works which he doth produce by the hand either of nature, or of grace in them. We offer contumely, even unto him, when we ſcornfully reject what we liſt, without any other exception than this, *The brain of man hath deviſed it.* Whether we look into the Church or Commonweal, as well in the one as in the other, both the ordination of officers, and the very inſtitution of their offices, may be truly derived from God, and approved of him, although they be not always of him in ſuch ſort as thoſe things are which are in Scripture. Doth not the Apoſtle term the Law of Nature even as the Evangeliſt doth the Law of Scripture, Δικαίωμα τῦ Θεῦ, God's own righteous ordinance? The Law of Nature then being his Law, that muſt needs be of him which it hath directed men unto. Great odds, I grant, there is between things deviſed by men, although agreeable with the Law of Nature, and things in Scripture ſet down by the finger of the Holy Ghoſt. Howbeit the dignity of theſe is no hindrance, but that thoſe be alſo reverently accounted of in their place. Thus much they very well ſaw, who although not living themſelves under this kind of Church Polity, yet being, through ſome experience, more moderate, grave, and circumſpect in their judgment, have given hereof their founder and better adviſed ſentence. That which the holy Fathers (ſaith Zanchius) have by common conſent, without contradiction of Scripture, received, for my part, I neither will, nor dare with good conſcience diſallow. And what more certain, than that the ordering of Eccleſiaſtical perſons,

Rom. i. 32. Luke i. 6.

Confeſ. 169.

ſons, one in authority above another, was received into the Church by the common conſent of the Chriſtian world? What am I, that I ſhould take upon me to control the whole Church of Chriſt in that which is ſo well known to have been lawfully, religiouſly, and to notable purpoſe inſtituted? Calvin maketh mention even of Primates that have authority above Biſhops: *It was*, ſaith he, *the inſtitution of the ancient Church, to the end that the Biſhops might, by this bond of concord, continue the faſter linked amongſt themſelves.* And, leſt any man ſhould think that as well he might allow the Papacy itſelf, to prevent this he addeth, *Aliud eſt moderatum gerere et honorem, quam totum terrarum orbem immenſo imperio complecti.* Theſe things ſtanding as they do, we may conclude, that, albeit the offices which Biſhops execute, had been committed unto them only by the Church, and that the ſuperiority which they have over other Paſtors were not firſt by Chriſt himſelf given to the Apoſtles, and from them deſcended to others, but afterwards in ſuch conſideration brought in and agreed upon, as is pretended; yet could not this be a juſt or lawful exception againſt it.

Epiſt. 190.

12. But they will ſay, *There was no neceſſity of inſtituting Biſhops; the Church might have ſtood well enough without them; they are as thoſe ſuperfluous things, which neither while they continue do good, nor do harm when they are removed, becauſe there is not any profitable uſe whereunto they ſhould ſerve. For firſt, in the primitive Church their Paſtors were all equal, the Biſhops of thoſe days were the very ſame which Paſtors of pariſh-churches at this day are with us, no one at commandment or controlment by any other's authority amongſt them. The Church therefore may ſtand and flouriſh without Biſhops: if they be neceſſary, wherefore were they not ſooner inſtituted? 2. Again, if any ſuch thing were needful for the Church, Chriſt would have ſet it down in Scripture, as he did all kind of officers neceſſary for Jewiſh regiment. He which preſcribed*

Their arguments to prove there was no neceſſity of inſtituting Biſhops in the Church.

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unto the Jews ſo particularly the leaſt thing pertinent unto their Temple, would not have left ſo weighty offices undetermined of in Scripture, but that he knew the Church could never have any profitable uſe of them.

Epiſt. 59. pag. 136.

3. *Furthermore, it is the judgment of Cyprian, that equity requireth every man's cauſe to be heard, where the fault he is charged with was committed: and the reaſon he allegeth is, foraſmuch as there they may have both accuſers and witneſſes in their cauſe. Sith therefore every man's cauſe is meeteſt to be handled at home by the judges of his own pariſh, to what purpoſe ſerveth their device, which have appointed Biſhops, unto whom ſuch cauſes may be brought, and Archbiſhops to whom they may be alſo from thence removed?*

The foregoing arguments anſwered.

13. What things have neceſſary uſe in the Church, they of all others are the moſt unfit to judge, who bend themſelves purpoſely againſt whatſoever the Church uſeth, except it pleaſe themſelves to give it the grace and countenance of their favourable approbation; which they willingly do not yield unto any part of Church Polity, in the forehead whereof there is not the mark of that new deviſed ſtamp. But howſoever men like or diſlike, whether they judge things neceſſary or needleſs in the Houſe of God, a conſcience they ſhould have touching that which they boldly affirm or deny. 1. *In the primitive Church no Biſhops, no Paſtor having power over other Paſtors, but all equals, every man ſupreme commander and ruler within the kingdom of his own congregation or pariſh. The Biſhops that are ſpoken of in the time of the primitive Church, all ſuch as Parſons or Rectors of pariſhes are with us.* If thus it have been in the prime of the Church, the queſtion is how far they will have that prime to extend? and where the latter ſpring of that new-ſuppoſed diſorder to begin? That primitive Church wherein they hold that amongſt the Fathers, all which had paſtoral charge were equal, they muſt of neceſſity ſo far enlarge as to contain ſome hundred of years, be-

cauſe

cauſe for proof hereof they allege boldly and confidently St. Cyprian, who ſuffered martyrdom about two hundred and threeſcore years after our bleſſed Lord's incarnation. A Biſhop, they ſay, ſuch as Cyprian doth ſpeak of, had only a Church or Congregation, ſuch as the Miniſters and Paſtors with us, which are appointed unto ſeveral towns. Every Biſhop in Cyprian's time was Paſtor of one only Congregation, aſſembled in one place to be taught of one man [a]. A thing impertinent, although it were true. For the queſtion is about perſonal inequality amongſt governors of the Church. Now to ſhew there was no ſuch thing in the Church at ſuch time as Cyprian lived, what bring they forth? Forſooth that Biſhops had then but a ſmall circuit of place for the exerciſe of their authority. Be it ſuppoſed, that no one Biſhop had more than one only town to govern, one only congregation to rule; doth it by Cyprian appear, that in any ſuch town or congregation, being under the cure and charge of ſome one Biſhop, there were not, beſides that one Biſhop, others alſo miniſters of the Word and Sacraments, yet ſubject to the power of the ſame Biſhop? If this appear not, how can Cyprian be alleged for a witneſs that in thoſe times there were no Biſhops which did differ from other miniſters, as being above them in degree of Eccleſiaſtical power? But a groſs and a palpable untruth it is, *That Biſhops with Cyprian were as Miniſters are with us in pariſh-churches; and that each of them did guide ſome pariſh without any other Paſtors under him.* St. Cyprian's own perſon may ſerve for a manifeſt diſproof hereof. Pontius being Deacon under Cyprian noteth, that his admirable

[a] T. C. lib. i. p. 99 et 100. The Biſhop which Cyprian ſpeaketh of is nothing elſe but ſuch as we call Paſtor, or as the common name with us is, Parſon; and his Church whereof he is Biſhop is neither dioceſe nor province, but a congregation which met together in one place, and to be taught of one man.

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virtues cauſed him to be Biſhop with the ſooneſt; which advancement therefore himſelf endeavoured for a while to avoid. It ſeemed in his own eyes too ſoon for him to take the title of ſo great honour, in regard whereof a Biſhop is termed *Pontifex*, *Sacerdos*, *Antiſtes Dei*. Yet ſuch was his quality, that whereas others did hardly perform that duty, whereunto the diſcipline of their order, together with the religion of the oath they took at their entrance into the office, even conſtrained them; him the chair did not make, but receive ſuch a one, as behoved that a Biſhop ſhould be. But ſoon after followed that preſcription, whereby being driven into exile, and continuing in that eſtate for the ſpace of ſome two years, he ceaſed not by letters to deal with his Clergy, and to direct them about the public affairs of the Church. They unto whom theſe epiſtles were written, he commonly entitleth the Preſbyters and Deacons of that Church. If any man doubt whether thoſe Preſbyters of Carthage were miniſters of the Word and Sacraments or no, let him conſider but that one only place of Cyprian, where he giveth them this careful advice, how to deal with circumſpection in the perilous times of the Church, that neither they which were for the truth's ſake impriſoned might want thoſe ghoſtly comforts which they ought to have, nor the Church by miniſtering the ſame unto them incur unneceſſary danger and peril. In which epiſtle it doth expreſsly appear,

[a] Etſi Fratres pro dilectione ſua cupidi ſunt ad conveniendum et viſitandum Confeſſores bonos, quos illuſtravit jam glorioſis initiis divina dignatio, tamen caute hoc, et non glomeratim nec per multitudinem ſimul junctam, puto eſſe faciendum; ne ex hoc ipſo invidia concitetur, et introeundi aditus denegetur, et dum inſatiabiles multum volumus, totum perdamus: conſulite ergo et providete ut cum temperamento hoc agi tutius poſſit; ita ut Preſbyteri quoque qui illic apud Confeſſores offerunt, ſinguli cum ſingulis Diaconis per vices alternent, quia et mutatio perſonarum, et viciſſitudo convenientium minuit invidiam. Ep. v. pag. 11. Epiſt. ed. Oxon.

that

that the Preſbyters of whom he ſpeaketh did offer, that is to ſay, adminiſter the Euchariſt: and that many there were of them in the Church of Carthage, ſo as they might have every day change for performance of that duty. Nor will any man of ſound judgment, I think, deny, that Cyprian was in authority and power above the Clergy of that Church, above thoſe Preſbyters unto whom he gave direction. It is apparently therefore untrue, that in Cyprian's time miniſters of the Word and Sacraments were all equal, and that no one of them had either title more excellent than the reſt, or authority and government over the reſt. Cyprian being Biſhop of Carthage, was clearly ſuperior unto all other miniſters there; yea, Cyprian was, by reaſon of the dignity of his ſee, an Archbiſhop, and ſo conſequently ſuperior unto Biſhops. Biſhops, we ſay, there have been always, even as long as the Church of Chriſt itſelf hath been. The Apoſtles who planted it did themſelves rule as Biſhops over it; neither could they ſo well have kept things in order during their own times, but that Epiſcopal authority was given them from above, to exerciſe far and wide over all other guides and paſtors of God's Church. The Church indeed for a time continued without Biſhops by reſtraint, every where eſtabliſhed in Chriſtian cities. But ſhall we thereby conclude that the Church hath no uſe of them, that without them it may ſtand and flouriſh? No, the cauſe wherefore they were ſo ſoon univerſally appointed was, for that it plainly appeared, that without them the Church could not have continued long. It was by the ſpecial providence of God no doubt ſo diſpoſed, that the evil, whereof this did ſerve for remedy, might firſt be felt, and ſo the reverend authority of Biſhops be made by ſo much the more effectual, when our general experience had taught men what it was for Churches to want them. Good laws are never eſteemed ſo good, nor acknowledged ſo neceſſary, as

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when precedent crimes are as ſeeds out of which they grow. Epiſcopal authority was even in a manner ſanctified unto the Church of Chriſt by that little bitter experience which it firſt had of the peſtilent evil of ſchiſms. Again, when this very thing was propoſed as a remedy, yet a more ſuſpicious and fearful acceptance it muſt needs have found, if the ſelf-ſame provident wiſdom of Almighty God had not alſo given beforehand ſufficient trial thereof in the regiment of Jeruſalem, a mother-church, which having received the ſame order even at the firſt, was by it moſt peaceably governed, when other Churches without it had trouble. So that by all means the neceſſary uſe of Epiſcopal government is confirmed, yea ſtrengthened it is and ratified, even by the not eſtabliſhment thereof in all Churches every where at the firſt. 2. When they further diſpute, *That if any ſuch thing were needful, Chriſt would in Scripture have ſet down particular ſtatutes and laws appointing that Biſhops ſhould be made, and preſcribing in what order, even as the Law doth for all kind of officers which were needful in the Jewiſh regiment*; might not a man that would bend his wit to maintain the fury of the Petrobruſian heretics, in pulling down oratories, uſe the ſelf-ſame argument with as much countenance of reaſon? *If it were needful that we ſhould aſſemble ourſelves in Churches, would that God, which taught the Jews ſo exactly the frame of their ſumptuous Temple, leave us no particular inſtructions in writing, no not ſo much as which way to lay any one ſtone?* Surely ſuch kind of argumentation doth not ſo ſtrengthen the ſinews of their cauſe, as weaken the credit of their judgment which are led therewith. 3. And whereas, thirdly, in diſproof of that uſe which Epiſcopal authority hath in judgment of ſpiritual cauſes, they bring forth the verdict of Cyprian, who ſaith, *That equity requireth every man's cauſe to be heard, where the fault he was charged with was committed, foraſmuch as there they may have both accuſers*

Ep. 59. pag. 136.

accuſers and witneſſes in the cauſe; this argument grounding itſelf on principles no leſs true in Civil than in Eccleſiaſtical cauſes, unleſs it be qualified with ſome exceptions or limitations, overturneth the higheſt tribunal ſeats both in Church and Commonwealth; it taketh utterly away all appeals; it ſecretly condemneth even the bleſſed Apoſtle himſelf, as having tranſgreſſed the law of equity, by his appeal from the court of Judea unto thoſe higher which were in Rome. The generality of ſuch kind of axioms deceiveth, unleſs it be conſtrued with ſuch cautions as the matter whereunto they are appliable doth require. An uſual and ordinary tranſportation of cauſes out of Africa into Italy, out of one kingdom into another, as diſcontented perſons liſt, which was the thing which Cyprian diſalloweth, may be unequal and unmeet; and yet not therefore a thing unneceſſary to have the courts erected in higher places, and judgment committed unto greater perſons, to whom the meaner may bring their cauſes, either by way of appeal, or otherwiſe, to be determined according to the order of juſtice; which hath been always obſerved every where in civil ſtates, and is no leſs requiſite alſo for the ſtate of the Church of God. The reaſons which teach it to be expedient for the one, will ſhew it to be for the other, at leaſtwiſe not unneceſſary. Inequality of Paſtors is an ordinance both divine and profitable. Their exceptions againſt it, in theſe two reaſons, we have ſhewed to be altogether cauſeleſs, unreaſonable, and unjuſt. Acts xxv. 11.

14. The next thing which they upbraid us with, is the difference between that inequality of Paſtors which hath been of old, and which now is. For at length they grant, *That the ſuperiority of Biſhops and of Archbiſhops is ſomewhat ancient, but no ſuch kind of ſuperiority as ours have.* By the laws of our

An anſwer unto thoſe things which are objected, concerning the difference between that power which Biſhops now have, and that which ancient Biſhops had, more than other Preſbyters.

diſcipline

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diſcipline a Biſhop may ordain without aſking the people's conſent, a Biſhop may excommunicate and releaſe alone, a Biſhop may impriſon, a Biſhop may bear civil office in the realm, a Biſhop may be a counſellor of ſtate; thoſe things ancient Biſhops neither did nor might do. Be it granted, that ordinarily neither in elections nor deprivations, neither in excommunicating nor in releaſing the excommunicate, in none of the weighty affairs of government, Biſhops of old were wont to do any thing without conſultation with their clergy and conſent of the people under them; be it granted that the ſame Biſhops did neither touch any man with corporal puniſhment, nor meddle with ſecular affairs and offices, the whole clergy of God being then tied by the ſtrict and ſevere canons of the Church to uſe no other than ghoſtly power, to attend no other buſineſs than heavenly. Tarquinius was in the Roman Commonwealth deſervedly hated, of whoſe unorderly proceedings the hiſtory ſpeaketh thus: *Hic Regum primus traditum, a prioribus morem de omnibus Senatum conſulendi ſolvit; domeſticis conſiliis rempublicam adminiſtravit; bellum, pacem, fœdera, ſocietates, per ſeipſum, cum quibus voluit, injuſſu Populi & Senatus, fecit diremitque.* Againſt Biſhops the like is objected, *That they are invaders of other men's rights, and by intolerable uſurpation take upon them to do that alone, wherein ancient laws have appointed that others, not they only, ſhould bear ſway.* Let the caſe of Biſhops be put, not in ſuch ſort as it is, but even as their very heavieſt adverſaries would deviſe it: ſuppoſe that Biſhops at the firſt had incroached upon the Church, that by ſlights and cunning practices they had appropriated Eccleſiaſtical, as Auguſtus did Imperial power; that they had taken the advantage of men's inclinable affections, which did not ſuffer them for revenue ſake to be ſuſpected of ambition; that in the mean while their uſurpation had gone forward by certain eaſy and inſenſible degrees;

Liv. lib. i.

greeſs; that being not diſcerned in the growth, when it was thus far grown, as we now ſee it hath proceeded, the world at length perceiving there was juſt cauſe of complaint, but no place of remedy left, had aſſented unto it by a general ſecret agreement to bear it now as an helpleſs evil: all this ſuppoſed for certain and true; yet ſurely a thing of this nature, as for the ſuperior to do that alone unto which of right the conſent of ſome other inferiors ſhould have been required by them; though it had an indirect entrance at the firſt, muſt needs, through continuance of ſo many ages as this hath ſtood, be made now a thing more natural to the Church, than that it ſhould be oppreſſed with the mention of contrary orders worn ſo many ages ſince quite and clean out of ure. But with Biſhops the caſe is otherwiſe; for in doing that by themſelves, which others together with them have been accuſtomed to do, they do not any thing, but that whereunto they have been upon juſt occaſions authorized by orderly means. All things natural have in them naturally, more or leſs, the power of providing for their own ſafety; and as each particular man hath this power, ſo every politic ſociety of men muſt needs have the ſame, that thereby the whole may provide for the good of all parts therein. For other benefit we have not any by ſorting ourſelves into politic ſocieties, ſaving only that by this mean each part hath that relief, which the virtue of the whole is able to yield it. The Church therefore being a politic ſociety or body, cannot poſſibly want the power of providing for itſelf; and the chiefeſt part of that power conſiſteth in the authority of making laws. Now, foraſmuch as corporations are perpetual, the laws of the ancienter Church cannot chooſe but bind the latter, while they are in force. But we muſt note withal, that becauſe the body of the Church continueth the ſame, it hath the ſame authority ſtill, and may abrogate old laws, or make new, as need

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need ſhall require. Wherefore vainly are the ancient canons and conſtitutions objected as laws, when once they are either let ſecretly to die by diſuſage, or are openly abrogated by contrary laws. The ancients had cauſe to do no otherwiſe than they did; and yet ſo ſtrictly they judged not themſelves in conſcience bound to obſerve thoſe orders, but that in ſundry caſes they eaſily diſpenſed therewith, which I ſuppoſe they would never have done had they eſteemed them as things whereunto everlaſting, immutable, and undiſpenſable obſervation did belong. The Biſhop uſually promoted none which were not firſt allowed as fit, by conference had with the reſt of his clergy and with the people. Notwithſtanding, in the caſe of Aurelius, St. Cyprian did otherwiſe. In matters of deliberation and counſel, for diſpoſing of that which belongeth generally to the whole body of the Church, or which being more particular, is nevertheleſs of ſo great conſequence, that it needeth the force of many judgments conferred; in ſuch things the common ſaying muſt neceſſarily take place, *An eye cannot ſee that which eyes can.* As for Clerical ordinations, there are no ſuch reaſons alleged againſt the order which is, but that it may be eſteemed as good in every reſpect, as that which hath been, and, in ſome conſiderations, better; at leaſtwiſe (which is ſufficient to our purpoſe) it may be held in the Church of Chriſt without tranſgreſſing any law, either ancient or late, divine or human, which we ought to obſerve and keep. The form of making Eccleſiaſtical officers hath ſundry parts, neither are they all of equal moment. When Deacons having not been before in the Church of Chriſt, the Apoſtles ſaw it needful to have ſuch ordained, they firſt aſſemble the multitude, and ſhew them how needful it is that Deacons be made: ſecondly, they name unto them what number they judge convenient, what quality the men muſt be of, and to the people they commit the care of finding ſuch out: thirdly, the

the people hereunto aſſenting, make their choice of Stephen and the reſt; thoſe choſen men they bring and preſent before the Apoſtles; howbeit, all this doth not endue them with any Eccleſiaſtical power. But when ſo much was done, the Apoſtles finding no cauſe to take exception, did with prayer and impoſition of hands make them Deacons. This was it which gave them their very being; all other things beſides were only preparations unto this. Touching the form of making Preſbyters, although it be not wholly of purpoſe any where ſet down in the Apoſtles' writings, yet ſundry ſpeeches there are which inſinuate the chiefeſt things that belong unto that action: as when Paul and Barnabas are ſaid to have faſted, prayed, and made Preſbyters; when Timothy is charged to *lay hands ſuddenly on no man*, for fear of participating with other men's ſins. For this cauſe the order of the primitive Church was, between choice and ordination to have ſome ſpace for ſuch probation and trial as the Apoſtle doth mention in Deacons, ſaying, *Let them firſt be proved, and then miniſter, if ſo be they be found blameleſs.*

Acts xiv. 23. 1 Tim. v. 22.

Alexander Severus beholding in his time how careful the Church of Chriſt was, eſpecially for this point; how, after the choice of their Paſtors, they uſed to publiſh the names of the parties choſen, and not to give them the uſual act of approbation, till they ſaw whether any let or impediment would be alleged; he gave commandment, that the like ſhould alſo be done in his own imperial elections, adding this as a reaſon wherefore he ſo required, namely, *For that both Chriſtians and Jews being ſo wary about the ordination of the Prieſts, it ſeemed very unequal for him not to be in like ſort circumſpect, to whom he committed the government of provinces, containing power over men's both eſtates and lives.* This the canon itſelf doth provide for, requiring before ordination, ſcrutiny: *Let them diligently be examined three days together before the Sabbath, and on the Sabbath let them*

Lamprid. in Alex. Sever. p. 571. Hiſt. Auguſt. Scriptor. vi. ed. Lug. Bat.

Decan. quando Epiſ. ſect Igitur.

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them be preſented unto the Biſhop. And even this in effect alſo is the very uſe of the Church of England, at all ſolemn ordaining of miniſters; and if all ordaining were ſolemn, I muſt confeſs it were much the better.

The pretended diſorder of the Church of England is, that Biſhops ordain them, to whoſe election the people give no voices, and ſo the Biſhops make them alone; that is to ſay, they give ordination without popular election going before, which ancient Biſhops neither did, nor might do. Now in very truth, if the multitude have hereunto a right, which right can never be tranſlated from them for any cauſe, then is there no remedy but we muſt yield, that unto the lawful making of miniſters the voice of the people is required; and that, according to the adverſe parties' aſſertion, ſuch as make miniſters without aſking the people's conſent, do but exerciſe a certain tyranny.

Eccl. Diſcip. p. 34.

At the firſt erection of the Commonwealth of Rome, the people (for ſo it was then fitteſt) determined of all affairs: afterwards, this growing troubleſome, their Senators did that for them, which themſelves before had done: in the end all came to one man's hands; and the Emperor alone was inſtead of many Senators.

In theſe things, the experience of time may breed both civil and eccleſiaſtical change from that which hath been before received; neither do latter things always violently exclude former; but the one growing leſs convenient than it hath been, giveth place to that which is now become more ſo. That which was fit for the people themſelves to do at the firſt, might afterwards be more convenient for them to do by ſome other: which other is not hereby proved a tyrant becauſe he alone doth that which a multitude were wont to do, unleſs by violence he take that authority upon him, againſt the order of law, and without any public appointment; as with us,

if

it any did, it ſhould (I ſuppoſe) not long be ſafe for him ſo to do. BOOK VII.

This anſwer (I hope) will ſeem to be ſo much the more reaſonable, in that themſelves, who ſtand againſt us, have furniſhed us therewith. For, whereas againſt the making of miniſters by Biſhops alone, their uſe hath been to object, what ſway the people did bear when Stephen and the reſt were ordained Deacons; they begin to eſpy how their own platform ſwerveth not a little from that example wherewith they control the practices of others. For, touching the form of the people's concurrence in that action, they obſerve it not; no, they plainly profeſs, that they are not in this point bound to be followers of the Apoſtles. The Apoſtles ordained whom the people had firſt choſen. They hold, that their Eccleſiaſtical Senate ought both to chooſe, and alſo to ordain. Do not themſelves then take away that which the Apoſtles gave the people, namely, the privilege of chooſing Eccleſiaſtical officers? They do. But behold in what ſort they anſwer it.

By the ſixth and the fourteenth of the Acts (ſay they) *it doth appear, that the people had the chiefeſt power of chooſing. Howbeit that, as unto me it ſeemeth, was done upon ſpecial cauſe which doth not ſo much concern us, neither ought it to be drawn unto the ordinary and perpetual form of governing the Church. For, as in eſtabliſhing Commonweals, not only if they be popular, but even being ſuch as are ordered by the power of a few the chiefeſt, or as by the ſole authority of one, till the ſame be eſtabliſhed the whole ſway is in the people's hands, who voluntarily appoint thoſe magiſtrates by whoſe authority they may be governed; ſo that afterward not the multitude itſelf, but thoſe magiſtrates which are choſen by the multitude, have the ordering of public affairs: after the ſelf-ſame manner it fared in eſtabliſhing alſo the Church; when there was not as yet any placed over the people, all authority was in them all; but when they all had choſen certain to whom the regiment* Eccleſ. Diſ. fol. 41.

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regiment of the Church was committed, this power is not now any longer in the hands of the whole multitude, but wholly in theirs who are appointed guides of the Church. Beſides, in the choice of Deacons, there was alſo another ſpecial cauſe wherefore the whole Church at that time ſhould chooſe them. For inaſmuch as the Grecians murmured againſt the Hebrews, and complained that in the daily diſtribution which was made for relief of the poor, they were not indifferently reſpected, nor ſuch regard had of their widows as was meet; this made it neceſſary that they all ſhould have to deal in the choice of thoſe unto whom that care was afterwards to be committed, to the end that all occaſion of jealouſies and complaints might be removed. Wherefore that which was done by the people for certain cauſes before the Church was fully ſettled, may not be drawn out and applied unto a conſtant and perpetual form of ordering the Church.

Let them caſt the diſcipline of the Church of England into the ſame ſcales where they weigh their own, let them give us the ſame meaſure which here they take, and our ſtrifes ſhall ſoon be brought to a quiet end. When they urge the Apoſtles as precedents; when they condemn us of tyranny, becauſe we do not in making miniſters the ſame which the Apoſtles did; when they plead, *That with us one alone doth ordain, and that our ordinations are without the people's knowledge, contrary to that example which the bleſſed Apoſtles gave*; we do not requeſt at their hands allowance as much as of one word we ſpeak in our own defence, if that which we ſpeak be of our own; but that which themſelves ſpeak, they muſt be content to liſten unto. To exempt themſelves from being over-far preſſed with the Apoſtles' example, they can anſwer, *That which was done by the people once upon ſpecial cauſes, when the Church was not yet eſtabliſhed, is not to be made a rule for the conſtant and continual ordering of the Church.* In defence of their own election, although they do not therein depend on the people ſo much as the

Apoſtles

Apoſtles in the choice of Deacons, they think it a very ſufficient apology, that there were ſpecial conſiderations why Deacons at that time ſhould be choſen by the whole Church, but not ſo now. In excuſe of diſſimilitudes between their own and the Apoſtles' diſcipline, they are contented to uſe this anſwer, *That many things were done in the Apoſtles' times, before the ſettling of the Church, which afterward the Church was not tied to obſerve.* For countenance of their own proceedings, wherein their governors do more than the Apoſtles, and their people leſs than under the Apoſtles the firſt Churches are found to have done, at the making of Eccleſiaſtical officers, they deem it a marvellous reaſonable kind of pleading to ſay, *That even as in commonweals, when the multitude have once choſen many, or one to rule over them, the right which was at the firſt in the whole body of the people, is now derived unto thoſe many, or that one which is ſo choſen; and that this being done, it is not the whole multitude, to whom the adminiſtration of ſuch public affairs any longer appertaineth, but that which they did, their rulers may now do lawfully without them; after the ſelf-ſame manner it ſtandeth with the Church alſo.* BOOK VII.

How eaſy and plain might we make our defence, how clear and allowable even unto them, if we could but obtain of them to admit the ſame things conſonant unto equity in our mouths, which they require to be ſo taken from their own! If that which is truth, being uttered in maintenance of Scotland and Geneva, do not ceaſe to be truth when the Church of England once allegeth it, this great crime of tyranny, wherewith we are charged, hath a plain and an eaſy defence. Yea, but we do not at all aſk the people's approbation, which they do, whereby they ſhew themſelves more indifferent and more free from taking away the people's right. Indeed, when their Lay-elders have choſen whom they think good, the people's conſent thereunto is aſked, and if they give their approbation, the thing ſtandeth

BOOK VII.

warranted for ſound and good. But if not, is the former choice overthrown? No, but the people is to yield to reaſon; and if they which have made the choice, do ſo like the people's reaſon, as to reverſe their own deed at the hearing of it, then a new election to be made; otherwiſe the former to ſtand, notwithſtanding the people's negative and diſlike.

Eccl. Diſ. p. 41.

What is this elſe but to deal with the people, as thoſe nurſes do with infants, whoſe mouths they beſmear with the backſide of the ſpoon, as though they had fed them, when they themſelves do devour the food? They cry in the ears of the people, that all men's conſent ſhould be had unto that which concerns all; they make the people believe we wrong them, and deprive them of their right in making miniſters, whereas with us the people have commonly far more ſway and force than with them. For inaſmuch as there are but two main things obſerved in every Eccleſiaſtical function, power to exerciſe the duty itſelf, and ſome charge of people whereon to exerciſe the ſame; the former of theſe is received at the hands of the whole viſible Catholic Church. For it is not any one particular multitude that can give power, the force whereof may reach far and wide indefinitely, as the power of order doth, which whoſo hath once received, there is no action which belongeth thereunto, but he may exerciſe effectually the ſame in any part of the world without iterated ordination. They whom the whole Church hath from the beginning uſed as her agents in conferring this power are not either one or more of the Laity, and therefore it hath not been heard of that ever any ſuch were allowed to ordain miniſters: only perſons Eccleſiaſtical, and they, in place of calling, ſuperiors both unto Deacons, and unto Preſbyters; only ſuch perſons Eccleſiaſtical have been authorized to ordain both, and give them the power of order, in the name of the whole Church. Such were the Apoſtles, ſuch was Timothy, ſuch was Titus, ſuch are Biſhops.

Not

Not that there is between theſe no difference, but that they all agree in preeminence of place above both Preſbyters and Deacons, whom they otherwiſe might not ordain [a]. Now whereas hereupon ſome do infer, that no ordination can ſtand but only ſuch as is made by Biſhops, which have had their ordination likewiſe by other Biſhops before them, till we come to the very Apoſtles of Chriſt themſelves; in which reſpect it was demanded of Beza at Poiſſie, *By what authority he could adminiſter the holy Sacraments, being not thereunto ordained by any other than Calvin, or by ſuch as to whom the power of ordination did not belong, according to the ancient order and cuſtoms of the Church; ſith Calvin, and they who joined with him in that action, were no Biſhops?* and Athanaſius maintaineth the fact of Macarius a Preſbyter, which overthrew the holy table whereat one Iſchyras would have miniſtered the bleſſed Sacrament, having not been conſecrated thereunto by laying on of ſome Biſhop's hands [b], according to the Eccleſiaſtical canons; as alſo Epiphanius inveigheth ſharply againſt divers for doing the like, when they had not Epiſcopal ordination—to this we anſwer, that there may be ſometimes very juſt and ſufficient reaſon to allow ordination made without a Biſhop. The whole Church viſible being the true original ſubject of all power, it hath not ordinarily allowed any other than Biſhops alone to ordain: howbeit, as the ordinary courſe is ordinarily in all things to be obſerved, ſo it may be in ſome caſes not unneceſſary that we decline from the ordinary ways. Men may be extraordinarily, yet allowably, two ways admitted unto ſpiritual functions in the Church. One is, when God himſelf doth of himſelf raiſe up any, whoſe labour he uſeth without requiring that men ſhould authorize them; but then

[a] Neque enim fas erat aut licebat ut inferior ordinaret majorem. Comment. q. Ambroſ. tribuuntur, in 1 Tim. iii.

[b] Ἐπισκοπῆς χειροθεσίαν.

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he doth ratify their calling by manifeſt ſigns and tokens himſelf from heaven: and thus even ſuch as believed not our Saviour's teaching, did yet acknowledge him a lawful teacher ſent from God; *Thou art a teacher ſent from God, otherwiſe none could do thoſe things which thou doſt.* Luther did but reaſonably therefore, in declaring that the Senate of Melheuſe ſhould do well to aſk of Muncer, from whence he received power to teach? who it was that had called him? and if his anſwer were, that God had given him his charge, then to require at his hands ſome evident ſign thereof for men's ſatisfaction: becauſe ſo God is wont, when he himſelf is the author of any extraordinary calling. Another extraordinary kind of vocation is, when the exigence of neceſſity doth conſtrain to leave the uſual ways of the Church, which otherwiſe we would willingly keep: where the Church muſt needs have ſome ordained, and neither hath, nor can have poſſibly a Biſhop to ordain; in caſe of ſuch neceſſity, the ordinary inſtitution of God hath given oftentimes, and may give place. And therefore we are not, ſimply without exception, to urge a lineal deſcent of power from the Apoſtles by continued ſucceſſion of Biſhops in every effectual ordination. Theſe caſes of inevitable neceſſity excepted, none may ordain but only Biſhops. By the impoſition of their hands it is, that the Church giveth power of order, both unto Preſbyters and Deacons. Now when that power ſo received is once to have any certain ſubject whereon it may work, and whereunto it is to be tied, here cometh in the people's conſent, and not before. The power of order I may lawfully receive, without aſking leave of any multitude; but that power I cannot exerciſe upon any one certain people utterly againſt their wills; neither is there in the Church of England any man by order of law poſſeſſed with paſtoral charge over any pariſh, but the people in effect do chooſe him thereunto. For, albeit

albeit they chooſe not by giving every man perſonally his particular voice, yet can they not ſay, that they have their Paſtors violently obtruded upon them, inaſmuch as their ancient and original intereſt therein hath been by orderly means derived into the patron who chooſeth for them. And if any man be deſirous to know how patrons came to have ſuch intereſt, we are to conſider, that at the firſt erection of churches, it ſeemed but reaſonable in the eyes of the whole Chriſtian world to paſs that right to them and their ſucceſſors, on whoſe ſoil and at whoſe charge the ſame were founded. This all men gladly and willingly did, both in honour of ſo great piety, and for encouragement of many others unto the like, who peradventure elſe would have been as ſlow to erect churches, or to endow them, as we are forward both to ſpoil them, and to pull them down. BOOK VII.

It is no true aſſertion therefore, in ſuch ſort as the pretended reformers mean it, *That all miniſters of God's Word ought to be made by conſent of many, that is to ſay, by the people's ſuffrages; that ancient Biſhops neither did nor might ordain otherwiſe; and that ours do herein uſurp a far greater power than was, or than lawfully could have been, granted unto Biſhops which were of old.* Furthermore, as touching ſpiritual juriſdiction, our Biſhops, they ſay, do that which of all things is moſt intolerable, and which the ancient never did; *Our Biſhops excommunicate and releaſe alone, whereas the cenſures of the Church neither ought, nor were wont to be adminiſtered otherwiſe than by conſent of many.* Their meaning here, when they ſpeak of many, is not as before it was. When they hold that miniſters ſhould be made with conſent of many, they underſtand by *many*, the multitude, or common people; but in requiring that many ſhould evermore join with the Biſhop in the adminiſtration of Church-cenſures, they mean by many, a few Lay-elders, choſen out of the reſt of the people to that purpoſe. This, they ſay, is ratified by ancient

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Councils, by ancient Biſhops this was practiſed. And the reaſon hereof, as Beza ſuppoſeth, was, *Becauſe if the power of Eccleſiaſtical cenſures did belong unto any one, there would this great inconvenience follow; Eccleſiaſtical regiment ſhould be changed into mere tyranny, or elſe into a civil royalty: therefore no one, either Biſhop or Preſbyter, ſhould or can alone exerciſe that power, but with his Eccleſiaſtical conſiſtory he ought to do it, as may appear by the old diſcipline.*

Concil. Carthag. 4. c. 23. Cypr. l. iii. Ep. 10. & 14. l. ii. Ep. 8.

And is it poſſible, that one ſo grave and judicious ſhould think it, in earneſt, tyranny for a Biſhop to excommunicate, whom law and order hath authorized ſo to do? or be perſuaded, that Eccleſiaſtical regiment degenerateth into civil regality, when one is allowed to do that which hath been at any time the deed of more? Surely, far meaner witted men than the world accounteth Mr. Beza do eaſily perceive, that tyranny is power violently exerciſed againſt order, againſt law; and that the difference of theſe two regiments, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, conſiſteth in the matter about which the actions of each are converſant; and not in this, that Civil royalty admitteth but one, Eccleſiaſtical government requireth many ſupreme correctors. Which allegation, were it true, would prove no more than only that ſome certain number is neceſſary for the aſſiſtance of the Biſhop: but that a number of ſuch as they do require is neceſſary, how doth it prove? Wherefore albeit Biſhops ſhould now do the very ſame which the ancients did, uſing the college of Preſbyters under them as their aſſiſtants when they adminiſter Church-cenſures, yet ſhould they ſtill ſwerve utterly from that which theſe men ſo buſily labour for, becauſe the agents whom they require to aſſiſt in thoſe caſes are a ſort of Lay-elders, ſuch as no ancient Biſhop ever was aſſiſted with.

Shall theſe fruitleſs jars and janglings never ceaſe? ſhall we never ſee end of them? How much happier were the world if thoſe eager taſk-maſters, whoſe

eyes

eyes are ſo curious and ſharp in diſcerning what ſhould be done by many, and what by few, were all changed into painful doers of that which every good Chriſtian man ought either only or chiefly to do, and to be found therein doing when that great and glorious Judge of all men's both deeds and words ſhall appear? In the mean while, be it one that hath this charge, or be they many that be his aſſiſtants, let there be careful proviſion that juſtice may be adminiſtered, and in this ſhall our God be glorified more than by ſuch contentious diſputes.

Concerning the Civil power and authority which our Biſhops have.

15. Of which nature that alſo is, wherein Biſhops are, over and beſides all this, accuſed *to have much more exceſſive power than the ancient, inaſmuch as unto their Eccleſiaſtical authority, the Civil magiſtrate, for the better repreſſing of ſuch as contemn Eccleſiaſtical cenſures, hath for divers ages annexed Civil. The crime of Biſhops herein is divided into theſe two ſeveral branches ---the one, that in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical they ſtrike with the ſword of ſecular puniſhments; the other, that offices are granted them, by virtue whereof they meddle with Civil affairs.* Touching the one, it reacheth no farther than only unto reſtraint of liberty by impriſonment, (which yet is not done but by the laws of the land, and by virtue of authority derived from the prince.) A thing which being allowable in prieſts amongſt the Jews, muſt needs have received ſome ſtrange alteration in nature ſince, if it be now ſo pernicious and venomous to be coupled with a ſpiritual vocation in any man which beareth office in the Church of Chriſt. Shemaiah writing to the college of prieſts which were in Jeruſalem, and to Zephaniah the principal of them, told them, they were appointed of *God, that they might be officers in the Houſe of the Lord, for every man which raved, and did make himſelf a prophet*, to the end that they might by the force of this their authority *put ſuch in priſon, and in the ſtocks.* His malice is reproved, for that he provoked them to ſhew their power againſt the innocent.

Jer. xxix. 26.

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innocent. But ſurely, when any man juſtly puniſhable had been brought before them, it could be no unjuſt thing for them even in ſuch ſort then to have puniſhed. As for offices, by virtue whereof Biſhops have to deal in Civil affairs, we muſt conſider that Civil affairs are of divers kinds; and as they be not all fit for Eccleſiaſtical perſons to meddle with, ſo neither is it neceſſary, nor at this day haply convenient, that from meddling with any ſuch thing at all they all ſhould without exception be ſecluded. I will therefore ſet down ſome few caſes, wherein it cannot but clearly appear unto reaſonable men, that Civil and Eccleſiaſtical functions may be lawfully united in one and the ſame perſon.

Firſt, therefore, in caſe a Chriſtian ſociety be planted amongſt their profeſſed enemies, or by toleration do live under ſome certain ſtate whereinto they are not incorporated, whom ſhall we judge the meeteſt men to have the hearing and determining of ſuch mere civil controverſies as are every day wont to grow between man and man? Such being the ſtate of the Church of Corinth, the Apoſtle giveth them this direction; *Dare any of you, having buſineſs againſt another, be judged by the unjuſt, and not under Saints? Do ye not know, that the Saints ſhall judge the world? If the world then ſhall be judged by you, are ye unworthy to judge the ſmalleſt matters? Know ye not that we ſhall judge the Angels? how much more things that appertain to this life? If then ye have judgment of things pertaining to this life, ſet up them which are leaſt eſteemed in the Church. I ſpeak it to your ſhame; is it ſo, that there is not a wiſe man amongſt you? no, not one that can judge between his brethren, but a brother goeth to law with a brother, and that under the infidels? Now therefore there is utterly a fault among you, becauſe ye go to law one with another; why rather ſuffer ye not wrong; why rather ſuſtain ye not harm?* In which ſpeech there are theſe degrees; better to ſuffer and to put up injuries, than

1 Cor. vi. 1—7.

to

to contend; better to end contention by arbitrement, than by judgment; better by judgment before the wiſeſt of their own, than before the ſimpler; better before the ſimpleſt of their own, than the wiſeſt of them without: ſo that if judgment of ſecular affairs ſhould be committed unto wiſe men, unto men of chiefeſt credit and account amongſt them, when the Paſtors of their ſouls are ſuch, who more fit to be alſo their judges for the ending of ſtrifes? The wiſeſt in things divine may be alſo in things human the moſt ſkilful. At leaſtwiſe they are by likelihood commonly more able to know right from wrong than the common unlettered ſort. And what St. Auguſtine did hereby gather, his own words do ſufficiently ſhew. *I call God to witneſs upon my ſoul*, ſaith he, *that according to the order which is kept in well-ordered monaſteries, I could wiſh to have every day my hours of labouring with my hands, my hours of reading, and of praying, rather than to endure theſe moſt tumultuous perplexities of other men's cauſes, which I am forced to bear when I travel in ſecular buſineſſes, either by judging to diſcuſs them, or to cut them off by entreaty: unto which toils that Apoſtle, who himſelf ſuſtained them not, for any thing we read, hath notwithſtanding tied us, not of his own accord, but being thereunto directed by that Spirit which ſpeaks in him. His own Apoſtleſhip, which drew him to travel up and down, ſuffered him not to be any where ſettled to this purpoſe; wherefore the wiſe, faithful, and holy men which were ſeated here and there, and not them which travelled up and down to preach, he made examiners of ſuch buſineſſes. Whereupon of him it is no where written, that he had leiſure to attend theſe things, from which we cannot excuſe ourſelves although we be ſimple: becauſe even ſuch he requireth, if wiſe men cannot be had, rather than that the affairs of Chriſtians ſhould be brought into public judgment. Howbeit, not without comfort in our Lord are theſe travels undertaken by us, for the hope's ſake of eternal life, to the end that with patience we may reap*

Vide Barnab. Briſſon. Antiq. Jur. l. xl. c. 16.

Aug. de Oper. Monach. c. 29. pag. 499. tom. vi. ed. Par.

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reap fruit. So far is St. Auguſtine from thinking it unlawful for Paſtors in ſuch ſort to judge Civil cauſes, that he plainly collecteth out of the Apoſtle's words a neceſſity to undertake that duty; yea himſelf he comforteth with the hope of a bleſſed reward, in lieu of travail that way ſuſtained.

Again, even where whole Chriſtian kingdoms are, how troublesome were it for univerſities, and other great collegiate ſocieties, erected to ſerve as nurſeries unto the Church of Chriſt, if every thing which civilly doth concern them were to be carried from their own peculiar governors, becauſe for the moſt part they are (as fitteſt it is they ſhould be) perſons of Eccleſiaſtical calling? It was by the wiſdom of our famous predeceſſors foreſeen how unfit this would be, and hereupon provided by grant of ſpecial charters, that it might be, as now it is in the univerſities; where their Vice-Chancellors, being for the moſt part profeſſors of divinity, are nevertheleſs Civil judges over them in the moſt of their ordinary cauſes.

And to go yet ſome degrees further—a thing impoſſible it is not, neither altogether unuſual, for ſome who are of royal blood to be conſecrated unto the miniſtry of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſo to be nurſes of God's Church, not only as the Prophet did foretel, but alſo as the Apoſtle St. Paul was. Now in caſe the crown ſhould by this means deſcend unto ſuch perſons, perhaps when they are the very laſt, or perhaps the very beſt of their race, ſo that a greater benefit they are not able to beſtow upon a kingdom, than by accepting their right therein; ſhall the ſanctity of their order deprive them of that honour whereunto they have right by blood? or ſhall it be a bar to ſhut out the public good that may grow by their virtuous regiment? If not, then muſt they caſt off the office which they received by divine impoſition of hands; or, if they carry a more religious opinion concerning that heavenly function, it followeth, that being

being inveſted as well with the one as the other, they remain God's lawfully anointed both ways. With men of ſkill and mature judgment there is of this ſo little doubt, that concerning ſuch as at this day are under the Archbiſhops of Ments, Colen, and Trevers, being both Archbiſhops and Princes of the empire; yea, ſuch as live within the Pope's own civil territories, there is no cauſe why any ſhould deny to yield them civil obedience in any thing which they command, not repugnant to Chriſtian piety; yea, even that civilly, for ſuch as are under them, not to obey them, were the part of ſeditious perſons: howbeit for perſons Eccleſiaſtical, thus to exerciſe civil dominion of their own, is more than when they only ſuſtain ſome public office, or deal in ſome buſineſs civil, being thereunto even by ſupreme authority required. As nature doth not any thing in vain, ſo neither grace. Wherefore, if it pleaſe God to bleſs ſome principal attendants on his own ſanctuary, and to endue them with extraordinary parts of excellency, ſome in one kind, ſome in another, ſurely a great derogation it were to the very honour of him who beſtowed ſo precious graces, except they on whom he hath beſtowed them ſhould accordingly be employed, that the fruit of thoſe heavenly gifts might extend itſelf unto the body of the commonwealth wherein they live; which being of purpoſe inſtituted (for ſo all commonwealths are) to the end that all might enjoy whatſoever good it pleaſeth the Almighty to endue each one with, muſt needs ſuffer loſs, when it hath not the gain which eminent civil ability in Eccleſiaſtical perſons is now and then found apt to afford. Shall we then diſcommend the people of Milan for uſing Ambroſe their Biſhop as an ambaſſador about their public and politic affairs; the Jews for electing their prieſts ſometimes to be leaders in war; David for making the high-prieſt his chiefeſt counſellor of ſtate; finally, all Chriſtian kings and princes

Zanch. p. 214. Obſer. Inconfeſſ.

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princes which have appointed unto like ſervices, Biſhops or other of the Clergy under them? No, they have done in this reſpect that which moſt ſincere and religious wiſdom alloweth. Neither is it allowable only, when either a kind of neceſſity doth caſt civil offices upon them, or when they are thereunto preferred in regard of ſome extraordinary fitneſs; but further alſo, when there are even of right annexed unto ſome of their places, or of courſe impoſed upon certain of their perſons, functions of dignity and account in the commonwealth; albeit, no other conſideration be had therein ſave this, that their credit and countenance may by ſuch means be augmented. A thing, if ever to be reſpected, ſurely moſt of all now, when God himſelf is for his own ſake generally no where honoured, religion almoſt no where, no where religiouſly adored, the miniſtry of the Word and Sacraments of Chriſt a very cauſe of diſgrace in the eyes both of high and low, where it hath not ſomewhat beſides itſelf to be countenanced with. For unto this very paſs are things come, that the glory of God is conſtrained even to ſtand upon borrowed credit, which yet were ſomewhat the more tolerable, if there were not that diſſuade to lend it him. No practice ſo vile, but pretended holineſs is made ſometimes a cloak to hide it.

The French King Philip Valois in his time made an ordinance, that all Prelates and Biſhops ſhould be clean excluded from parliaments, where the affairs of the kingdom were handled; pretending that a King, with good conſcience, cannot draw Paſtors, having cure of ſouls, from ſo weighty a buſineſs, to trouble their heads with conſultations of ſtate. But irreligious intents are not able to hide themſelves, no not when holineſs is made their cloak. This is plain and ſimple truth, that the counſels of wicked men hate always the preſence of them whoſe virtue, though it ſhould not be able to prevail

prevail againſt their purpoſes, would notwithſtanding be unto their minds a ſecret corroſive: and therefore, till either by one ſhift or another they can bring all things to their own hands alone, they are not ſecure. Ordinances holier and better there ſtand as yet in force by the grace of Almighty God and the works of his providence, amongſt us. Let not envy ſo far prevail, as to make us account that a blemiſh, which if there be in us any ſpark of ſound judgment or of religious conſcience, we muſt of neceſſity acknowledge to be one of the chiefeſt ornaments unto this land: by the ancient laws whereof, the Clergy being held for the chief of thoſe Three Eſtates, which together make up the entire body of this commonwealth, under one ſupreme Head and Governor, it hath all this time ever borne a ſway proportionable in the weighty affairs of the land; wiſe and virtuous kings condeſcending moſt willingly thereunto, even of reverence to the moſt High; with the flower of whoſe ſanctified inheritance, as it were with a kind of divine preſence, unleſs their chiefeſt civil aſſemblies were ſo far forth beautified as might be, without any notable impediment unto their heavenly functions, they could not ſatisfy themſelves as having ſhewed towards God an affection moſt dutiful.

Thus, firſt, in defect of other civil magiſtrates; ſecondly, for the eaſe and quietneſs of ſcholaſtical ſocieties; thirdly, by way of political neceſſity; fourthly, in regard of quality, care, and extraordinancy; fifthly, for countenance unto the miniſtry; and laſtly, even of devotion and reverence towards God himſelf, there may be admitted, at leaſtwiſe in ſome particulars, well and lawfully enough, a conjunction of Civil and Eccleſiaſtical power, except there be ſome ſuch law or reaſon to the contrary, as may prove it to be a thing ſimply in itſelf naught.

Againſt it many things are objected, as, firſt, *That the*

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the matters which are noted in the holy Scriptures to have belonged unto the ordinary office of any miniſters of God's holy Word and Sacraments, are theſe which follow, with ſuch like, and no other; namely, the watch of the Sanctuary, the buſineſs of God, the miniſtry of the Word and Sacraments, overſight of the Houſe of God, watching over his flock, prophecy, prayer, diſpenſations of the myſteries of God, charge and care of men's ſouls. If a man would ſhew what the offices and duties of a chirurgeon or phyſician are, I ſuppoſe it were not his part, ſo much as to mention any thing belonging to the one or the other, in caſe either ſhould be alſo a ſoldier, or a merchant, or an houſe-keeper, or a magiſtrate; becauſe the functions of theſe are different from thoſe of the former, albeit one and the ſame man may haply be both. The caſe is like, when the Scripture teacheth what duties are required in an Eccleſiaſtical miniſter; in deſcribing of whoſe office, to teach any other thing than ſuch as properly and directly toucheth his office that way, were impertinent.

Yea, *But in the Old Teſtament the two powers Civil and Eccleſiaſtical were diſtinguiſhed, not only in nature, but alſo in perſon; the one committed unto Moſes, and the magiſtrates joined with him; the other to Aaron and his ſons. Jehoſaphat in his reformation doth not only diſtinguiſh cauſes Eccleſiaſtical from Civil, and erecteth divers courts for them, but appointeth alſo divers judges.* With the Jews theſe two powers were not ſo diſtinguiſhed, but that ſometimes they might and did concur in one and the ſame perſon. Was not Eli both prieſt and judge? after their return from captivity, Eſdras a prieſt, and the ſame their chief governor even in civil affairs alſo? Theſe men which urge the neceſſity of making always a perſonal diſtinction of theſe two powers, as if by Jehoſaphat's example the ſame perſon ought not to deal in both cauſes, yet are not ſcrupulous to make men of civil place and calling Preſbyters and Miniſters of ſpiritual

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ſiſtories.

If it be againſt the Jewiſh precedents for us to give Civil power unto ſuch as have Eccleſiaſtical; is it not as much againſt the ſame for them to give Eccleſiaſtical power unto ſuch as have Civil? They will anſwer perhaps, that their poſition is only againſt conjunction of Eccleſiaſtical power of order, and the power of Civil juriſdiction in one perſon. But this anſwer will not ſtand with their proofs, which make no leſs againſt the power of Civil and Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction in one perſon; for of theſe two powers Jehoſaphat's example is: beſides, the contrary example of Eli and of Ezra, by us alleged, do plainly ſhew, that amongſt the Jews even the power of order Eccleſiaſtical and Civil juriſdiction were ſometimes lawfully united in one and the ſame perſon. Preſſed further we are with our Lord and Saviour's example, who *denieth his kingdom to be of this world, and therefore, as not ſtanding with his calling, refuſed to be made a king, to give ſentence in a criminal cauſe of adultery, and in a civil of dividing an inheritance.*

The Jews imagining that their Meſſiah ſhould be a potent monarch upon earth, no marvel, though when they did otherwiſe wonder at Chriſt's greatneſs, they ſought forthwith to have him inveſted with that kind of dignity, to the end he might preſently begin to reign. Others of the Jews, which likewiſe had the ſame imagination of the Meſſiah, and did ſomewhat incline to think that peradventure this might be he, thought good to try whether he would take upon him that which he might do, being a king, ſuch as they ſuppoſed their true Meſſiah ſhould be. But Chriſt refuſed to be a king over them, becauſe it was no part of the office of their Meſſiah, as they did falſely conceive; and to intermeddle in thoſe acts of civil judgment he refuſed alſo, becauſe he had no ſuch juriſdiction in that commonwealth, being

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in regard of his civil perſon, a man of mean and low calling. As for repugnancy between Eccleſiaſtical and Civil power, or any inconvenience that theſe two powers ſhould be united, it doth not appear, that this was the cauſe of his reſiſtance either to reign, or elſe to judge.

2 Tim. ii. 4. What ſay we then to the bleſſed Apoſtles, who teach, *That ſoldiers entangle not themſelves with the buſineſſes of this life, but leave them, to the end they may pleaſe him who hath choſen them to ſerve; and that ſo the good ſoldiers of Chriſt ought to do?*

The Apoſtles which taught this, did never take upon them any place or office of Civil power. No; they gave over the Eccleſiaſtical care of the poor, that they might wholly attend upon the word and prayer. St. Paul indeed doth exhort Timothy after this manner, *Suffer thou evil as a noble ſoldier of Jeſus Chriſt: no man warring is entangled with the affairs of life, becauſe he muſt ſerve ſuch as have preſſed him unto warfare.* The ſenſe and meaning whereof is plain, that ſoldiers may not be nice and tender, that they muſt be able to endure hardneſs, that no man betaking himſelf unto wars continueth entangled with ſuch kind of buſineſſes, as tend only unto the eaſe and quiet felicity of this life; but if the ſervice of him who hath taken them under his banner require the hazard, yea, the loſs of their lives, to pleaſe him they muſt be content and willing, with any difficulty, any peril, be it never ſo much againſt the natural deſire which they have to live in ſafety. And at this point the Clergy of God muſt always ſtand; thus it behoveth them to be affected as oft as their Lord and Captain leadeth them into the field, whatſoever conflicts, perils, or evils they are to endure. Which duty being not ſuch, but that therewith the civil dignities, which Eccleſiaſtical perſons amongſt us do enjoy, may well enough ſtand, the exhortation of Paul to Timothy is but a ſlender allegation againſt them. As well might we gather

moſt part all. The [a] Romans note it as a thing beneficial in their own commonwealth, and even to [b] them apparently forcible for the ſtrengthening of the Jews' regiment under Moſes and Samuel. I deny not, but ſometime there may be, and hath been perhaps juſt cauſe to ordain otherwiſe. Wherefore we are not to urge thoſe things which heretofore have been either ordered or done as thereby to prejudice thoſe orders, which, upon contrary occaſion, and the exigence of the preſent time, by like authority have been eſtabliſhed. For, what is there which doth let, but that from contrary occaſions contrary laws may grow, and each be reaſoned and diſputed for by ſuch as are ſubject thereunto, during the time they are in force; and yet neither ſo oppoſite to other, but that both may laudably continue, as long as the ages which keep them do ſee no neceſſary cauſe which may draw them unto alteration? Wherefore in theſe things, canons, conſtitutions, and laws, which have been at one time meet, do not prove that the Church ſhould always be bound to follow them. Eccleſiaſtical perſons were by ancient order forbidden to be executors of

[a] Cum multa divinitus, Pontifices, a majoribus noſtris inventa atque inſtituta ſunt, tum nihil præclarius quam quod vos eoſdem et Religionibus Deorum immortalium, et ſummæ Reipublicæ præeſſe voluerunt. Cic. pro domo ſua ad Pontif.

[b] Honor Sacerdotii firmamentum potentiæ aſſumebatur. Tacit. Hiſt. lib. v. He ſheweth the reaſon wherefore their rulers were alſo prieſts. The joining of theſe two powers, as now, ſo then likewiſe, profitable for the public ſtate, but in reſpects clean oppoſite and contrary. For, whereas then divine things being more eſteemed, were uſed as helps for the countenance of ſecular power; the caſe in theſe latter ages is turned upſide down, earth hath now brought heaven under foot, and in the courſe of the world, hath of the two the greater credit. Prieſthood was then a ſtrengthening to kings, which now is forced to take ſtrength and credit from far meaner degrees of civil authority. Hic mos apud Judæos fuit, ut eoſdem Reges et Sacerdotes haberent, quorum juſtitia religioni permixta incredibile quantum evaluere. Juſt. Hiſt. l. xxxvi. Lib. xliii. Sect. 22. C. de Epiſc.

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any man's teſtament, or to undertake the wardſhip of children. Biſhops, by the imperial law, are forbidden to bequeath by teſtament, or otherwiſe to alienate any thing grown unto them after they were made Biſhops. Is there no remedy but that theſe, or the like orders, muſt therefore every where ſtill be obſerved? The reaſon is not always evident, why former orders have been repealed, and other eſtabliſhed in their room. Herein therefore we muſt remember the axiom uſed in the civil laws, *That the prince is always preſumed to do that with reaſon, which is not againſt reaſon being done, although no reaſon of his deed be expreſſed.* Which being in every reſpect as true of the Church, and her divine authority in making laws, it ſhould be ſome bridle unto thoſe malapert and proud ſpirits, whoſe wits not conceiving the reaſon of laws that are eſtabliſhed, they adore their own private fancy as the ſupreme law of all, and accordingly take upon them to judge that whereby they ſhould be judged. But why labour we thus in vain? For even to change that which now is, and to eſtabliſh inſtead thereof that which themſelves would acknowledge the very ſelf-ſame which hath been, to what purpoſe were it, ſith they proteſt, *That they utterly condemn as well that which hath been, as that which is; as well the ancient, as the preſent ſuperiority, authority, and power of Eccleſiaſtical perſons?*

T. C. lib. i. p. 126.

The arguments anſwered, whereby they would prove, that the Law of God, and the judgment of the beſt in all ages, condemneth the ruling ſuperiority of one miniſter over another. T. C. lib. i. p. 22.

16. Now where they laſtly allege, *That the Law of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the judgment of the beſt in all ages, condemn all ruling ſuperiority of miniſters over miniſters*; they are in this, as in the reſt, more bold to affirm, than able to prove, the things which they bring for ſupport of their weak and feeble cauſe. *The bearing of dominion, or the exerciſing of authority*, (they ſay,) *is that wherein the civil magiſtrate is ſevered from the Eccleſiaſtical officer, according to the words of our Lord and Saviour*, Kings of nations bear rule over them, but it ſhall not be ſo with you: *therefore*

therefore bearing of dominion doth not agree to one miniſter over another. This place hath been, and ſtill is, although falſely, yet with far greater ſhew and likelihood of truth, brought forth by the Anabaptiſts, to prove that the Church of Chriſt ought to have no civil magiſtrates, but be ordered only by Chriſt. Wherefore they urge the oppoſition between Heathens, and them unto whom our Saviour ſpeaketh. For, ſith the Apoſtles were oppoſite to Heathens, not in that they were Apoſtles, but in that they were Chriſtians, the Anabaptiſts' inference is, *That Chriſt doth here give a law, to be for ever obſerved by all true Chriſtian men, between whom and Heathens there muſt be always this difference, that whereas Heathens have their Kings and Princes to rule, Chriſtians ought not in this thing to be like unto them.* Wherein their conſtruction hath the more ſhew, becauſe that which Chriſt doth ſpeak to his Apoſtles, is not found always agreeable unto them as Apoſtles, or as Paſtors of men's ſouls, but oftentimes it toucheth them in generality, as they are Chriſtians; ſo that Chriſtianity being common unto them with all believers, ſuch ſpeeches muſt be ſo taken that they may be applied unto all, and not only unto them. They which conſent with us, in rejecting ſuch collections as the Anabaptiſt maketh with more probability, muſt give us leave to reject ſuch as themſelves have made with leſs; for a great deal leſs likely it is, that our Lord ſhould here eſtabliſh an everlaſting difference, not between his Church and Pagans, but between the paſtors of his Church and civil governors. For if herein they muſt always differ, that the one may not bear rule, the other may; how did the Apoſtles themſelves obſerve this difference, the exerciſe of whoſe authority, both in commanding and in controlling others, the Scripture hath made ſo manifeſt that no gloſs can overſhadow it? Again, it being, as they would have it, our Saviour's purpoſe to withhold his Apoſtles, and in them all other Paſtors

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from bearing rule, why ſhould kingly dominion be mentioned, which occaſions men to gather, that not all dominion and rule, but this one only form was prohibited, and that authority was permitted them, ſo it were not regal? Furthermore, in caſe it had been his purpoſe to withhold Paſtors altogether from bearing rule, why ſhould Kings of nations be mentioned, as if they were not forbidden to exerciſe, no not regal dominion itſelf, but only ſuch regal dominion as Heathen Kings do exerciſe? The very truth is, our Lord and Saviour did aim at a far other mark than theſe men ſeem to obſerve. The end of his ſpeech was to reform their particular miſperſuaſion to whom he ſpake: and their miſperſuaſion was, that which was alſo the common fancy of the Jews at that time, that their Lord being the Meſſias of the world, ſhould reſtore unto Iſrael that kingdom, whereof the Romans had as then bereaved them; they imagined that he ſhould not only deliver the ſtate of Iſrael, but himſelf reign as King in the throne of David with all ſecular pomp and dignity; that he ſhould ſubdue the reſt of the world, and make Jeruſalem the ſeat of an univerſal monarchy. Seeing therefore they had forſaken all to follow him, being now in ſo mean condition, they did not think, but that together with him they alſo ſhould riſe in ſtate; that they ſhould be the firſt and the moſt advanced by him.

Of this conceit it came, that the mother of the ſons of Zebedee ſued for her children's preferment; and of this conceit it grew, that the Apoſtles began to queſtion amongſt themſelves which of them ſhould be greateſt; and in controlment of this conceit, it was, that our Lord ſo plainly told them, *that the thoughts of their hearts were vain.* The kings of nations have indeed their large and ample dominions, they reign far and wide, and their ſervants they advance unto honour in the world, they beſtow upon them large and ample ſecular preferments, in which

which respect they are also termed many of them benefactors, because of the liberal hand which they use in rewarding such as have done them service: but, was it the meaning of the ancient Prophets of God that the Messias, the King of Israel, should be like unto these Kings, and his retinue grow in such sort as theirs? "Wherefore ye are not to look for at my hands such preferment as kings of nations are wont to bestow upon their attendants, *With you not so.* Your reward in heaven shall be most ample, on earth your chiefest honour must be to suffer persecution for righteousness' sake; submission, humility, and meekness, are things fitter for you to inure your minds withal, than these aspiring cogitations; if any amongst you be greater than other, let him shew himself greatest in being lowliest, let him be above them in being under them, even as a servant for their good. These are affections which you must put on; as for degrees of preferment and honour in this world, if ye expect any such thing at my hands, ye deceive yourselves, for in the world your portion is rather the clear contrary." Wherefore they who allege this place against Episcopal authority abuse it, they many ways deprave and wrest it clean from the true understanding wherein our Saviour himself did utter it. BOOK VII.

For first, whereas he by way of mere negation had said, *With you it shall not be so*, foretelling them only that it should not so come to pass as they vainly surmised, these men take his words in a plain nature of a prohibition, as if Christ had thereby forbidden all inequality of Ecclesiastical power. Secondly, whereas he did but cut off their idle hope of secular advancements, all standing superiority amongst persons Ecclesiastical these men would raze off with the edge of his speech. Thirdly, whereas he in abating their hope even of secular advancements spake but only with relation unto himself, informing them that he would be no such munificent Lord

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unto them in their temporal dignity and honour, as they did erroneouſly ſuppoſe; ſo that any Apoſtle might afterwards have grown by means of others to be even Emperor of Rome, for any thing in thoſe words to the contrary: theſe men removing quite and clean the hedge of all ſuch reſtraints, enlarge ſo far the bounds of his meaning, as if his very preciſe intent and purpoſe had been not to reform the error of his Apoſtles, conceived as touching him, and to teach what himſelf would not be towards them; but to preſcribe a ſpecial law both to them and their ſucceſſors for ever, a law determining what they ſhould not be in relation of one to another, a law forbidding that any ſuch title ſhould be given to any miniſter as might import or argue in him a ſuperiority over other miniſters. Being thus defeated of that ſuccour which they thought their cauſe might have had out of the words of our Saviour Chriſt, they try their adventure in ſeeking what aid man's teſtimony will yield them: *Cyprian objecteth it to Florentius as a proud thing, that by believing evil reports, and misjudging of Cyprian, he made himſelf Biſhop of a Biſhop, and Judge over him whom God had for the time appointed to be Judge. The endeavour of godly men to ſtrike at theſe inſolent names may appear in the Council of Carthage: where it was decreed, That the Biſhop of the chief See ſhould not be entitled the Exarch of Prieſts, or the higheſt Prieſt, or any other thing of like ſenſe, but only the Biſhop of the chiefeſt See* [a]; *whereby are ſhut out the name of Archbiſhop, and all other ſuch haughty titles.* In theſe allegations it fareth as in broken reports ſnatched out of the author's mouth, and broached before they be half either told on the one part, or on the other underſtood. The matter which Cyprian complaineth of in Florentius was

T. C. lib. i. p. 10. p. 95.

Epiſt. 66. pag. 166. Ep. ed. Par.

[a] Ὥστε τὸν τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λέγεσθαι Ἔξαρχον τῶν ἱερέων, ἢ Ἀκρὸν Ἱερέα, ἢ τοιοῦτότροπον τί ποτε, ἀλλὰ μόνον Ἐπίσκοπον τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας. Can. 39. pag. 1069. tom. ii. Concil. ed. Par.

thus;

thus; Novatus miſliking the eaſineſs of Cyprian to admit men into the fellowſhip of believers after they had fallen away from the bold and conſtant confeſſion of Chriſtian faith, took thereby occaſion to ſeparate himſelf from the Church; and being united with certain excommunicate perſons, they joined their wits together, and drew out againſt Cyprian their lawful Biſhop ſundry grievous accuſations; the crimes ſuch, as being true, had made him uncapable of that office whereof he was ſix years as then poſſeſſed: they went to Rome, and to other places, accuſing him every where as guilty of thoſe faults of which themſelves had lewdly condemned him, pretending that twenty-five African Biſhops (a thing moſt falſe) had heard and examined his cauſe in a ſolemn aſſembly, and that they all had given their ſentence againſt him, holding his election by the Canons of the Church void. The ſame factious and ſeditious perſons coming alſo unto Florentius, who was at that time a man impriſoned for the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, but yet a favourer of the error of Novatus, their malicious accuſations he over-willingly hearkened unto, gave them credit, concurred with them, and unto Cyprian in fine wrote his letters againſt Cyprian: which letters he juſtly taketh in marvellous evil part, and therefore ſeverely controlleth his ſo great preſumption in making himſelf a Judge of a Judge, and, as it were, a Biſhop's Biſhop, to receive accuſations againſt him, as one that had been his ordinary. *What height of pride is this*, ſaith Cyprian, *what arrogancy of ſpirit, what a puffing up of mind, to call Guides and Prieſts to be examined and ſifted before him? So that unleſs we ſhall be cleared in your court, and abſolved by your ſentence, behold for theſe ſix years' ſpace, neither ſhall the brotherhood have had a Biſhop, nor the people a Guide, nor the flock a Shepherd, nor the Church a Governor, nor Chriſt a Prelate, nor God a Prieſt.* This is the pride which Cyprian condemneth in Florentius, and not the

Epiſt. 66. pag. 167. Ep. ed. Par.

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the title or name of Archbiſhop; about which matter there was not at that time ſo much as the dream of any controverſy at all between them. A ſilly collection it is, that becauſe Cyprian reproveth Florentius for lightneſs of belief, and preſumptuous raſhneſs of judgment, therefore he held the title of Archbiſhop to be a vain and a proud name. Archbiſhops were chief amongſt Biſhops, yet Archbiſhops had not over Biſhops that full authority which every Biſhop had over his own particular Clergy. Biſhops were not ſubject unto their Archbiſhops as an ordinary, by whom at all times they were to be judged, according to the manner of inferior Paſtors, within the compaſs of each Dioceſe. A Biſhop might ſuſpend, excommunicate, depoſe ſuch as were of his own Clergy, without any other Biſhop's aſſiſtance; not ſo an Archbiſhop the Biſhops that were in his own province, above whom divers prerogatives were given him, howbeit no ſuch authority and power, as alone to be judge over them. For as a Biſhop could not be ordained, ſo neither might he be judged by any one only Biſhop, albeit that Biſhop were his Metropolitan. Wherefore Cyprian, concerning the liberty and freedom which every Biſhop had, ſpake in the Council of Carthage, whereat fourſcore and ſeven Biſhops were preſent, ſaying, *It reſteth that every of us declare what we think of this matter, neither judging nor ſevering from the right of communion any that ſhall think otherwiſe: for of us there is not any which maketh himſelf a Biſhop of Biſhops, or with tyrannical fear conſtraineth his colleagues unto the neceſſity of obedience, inaſmuch as every Biſhop, according to the reach of his liberty and power, hath his own free judgment, and can have no more another his judge, than himſelf be judge to another.* Whereby it appeareth, that among the African Biſhops none did uſe ſuch authority over any, as the Biſhop of Rome did afterwards claim over all, forcing upon them opinions by main and abſolute power. Wherefore unto the

Concil. Carthag. de hær. baptizandis, pag. 229. Tract. ed. Oxon.

Biſhop

Biſhop of Rome the ſame Cyprian alſo writeth concerning his opinion about Baptiſm: *Theſe things we preſent unto your conſcience, moſt dear brother, as well for common honour's ſake, as of ſingle and ſincere love, truſting that as you are truly yourſelf religious and faithful, ſo thoſe things which agree with religion and faith will be acceptable unto you: howbeit we know, that what ſome have over-drunk in, they will not let go, neither eaſily change their mind, but, with care of preſerving whole amongſt their brethren the bond of peace and concord, retain ſtill to themſelves certain their own opinions wherewith they have been inured; wherein we neither uſe force, nor preſcribe a law unto any, knowing that in the government of the Church every ruler hath his own voluntary free judgment, and of that which he doth ſhall render unto the Lord himſelf an account.* As for the Council of Carthage, doth not the very firſt canon thereof eſtabliſh with moſt effectual terms all things which were before agreed on in the Council of Nice? [a] and that the Council of Nice did ratify the preeminence of Metropolitan Biſhops, who is ignorant? The name of an Archbiſhop importeth only, a Biſhop having chiefty of certain prerogatives above his brethren of the ſame order. Which thing ſince the Council of Nice doth allow, it cannot be that the other of Carthage ſhould condemn it, inaſmuch as this doth yield unto that a Chriſtian unreſtrained approbation. BOOK VII.

Epiſt. 72. Stephano, pag. 196. Ep. ed. Oxon.

The thing provided for by the Synod of Carthage can be no other therefore, than only that the chiefeſt Metropolitan, where many Archbiſhops were within any greater province, ſhould not be termed by thoſe names, as to import the power of an ordinary juriſdiction, belonging in ſuch degree and manner unto him over the reſt of the Biſhops and Archbiſhops, as did belong unto every Biſhop over other Paſtors

[a] Ὥστε τὰ ἐν τῇ Νικαίων συνόδῳ ὁρισθέντα, παντὶ τρόπῳ παραφυλαχθήσεται. pag. 1049. tom. ii. Concil. ed. Par.

under-

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under him. But much more abſurd it is to affirm, that both Cyprian and the Council of Carthage condemn even ſuch ſuperiority alſo of Biſhops themſelves, over Paſtors their inferiors, as the words of Ignatius imply, in terming the Biſhop, *a Prince of Prieſts*. Biſhops to be termed Arch-Prieſts, in regard of their ſuperiority over Prieſts, is in the writings of the ancient Fathers a thing ſo uſual and familiar, as almoſt no one thing more. At the Council of Nice, ſaith Theodoret, three hundred and eighteen Arch-Prieſts were preſent[a]. Were it the meaning of the Council of Carthage, that the title of Chief-Prieſts, and ſuch like, ought not in any ſort at all to be given unto any Chriſtian Biſhop, what excuſe ſhould we make for ſo many ancient both Fathers, and Synods of Fathers, as have generally applied the title of Arch-Prieſt unto every Biſhop's office? High time I think it is, to give over the obſtinate defence of this moſt miſerable forſaken cauſe; in the favour whereof neither God, nor amongſt ſo many wiſe and virtuous men as antiquity hath brought forth, any one can be found to have hitherto directly ſpoken. Irkſome confuſion muſt of neceſſity be the end whereunto all ſuch vain and ungrounded confidence doth bring, as hath nothing to bear it out but only an exceſſive meaſure of bold and peremptory words, holpen by the ſtart of a little time, before they came to be examined. In the writings of the ancient Fathers, there is not any thing with more ſerious aſſeveration inculcated, than that it is God which maketh Biſhops, that their authority hath divine allowance, that the Biſhop is the prieſt of God, that he is judge in Chriſt's ſtead,

T. C. lib. i. p. 213.

[a] Theod. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. c. 7. Ἀρχιερεῖς. Hieronymus contra Lucifer. ſalutem Eccleſiæ pendere dicit a ſummi Sacerdotis dignitate, id eſt, Epiſcopi. Idem eſt in Hieronymo ſummus Sacerdos quod ἀκρὸς ἱερεύς in Carthaginenſi Concilio. Vide C. omnes, 38. diſt. Item C. Pontifices 12. q. 3. Item. C. De his, De conſeq. diſt. 5.

that,

that, according to God's own Law, the whole Chriſtian fraternity ſtandeth bound to obey him. Of this there was not in the Chriſtian world of old any doubt or controverſy made; it was a thing univerſally every where agreed upon. What ſhould move men to judge that now ſo unlawful and naught, which then was ſo reverently eſteemed? Surely no other cauſe but this; men were in thoſe times meek, lowly, tractable, willing to live in dutiful awe and ſubjection unto the Paſtors of their ſouls: now, we imagine ourſelves ſo able, every man to teach and direct all others, that none of us can brook it to have ſuperiors; and for a maſk to hide our pride, we pretend falſely the Law of Chriſt, as if we did ſeek the execution of his will, when in truth we labour for the mere ſatisfaction of our own againſt his. BOOK VII.

17. The chiefeſt cauſe of diſdain and murmur againſt Biſhops in the Church of England is, that evil-affected eye wherewith the world looked upon them ſince the time that irreligious profaneneſs, beholding the due and juſt advancements of God's Clergy, hath under pretence of enmity unto ambition and pride proceeded ſo far, that the contumely of old offered unto Aaron in the like quarrel may ſeem very moderate and quiet dealing, if we compare it with the fury of our own times. The ground and original of both their proceedings one and the ſame; in declaration of their grievances they differ not; the complaints as well of the one as the other are, *Wherefore lift ye up yourſelves thus far above the congregation of the Lord? It is too much which you take upon you, too much power, and too much honour.* Wherefore, as we have ſhewed that there is not in their power any thing unjuſt or unlawful, ſo it reſteth that in their honour alſo the like be done. The labour we take unto this purpoſe is by ſo much the harder, in that we are forced to wreſtle with the ſtream of obſtinate affection, mightily carried by a wilful prejudice, the dominion whereof is ſo powerful

The ſecond malicious thing wherein the ſtate of Biſhops ſuffereth obloquy, is their honour.

Numb. xvi. 3.

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ful over them in whom it reigneth, that it giveth them no leave, no not ſo much as patiently to hearken unto any ſpeech which doth not profeſs to feed them in this their bitter humour. Notwithſtanding, foraſmuch as I am perſuaded that againſt God they will not ſtrive, if they perceive once that in truth it is he againſt whom they open their mouths, my hope is their own confeſſion will be at the length; *Behold we have done exceeding fooliſhly; it was the Lord, and we knew it not; him in his miniſters we have deſpiſed, we have in their honour impugned his.* But the alteration of men's hearts muſt be his good and gracious work, whoſe moſt omnipotent power framed them. Wherefore to come to our preſent purpoſe, honour is no where due, ſaving only unto ſuch as have in them that whereby they are found, or at the leaſt preſumed, voluntarily beneficial unto them of whom they are honoured. Whereſoever nature ſeeth the countenance of a man, it ſtill preſumeth that there is in him a mind willing to do good, if need require, inaſmuch as by nature ſo it ſhould be; for which cauſe men unto men do honour, even for very humanity's ſake: and unto whom we deny all honour, we ſeem plainly to take from them all opinion of human dignity, to make no account or reckoning of them, to think them ſo utterly without virtue, as if no good thing in the world could be looked for at their hands. Seeing therefore it ſeemeth hard that we ſhould ſo hardly think of any man, the precept of St. Peter is, *Honour all men.* Which duty of every man towards all, doth vary according to the ſeveral degrees whereby they are more or leſs beneficial, whom we do honour. *Honour the phyſician,* ſaith the Wiſe Man. the reaſon why, becauſe for neceſſity's ſake God created him. Again, *Thou ſhalt riſe up before the hoary head, and honour the perſon of the aged:* the reaſon why, becauſe the younger ſort have great benefit by their gravity, experience, and wiſdom; for which cauſe, theſe things

1 Pet. ii. 17.

Eccluſ. xxxviii. 1.

Levit. xix. 32.

the

moſt earneſt aſſeveration acknowledged, concerning the force of divine grace in upholding kingdoms. Again, though his mercy doth ſo far ſtrive with men's ingratitude, that, all kind of public iniquities deſerving his indignation, their ſafety is through his gracious providence many times nevertheleſs continued, to the end that amendment might, if it were poſſible, avert their envy; ſo that as well commonweals as particular perſons both may and do endure much longer when they are careful, as they ſhould be, to uſe the moſt effectual means of procuring his favour on whom their continuance principally dependeth; yet this point no man will ſtand to argue, no man will openly arm himſelf to enter into ſet diſputation againſt the Emperors Theodoſius and Valentinian, for making unto their laws concerning religion this preface, *Decere arbitramur noſtrum Imperium, ſubditos noſtros de Religione commonefacere. Ita enim et pleniorem acquiri Dei ac Salvatoris noſtri Jeſu Chriſti benignitatem poſſibile eſſe exiſtimamus, ſi quando et nos pro viribus ipſi placere ſtuduerimus, et noſtros ſubditos ad eam rem inſtituerimus:* or againſt the Emperor Juſtinian, for that he alſo maketh the like profeſſion, *Per Sanctiſſimas Eccleſias et noſtrum Imperium ſuſtineri, et communes res clementiſſimi Dei gratia muniri, credimus.* And in another place, *Certiſſime credimus, quia Sacerdotum puritas et decus, et ad Dominum Deum ac Salvatorem noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum fervor, et ab ipſis miſſæ perpetuæ preces, multum favorem noſtræ Reipublicæ et incrementum præbent.*

Tit. 1. lib. iii. C. de ſumma trinit.

Lib. iii. C. de Epiſc. et Cler.

Lib. xxxiv. C. de Epiſc. audiend.

Wherefore only the laſt point is that which men will boldly require us to prove; for no man feareth now to make it a queſtion, *Whether the Prelacy of the Church be any thing available or no, to effect the good and*

ulla ordinem rerum ac viciſſitudinem perſequi poſſit, caſu fieri putet; aut, cum Deos eſſe intellexerit, non intelligat eorum numine hoc tantum Imperium eſſe natum et auctum et retentum? Cic. Orat. de Haruſ. reſp.

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and long continuance of true religion? Amongſt the principal bleſſings wherewith God enriched Iſrael, the Prophet in the Pſalm acknowledgeth eſpecially this for one, *Thou didſt lead thy people like ſheep by the hand of Moſes and Aaron.* That which ſheep are, if Paſtors be wanting, the ſame are the people of God, if ſo be they want governors: and that which the principal civil governors are, in compariſon of regents under them, the ſame are the Prelates of the Church, being compared with the reſt of God's Clergy.

Pſal. lxxvii. 20.

Wherefore inaſmuch as amongſt the Jews the benefit of civil government grew principally from Moſes, he being their principal civil governor; even ſo the benefit of ſpiritual regiment grew from Aaron principally, he being in the other kind their principal rector, although even herein ſubject to the ſovereign dominion of Moſes. For which cauſe, theſe two alone are named as the heads and well-ſprings of all. As for the good which others did in ſervice either of the commonwealth, or of the ſanctuary, the chiefeſt glory thereof did belong to the chiefeſt governors of the one ſort and of the other, whoſe vigilant care and overſight kept them in their due order. Biſhops are now as High-Prieſts were then, in regard of power over other Prieſts, and in reſpect of ſubjection unto High-Prieſts [a]. What Prieſts were then, the ſame now Preſbyters are by way of their place under Biſhops. The one's authority therefore being ſo profitable, how ſhould the others be thought unneceſſary? Is there any man profeſſing Chriſtian religion which holdeth it not as a maxim, that the Church of Jeſus Chriſt did reap a ſingular benefit by Apoſtolical regiment, not only for other reſpects, but even in regard of that Prelacy

[a] Qui Sacerdotes in Veteri Teſtamento vocabantur, hi ſunt qui nunc Preſbyteri appellantur; et qui tunc Princeps Sacerdotum, nunc Epiſcopus vocatur. Raban. Maur. de inſtit. Cler. l. iii. c. 6.

whereby

whereby they had and exerciſed power of juriſdiction over lower guides of the Church? Prelates are herein the Apoſtles' ſucceſſors, as hath been proved.

Thus we ſee, that Prelacy muſt needs be acknowledged exceedingly beneficial in the Church; and yet for more perſpicuity's ſake, it ſhall not be pains ſuperfluouſly taken, if the manner how be alſo declared at large. For this one thing not underſtood by the vulgar ſort, cauſeth all contempt to be offered unto higher powers, not only Eccleſiaſtical, but Civil; whom when proud men have diſgraced, and are therefore reproved by ſuch as carry ſome dutiful affection of mind, the uſual apologies which they make for themſelves, are theſe; *What more virtue in theſe great ones, than in others? We ſee no ſuch eminent good which they do above other men.* We grant indeed, that the good which higher governors do, is not ſo immediate and near unto every of us, as many times the meaner labours of others under them, and this doth make it to be leſs eſteemed.

But we muſt note, that it is in this caſe as in a ſhip; he that ſitteth at the ſtern is quiet, he moveth not, he ſeemeth in a manner to do little or nothing in compariſon of them that ſweat about other toil, yet that which he doth is in value and force more than all the labours of the reſidue laid together. The influence of the heavens above worketh infinitely more to our good, and yet appeareth not half ſo ſenſible as the force doth of things below. We conſider not what it is which we reap by the authority of our chiefeſt ſpiritual governors, nor are likely to enter into any conſideration thereof, till we want them; and that is the cauſe why they are at our hands ſo unthankfully rewarded. Authority is a conſtraining power; which power were needleſs if we were all ſuch as we ſhould be, willing to do the things we ought to do without conſtraint. But, becauſe generally we are otherwiſe, therefore we all

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reap ſingular benefit by that authority which permitteth no men, though they would, to ſlack their duty. It doth not ſuffice, that the lord of an houſehold appoint labourers what they ſhould do, unleſs he ſet over them ſome chief workman to ſee they do it. Conſtitutions and Canons made for the ordering of Church affairs are dead taſk-maſters. The due execution of laws ſpiritual dependeth moſt upon the vigilant care of the chiefeſt ſpiritual governors, whoſe charge is to ſee that ſuch laws be kept by the Clergy and people under them: with thoſe duties which the Law of God and the Eccleſiaſtical Canons require in the Clergy, Lay-governors are neither for the moſt part ſo well acquainted, nor ſo deeply and nearly touched. Requiſite therefore it is, that Eccleſiaſtical perſons have authority in ſuch things; which kind of authority maketh them that have it Prelates. If then it be a thing confeſſed, as by all good men it needs muſt be, to have prayers read in all Churches, to have the Sacraments of God adminiſtered, to have the myſteries of ſalvation painfully taught, to have God every where devoutly worſhipped, and all this perpetually, and with quietneſs, bringeth unto the whole Church, and unto every member thereof, ineſtimable good; how can that authority, which hath been proved the ordinance of God for preſervation of theſe duties in the Church, how can it chooſe but deſerve to be held a thing publicly moſt beneficial? It were to be wiſhed, and is to be laboured for, as much as can be, that they who are ſet in ſuch rooms may be furniſhed with honourable qualities and graces every way fit for their calling. But, be they otherwiſe, howſoever, ſo long as they are in authority, all men reap ſome good by them, albeit not ſo much good as if they were abler men. There is not any amongſt us all, but is a great deal more apt to exact another man's duty, than the beſt of us is to diſcharge exactly his own; and therefore Prelates, although

though neglecting many ways their duty unto God and men, do notwithſtanding by their authority great good, in that they keep others at the leaſtwiſe in ſome awe under them.

It is our duty therefore, in this conſideration, to honour them that rule as Prelates, which office if they diſcharge well, the Apoſtle's own verdict is, that the honour they have they be worthy of, yea, though it were double. And if their government be otherwiſe, the judgment of ſage men hath ever been this, that albeit the dealings of governors be culpable, yet honourable they muſt be, in reſpect of that authority by which they govern. Great caution muſt be uſed that we neither be emboldened to follow them in evil, whom for authority's ſake we honour, nor induced in authority to diſhonour them, whom as examples we may not follow. In a word, not to diſlike ſin, though it ſhould be in the higheſt, were unrighteous meekneſs, and proud righteouſneſs it is to contemn or diſhonour highneſs, though it ſhould be in the ſinfulleſt men that live. But ſo hard it is to obtain at our hands, eſpecially as now things ſtand, the yielding of honour to whom honour in this caſe belongeth, that by a brief declaration only what the duties of men are towards the principal guides and paſtors of their ſouls, we cannot greatly hope to prevail, partly for the malice of their open adverſaries, and partly for the cunning of ſuch as, in a ſacrilegious intent, work their diſhonour under covert, by more myſtical and ſecret means. Wherefore requiſite, and in a manner neceſſary it is, that by particular inſtances we make it even palpably manifeſt what ſingular benefit and public uſe the nature of Prelates is apt to yield.

1 Tim. v. 17.

Rom. xiii. 7.

Firſt, no man doubteth, but that unto the happy condition of commonweals it is a principal help and furtherance, when in the eye of foreign ſtates their eſtimation and credit is great. In which reſpect, the Lord himſelf commending his own laws unto

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his people, mentioneth this as a thing not meanly to be accounted of, that their careful obedience yielded thereunto ſhould purchaſe them a great good opinion abroad, and make them every where fa-
Deut. iv. 6. mous for wiſdom. Fame and reputation grow eſpecially by the virtue, not of common ordinary perſons, but of them which are in each eſtate moſt eminent by occaſion of their higher place and calling. The mean man's actions, be they good or evil, they reach not far, they are not greatly enquired into, except perhaps by ſuch as dwell at the next door; whereas men of more ample dignity are as cities on the tops of hills, their lives are viewed afar off; ſo
Matth. v. 14. that the more there are which obſerve aloof what they do, the greater glory by their well-doing they purchaſe both unto God whom they ſerve, and to the ſtate wherein they live. Wherefore if the Clergy be a beautifying unto the body of this commonweal in the eyes of foreign beholders, and if in the Clergy the Prelacy be moſt expoſed unto the world's eye, what public benefit doth grow from that order in regard of reputation thereby gotten to the land from abroad, we may ſoon conjecture. Amongſt the Jews (their kings excepted) who ſo renowned throughout the world as their High-Prieſt? who ſo much or ſo often ſpoke of as their Prelates?

2. Which order is not for the preſent only the moſt in ſight, but for that very cauſe alſo the moſt commended unto poſterity. For if we ſearch thoſe records wherein there hath deſcended from age to age whatſoever notice and intelligence we have of thoſe things which were before us, is there any thing almoſt elſe, ſurely not any thing ſo much kept in memory as the ſucceſſions, doings, ſufferings, and affairs of Prelates. So that either there is not any public uſe of that light which the Church doth receive from antiquity, or if this be abſurd to think, then muſt we neceſſarily acknowledge ourſelves beholden more unto Prelates than unto others their inferiors,

ſeriors, for that good of direction which Eccleſiaſtical actions recorded do always bring.

3. But to call home our cogitations, and more inwardly to weigh with ourſelves, what principal commodity that order yieldeth, or at leaſtwiſe is of its own diſpoſition and nature apt to yield: kings and princes, partly for information of their own conſciences, partly for inſtruction what they have to do in a number of moſt weighty affairs, entangled with the cauſe of religion, having, as all men know, ſo uſual occaſion of often conſultations and conferences with their Clergy; ſuppoſe we, that no public detriment would follow upon the want of honourable perſonages Eccleſiaſtical to be uſed in thoſe caſes? It will be haply ſaid, *That the higheſt might learn to ſtoop, and not to diſdain the advice of ſome circumſpect, wiſe, and virtuous miniſter of God, albeit the miniſtry were not by ſuch degrees diſtinguiſhed.* What princes in that caſe might or ſhould do, it is not material. Such difference being preſuppoſed therefore, as we have proved already to have been the ordinance of God, there is no judicious man will ever make any queſtion or doubt, but that fit and direct it is for the higheſt and chiefeſt order in God's Clergy to be employed before others about ſo near and neceſſary offices as the ſacred eſtate of the greateſt on earth doth require. For this cauſe Joſhua had Eleazer; David, Abiathar; Conſtantine, Hoſius Biſhop of Corduba; other emperors and kings their Prelates, by whom in private (for with princes this is the moſt effectual way of doing good) to be admoniſhed, counſelled, comforted, and, if need were, reproved.

Whenſoever ſovereign rulers are willing to admit theſe ſo neceſſary private conferences for their ſpiritual and ghoſtly good, inaſmuch as they do for the time, while they take advice, grant a kind of ſuperiority unto them of whom they receive it, albeit haply they can be contented even ſo far to bend to

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the graveſt and chiefeſt perſons in the order of God's Clergy, yet this of the very beſt being rarely and hardly obtained, now that there are whoſe greater and higher callings do ſomewhat more proportion them unto that ample conceit and ſpirit wherewith the minds of ſo powerable perſons are poſſeſſed; what ſhould we look for in caſe God himſelf not authorizing any by miraculous means, as of old he did his Prophets, the equal meanneſs of all did leave, in reſpect of calling, no more place of decency for one than for another to be admitted? Let unexperienced wits imagine what pleaſeth them, in having to deal with ſo great perſonages theſe perſonal differences are ſo neceſſary, that there muſt be regard had of them.

4. Kingdoms being principally (next unto God's Almightineſs, and the ſovereignty of the higheſt under God) upheld by wiſdom and by valour, as by the chiefeſt human means to cauſe continuance in ſafety with honour, (for the labours of them who attend the ſervice of God, we reckon as means divine, to procure our protection from Heaven;) from hence it riſeth, that men excelling in either of theſe, or deſcending from ſuch, as for excellency either way have been ennobled, or poſſeſſing howſoever the rooms of ſuch as ſhould be in politic wiſdom, or in martial proweſs eminent, are had in ſingular recommendation. Notwithſtanding, becauſe they are by the ſtate of nobility great, but not thereby made inclinable to good things, ſuch they oftentimes prove even under the beſt princes, as under David certain of the Jewiſh nobility were. In polity and council the world had not Achitophel's equal, nor hell his equal in deadly malice. Joab the general of the hoſt of Iſrael, valiant, induſtrious, fortunate in war, but withal headſtrong, cruel, treacherous, void of piety towards God; in a word, ſo conditioned, that eaſy it is not to define, whether it were for David harder to miſs the benefit of his warlike ability, or to

bear

bear the enormity of his other crimes. As well for the cheriſhing of thoſe virtues therefore, wherein if nobility do chance to flouriſh, they are both an ornament and a ſtay to the commonwealth wherein they live; as alſo for the bridling of thoſe diſorders, which if they looſely rún into, they are by reaſon of their greatneſs dangerous; what help could there ever have been invented more divine, than the ſorting of the Clergy into ſuch degrees, that the chiefeſt of the Prelacy being matched in a kind of equal yoke, as it were, with the higher, the next with the lower degree of nobility, the reverend authority of the one might be to the other as a courteous bridle, a mean to keep them lovingly in awe that are exorbitant, and to correct ſuch exceſſes in them, as whereunto their courage, ſtate, and dignity make them over-prone? O that there were for encouragement of Prelates herein, that inclination of all Chriſtian kings and princes towards them, which ſometime a famous king of this land either had, or pretended to have, for the countenancing of a principal Prelate under him in the actions of ſpiritual authority!

Let my Lord Archbiſhop know, (ſaith he,) *that if a Biſhop, or Earl, or any other great perſon, yea, if my own choſen ſon, ſhall preſume to withſtand, or to hinder his will and diſpoſition, whereby he may be withheld from performing the work of the embaſſage committed unto him; ſuch a one ſhall find, that of his contempt I will ſhew myſelf no leſs a perſecutor and revenger, than if treaſon were committed againſt mine own very crown and dignity.* Petr. Bleſenſ. Ep. 5. pag. 934. Bibliothec. Patr. tom. xxiv. ed. Lugd.

Sith therefore by the Fathers and firſt founders of this commonweal, it hath, upon great experience and forecaſt, been judged moſt for the good of all ſorts, that as the whole body politic wherein we live ſhould be, for ſtrength's ſake a threefold cable, conſiſting of the king as a ſupreme head over all, of peers and nobles under him, and of the people under them; ſo likewiſe, that in this conjunction of ſtates, the ſecond wreath of that cable

ſhould,

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ſhould, for important reſpects, conſiſt as well of lords ſpiritual as temporal. Nobility and Prelacy being by this mean twined together, how can it poſſibly be avoided, but that the tearing away of the one muſt needs exceedingly weaken the other, and by conſequent impair greatly the good of all?

5. The force of which detriment there is no doubt, but that the common ſort of men would feel to their helpleſs woe, how goodly a thing ſoever they now ſurmiſe it to be, that themſelves and their godly teachers did all alone without controlment of their Prelate. For if the manifold jeopardies whereto a people deſtitute of Paſtors is ſubject, be unavoidable without government, and if the benefit of government, whether it be Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, do grow principally from them who are principal therein, as hath been proved out of the Prophet, who, albeit the people of Iſrael had ſundry inferior governors, aſcribeth not unto them the public benefit of government, but maketh mention of Moſes and Aaron only, the chief Prince and chief Prelate, becauſe they were the well-ſpring of all the good which others under them did; may we not boldly conclude, that to take from the people their Prelate, is to leave them in effect without guides; at leaſtwiſe, without thoſe guides which are the ſtrongeſt hands that God doth direct them by? *Thou didſt lead thy people like ſheep*, ſaith the Prophet, *by the hand of Moſes and Aaron.*

Pſal. lxxvii. 20.

If now there ariſe any matter of grievance between the Paſtor and the people that are under him, they have their ordinary, a judge indifferent to determine their cauſes, and to end their ſtrife. But in caſe there were no ſuch appointed to ſit, and to hear both, what would then be the end of their quarrels? They will anſwer perhaps, *That for ſuch purpoſes their Synods ſhall ſerve.* Which is, as if in the commonwealth, the higher magiſtrates being removed, every townſhip ſhould be a ſtate, altogether free and independent; and the controverſies which they cannot end ſpeedily within

within themſelves, to the contentment of both parties, ſhould be all determined by ſolemn parliaments. Merciful God! where is the light of wit and judgment, which this age doth ſo much vaunt of and glory in, when unto theſe ſuch odd imaginations, ſo great, not only aſſent, but alſo applauſe is yielded? BOOK VII.

6. As for thoſe in the Clergy, whoſe place and calling is lower; were it not that their eyes are blinded, leſt they ſhould ſee the thing that of all others is for their good moſt effectual, ſomewhat they might conſider the benefit which they enjoy by having ſuch in authority over them as are of the ſelf-ſame profeſſion, ſociety, and body with them; ſuch as have trodden the ſame ſteps before; ſuch as know by their own experience the manifold intolerable contempts and indignities which faithful Paſtors, intermingled with the multitude, are conſtrained every day to ſuffer in the exerciſe of their ſpiritual charge and function; unleſs their ſuperiors, taking their cauſes even to heart, be, by a kind of ſympathy, drawn to relieve and aid them in their virtuous proceedings no leſs effectually, than loving parents their dear children.

Thus therefore Prelacy, being unto all ſorts ſo beneficial, ought accordingly to receive honour at the hands of all; but we have juſt cauſe exceedingly to fear that thoſe miſerable times of confuſion are drawing on, wherein *the people ſhall be oppreſſed one of another*; inaſmuch as already that which prepareth the way thereunto is come to paſs, *Children preſume againſt the ancient, and the vile againſt the honourable.* Prelacy, the temperature of exceſſes in all eſtates, the glue and ſoder of the public-weal, the ligament which tieth and connecteth the limbs of this body politic each to other, hath, inſtead of deſerved honour, all extremity of diſgrace; the fooliſh every where plead, that unto the wife in heart they owe neither ſervice, ſubjection, nor honour. Iſa. iii. 5.

19. Now that we have laid open the cauſes for which honour is due unto Prelates, the next thing we What kinds of honour be due unto Biſhops.

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we are to conſider is, what kinds of honour be due. The good government either of the Church or the Commonwealth dependeth ſcarcely on any one external thing ſo much as on the public marks and tokens whereby the eſtimation that governors are in, is made manifeſt to the eyes of men. True it is, that governors are to be eſteemed according to the excellency of their virtues; the more virtuous they are, the more they ought to be honoured, if reſpect be had unto that which every man ſhould voluntarily perform unto his ſuperiors. But the queſtion is now of that honour which public order doth appoint unto Church-governors, in that they are governors; the end whereof is, to give open ſenſible teſtimony, that the place which they hold is judged publicly in ſuch degree beneficial, as the marks of their excellency, the honours appointed to be done unto them, do import. Wherefore this honour we are to do them, without preſuming ourſelves to examine how worthy they are; and withdrawing it, if by us they be thought unworthy. It is a note of that public judgment which is given of them; and therefore not tolerable, that men in private ſhould, by refuſal to do them ſuch honour, reverſe as much as in them lieth the public judgment. If it deſerve ſuch grievous puniſhment, when any particular perſon adventureth to deface thoſe marks whereby is ſignified what value ſome ſmall piece of coin is publicly eſteemed at; is it ſufferable that honours, the character of that eſtimation which publicly is had of public eſtates and callings in the Church or Commonwealth, ſhould at every man's pleaſure be cancelled? Let us not think that, without moſt neceſſary cauſe, the ſame have been thought expedient. The firſt authors thereof were wiſe and judicious men; they knew it a thing altogether impoſſible for each particular in the multitude to judge what benefit doth grow unto them from their Prelates, and thereupon uniformly to yield them convenient honour. Wherefore that all ſorts might

might be kept in obedience and awe, doing that unto their ſuperiors of every degree, not which every man's ſpecial fancy ſhould think meet, but which being beforehand agreed upon as meet, by public ſentence and deciſion, might afterwards ſtand as a rule for each in particular to follow; they found that nothing was more neceſſary than to allot unto all degrees their certain honour, as marks of public judgment concerning the dignity of their places; which marks when the multitude ſhould behold, they might be thereby given to know, that of ſuch or ſuch eſtimation their governors are, and in token thereof do carry thoſe notes of excellency. Hence it groweth, that the different notes and ſigns of honour do leave a correſpondent impreſſion in the minds of common beholders. Let the people be aſked, who are the chiefeſt in any kind of calling? who moſt to be liſtened unto? who of greateſt account and reputation? and ſee if the very diſcourſe of their minds lead them not unto thoſe ſenſible marks, according to the difference whereof they give their ſuitable judgment, eſteeming them the worthieſt perſons who carry the principal note and public mark of worthineſs. If therefore they ſee in other eſtates a number of tokens ſenſible, whereby teſtimony is given what account there is publicly made of them, but no ſuch thing in the Clergy; what will they hereby, or what can they elſe conclude, but that where they behold this, ſurely in that commonwealth, religion, and they that are converſant about it, are not eſteemed greatly beneficial? Whereupon in time the open contempt of God and godlineſs muſt needs enſue. *Qui bona fide Deos colit, amat et Sacerdotes,* ſaith Papinius. In vain doth that kingdom or commonwealth pretend zeal to the honour of God, which doth not provide that his Clergy alſo may have honour. Now if all that are employed in the ſervice of God ſhould have one kind of honour, what more confuſed, abſurd, and unſeemly?

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Præf. l. v. Silv.

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unſeemly? Wherefore in the honour which hath been allotted unto God's Clergy, we are to obſerve, how not only the kinds thereof, but alſo in every particular kind, the degrees do differ. The honour which the Clergy of God hath hitherto enjoyed conſiſteth eſpecially in the preeminence of title, place, ornament, attendance, privilege, endowment. In every of which it hath been evermore judged meet, that there ſhould be no ſmall odds between Prelates, and the inferior Clergy.

Honour in title, place, ornament, attendance, and privilege.

20. Concerning title, albeit even as under the law, all they whom God had ſevered to offer him ſacrifice were generally termed Prieſts, ſo likewiſe the name of Paſtor or Preſbyter be now common unto all that ſerve him in the miniſtry of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt; yet both then and now, the higher orders as well of the one ſort as of the other have by one and the ſame congruity of reaſon their different titles of honour, wherewith we find them in the phraſe of ordinary ſpeech exalted above others. Thus the heads of the twenty-four companies of Prieſts are in Scripture termed Arch-Prieſts; Aaron and the ſucceſſors of Aaron being above thoſe Arch-Prieſts, themſelves are in that reſpect further entitled High and Great. After what ſort antiquity hath uſed to ſtyle Chriſtian Biſhops, and to yield them in that kind honour more than was meet for inferior Paſtors, I may the better omit to declare, both becauſe others have ſufficiently done it already; and in ſo ſlight a thing, it were but a loſs of time to beſtow further travel. The allegation of Chriſt's prerogative to be named an Arch-Paſtor ſimply, in regard of his abſolute excellency over all, is no impediment but that the like title in an unlike ſignification may be granted unto others beſides him, to note a more limited ſuperiority, whereof men are capable enough without derogation from his glory, than which nothing is more ſovereign. To quarrel at ſyllables, and to take ſo poor exceptions

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tions at the firſt four letters in the name of an Archbiſhop, as if they were manifeſtly ſtolen goods, whereof reſtitution ought to be made to the civil magiſtrate, toucheth no more the Prelates that now are, than it doth the very bleſſed Apoſtle, who giveth unto himſelf the title of an Arch-builder.

As for our Saviour's words alleged againſt the ſtyle of Lordſhip and Grace, we have before ſufficiently opened how far they are drawn from their natural meaning to bolſter up a cauſe which they nothing at all concern. Biſhops Theodoret entitleth moſt honourable: Emperors writing unto Biſhops have not diſdained to give them their appellations of honour, *Your holineſs, your bleſſedneſs, your amplitude, your highneſs*, and the like: ſuch as purpoſely have done otherwiſe, are noted of inſolent ſingularity and pride. Honour done by giving preeminence of place unto one ſort before another, is for decency, order, and quietneſs ſake ſo needful, that both imperial Laws and Canons Eccleſiaſtical have made their ſpecial proviſions for it. Our Saviour's invective againſt the vain affectation of ſuperiority, whether in title or in place [a], may not hinder theſe ſeemly differences uſual in giving and taking honour, either according to the one or the other.

Lib. v. c. 3. Hiſt. Eccleſ. L. vii. C. de ſumma Trinit. L. xxxiii. C. de Epiſc. et Cler. et L. xvi. C. de Sacroſ. Eccleſ.

Something there is even in the ornaments of honour alſo; otherwiſe idle it had been for the Wiſe Man, ſpeaking of Aaron, to ſtand ſo much upon the circumſtance of his prieſtly attire, and to urge it as an argument of ſuch dignity and greatneſs in him: *An everlaſting covenant God made with Aaron, and gave him the prieſthood among the people, and made him bleſſed through his comely ornament, and clothed him with the garment of honour.* The robes of a Judge do not add to his virtue; the chiefeſt ornament of Kings is juſtice; holineſs and purity of

Eccluſ. xlv. 7.

[a] Matth. xxiii. 6, 7. They love to have the chief ſeats in the aſſemblies, and to be called of men, Rabbi.

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converſation doth much more adorn a Biſhop, than his peculiar form of clothing. Notwithſtanding, both Judges, through the garments of judicial authority, and through the ornaments of ſovereignty, Princes; yea, Biſhops, through the very attire of Biſhops, are made bleſſed, that is to ſay, marked and manifeſted they are to be ſuch as God hath poured his bleſſing upon, by advancing them above others, and placing them where they may do him principal good ſervice. Thus to be called is to be bleſſed, and therefore to be honoured with the ſigns of ſuch a calling muſt needs be in part a bleſſing alſo; for of good things even the ſigns are good.

Of honour, another part is attendancy; and therefore in the viſions of the glory of God Angels are ſpoken of as his attendants. In ſetting out the honour of that myſtical queen, the Prophet mentioneth the virgin ladies which waited on her. Amongſt the tokens of Solomon's honourable condition, his ſervants and waiters the ſacred hiſtory omitteth not. This doth prove attendants a part of honour: but this as yet doth not ſhew with what attendancy Prelates are to be honoured. Of the High-Prieſt's retinue amongſt the Jews, ſomewhat the Goſpel itſelf doth intimate. And, albeit our Saviour came to miniſter, and not, as the Jews did imagine their Meſſias ſhould, to be miniſtered unto, in this world, yet attended on he was by his bleſſed Apoſtles, who followed him not only as ſcholars, but even as ſervants about him. After that he had ſent them, as himſelf was ſent of God, in the midſt of that hatred and extreme contempt which they ſuſtained at the world's hands, by ſaints and believers this part of honour was moſt plentifully done unto them. Attendants they had provided in all places where they went; which cuſtom of the Church was ſtill continued in Biſhops their ſucceſſors, as by Ignatius it is plain to be ſeen. And from hence no doubt thoſe Acolythes took their beginning,

of

of whom ſo frequent mention is made; the Biſhop's attendants, his followers they were: in regard of which ſervice the name of Acolythes ſeemeth plainly to have been given. The cuſtom for Biſhops to be attended upon by many is, as Juſtinian doth ſhew, ancient: the affairs of regiment, wherein Prelates are employed, make it neceſſary that they always have many about them whom they may command, although no ſuch thing did by way of honour belong unto them. BOOK VII. Novel. 6.

Some men's judgment is, that if clerks, ſtudents, and religious perſons were more, common ſerving-men and lay-retainers fewer than they are in Biſhops' palaces, the uſe and the honour thereof would be much more ſuitable than now. But theſe things concerning the number and quality of perſons fit to attend on Prelates, either for neceſſity, or for honour's ſake, are rather in particular diſcretion to be ordered than to be argued of by diſputes. As for the vain imagination of ſome, who teach the original hereof to have been a prepoſterous imagination of Maximinus the Emperor, who being addicted unto idolatry, choſe of the choiceſt magiſtrates to be Prieſts, and, to the end they might be in great eſtimation, gave unto each of them a train of followers; and that Chriſtian Emperors thinking the ſame would promote Chriſtianity which promoted ſuperſtition, endeavoured to make their Biſhops encounter and match with thoſe idolatrous Prieſts; ſuch frivolous conceits having no other ground than conceit, we weigh not ſo much as to frame any anſwer unto them; our declaration of the true original of ancient attendancy on Biſhops being ſufficient. Now, if that which the light of ſound reaſon doth teach to be fit, have upon like inducements reaſonable, allowable, and good, approved itſelf in ſuch wiſe as to be accepted, not only of us, but of Pagans and Infidels alſo, doth conformity with them that are evil in that T. C. l. iii. p. 126. out of Juſ. l. viii. c. 15.

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which is good, make that thing which is good, evil? We have not herein followed the Heathens, nor the Heathens us, but both we and they one and the ſelf-ſame divine rule, the light of a true and ſound underſtanding; which ſheweth what honour is fit for Prelates, and what attendancy convenient to be a part of their honour.

L. xii. C. de ſacr. Eccleſ. l. v. C. de ſacr. Eccleſ. l. ii. C. de Epiſc et Cler. l. x. C. de Epiſc. et Cler.

Touching privileges granted for honour's ſake, partly in general unto the Clergy, and partly unto Prelates, the chiefeſt perſons Eccleſiaſtical, in particular; of ſuch quality and number they are, that to make but rehearſal of them we ſcarce think it ſafe, leſt the very entrails of ſome of our godly brethren, as they term themſelves, ſhould thereat haply burſt in ſunder.

Honour by endowment with lands and livings.

21. And yet of all theſe things rehearſed, it may be there never would have grown any queſtion, had Biſhops been honoured only thus far forth. But the honouring of the Clergy with wealth, this is in the eyes of them which pretend to ſeek nothing but mere reformation of abuſes, a ſin that can never be remitted.

How ſoon, O how ſoon might the Church be perfect, even without any ſpot or wrinkle, if public authority would at the length ſay *Amen* unto the holy and devout requeſts of thoſe godly brethren, who as yet with outſtretched necks groan in the pangs of their zeal to ſee the houſes of Biſhops rifled, and their ſo long deſired livings gloriouſly divided amongſt the righteous! But there is an impediment, a let, which ſomewhat hindereth thoſe good men's prayers from taking effect: they, in whoſe hands the ſovereignty of power and dominion over this Church doth reſt, are perſuaded there is a God; for undoubtedly, either the name of Godhead is but a feigned thing, or, if in Heaven there be a God, the ſacrilegious intention of church robbers, which lurketh under this plauſible name of reformation, is in his ſight

ſight a thouſand times more hateful than the plain profeſſed malice of thoſe very miſcreants who threw their vomit in the open face of our bleſſed Saviour.

They are not words of perſuaſion by which true men can hold their own when they are over-beſet with thieves. And therefore to ſpeak in this cauſe at all, were but labour loſt, ſaving only in reſpect of them, who being as yet unjoined unto this conſpiracy, may be haply ſomewhat ſtayed, when they ſhall know betimes what it is to ſee thieves, and to run on with them, as the Prophet in the Pſalm ſpeaketh; *When thou ſaweſt a thief, then thou conſenteſt with him, and haſt been partaker with adulterers.* Pſal. l. 18.

For the better information therefore of men which carry true, honeſt, and indifferent minds, theſe things we will endeavour to make moſt clearly manifeſt.

Firſt, That in goods and livings of the Church none hath propriety but God himſelf.

Secondly, That the honour which the Clergy therein hath, is to be, as it were, God's receivers; the honour of Prelates, to be his chief and principal receivers.

Thirdly, That from him they have right not only to receive, but alſo to uſe ſuch goods, the lower ſort in ſmaller, and the higher in larger meaſure.

Fourthly, That in caſe they be thought, yea, or found to abuſe the ſame, yet may not ſuch honour be therefore lawfully taken from them, and be given away unto perſons of other calling.

That of Eccleſiaſtical goods, and conſequently of the lands and livings which Biſhops enjoy, the propriety belongeth unto God alone.

22. Poſſeſſions, lands, and livings ſpiritual, the wealth of the Clergy, the goods of the Church, are in ſuch ſort the Lord's own, that man can challenge no propriety in them. His they are, and not ours; all things are his, in that from him they have their being: *My corn, and my wine, and mine oil*, ſaith the Lord. All things his, in that he hath abſolute power to diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure: *Mine*, ſaith he, *are the ſheep and oxen of a thouſand hills.* All things his, in that when we have them we may ſay with Hoſ. ii. 8. Pſal. l. 10.

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Job, *God hath given*, and when we are deprived of them, *The Lord*, whoſe they are, hath likewiſe *taken them away* again. But theſe ſacred poſſeſſions are his by another tenure: his, becauſe thoſe men who firſt received them from him have unto him returned them again by way of religious gift, or oblation: and in this reſpect it is that the Lord doth term thoſe houſes wherein ſuch gifts and oblations were laid, *his treaſuries*.

Job i. 21.

Mal. iii. 10.

The ground whereupon men have reſigned their own intereſt in things temporal, and given over the ſame unto God, is that precept which Solomon borroweth from the Law of Nature, *Honour the Lord out of thy ſubſtance, and of the chiefeſt of all thy revenue; ſo ſhall thy barns be filled with plenty, and with new wine the fat of thy preſs ſhall overflow.* For although it be by one moſt fitly ſpoken againſt thoſe ſuperſtitious perſons, who only are ſcrupulous in external rites; *Wilt thou win the favour of God? Be virtuous. They beſt worſhip him that are his followers*; it is not the bowing of your knees, but of your hearts; it is not the number of your oblations, but the integrity of your lives; not your incenſe, but your obedience, which God is delighted to be honoured by: nevertheleſs, we muſt beware, leſt ſimply underſtanding this, which comparatively is meant; that is to ſay, whereas the meaning is, that God doth chiefly reſpect the inward diſpoſition of the heart, we muſt take heed we do not hereupon ſo worſhip him in ſpirit, that outwardly we take all worſhip, reverence, and honour from him.

Prov. iii. 9, 10.

Seneca.

Our God will be glorified both of us himſelf, and for us by others: to others, becauſe our hearts are known, and yet our example is required for their good, therefore it is not ſufficient to carry religion in our hearts, as fire is carried in flint-ſtones, but we are outwardly, viſibly, apparently to ſerve and honour the living God; yea, to employ that way, as not only our ſouls, but our bodies, ſo not only our

our bodies, but our goods; yea, the choice, the flower, the chiefeſt of all thy revenue, ſaith Solomon. If thou haſt any thing in all thy poſſeſſions of more value and price than other, to what uſe ſhouldeſt thou convert it, rather than to this? Samuel was dear unto Hannah his mother; the child that Hannah did ſo much eſteem, ſhe could not chooſe but greatly wiſh to advance, and her religious conceit was, that the honouring of God with it, was the advancing of it unto honour. The chiefeſt of the offspring of men, are the males which be firſt born; and, for this cauſe, in the ancient world they all were by right of their birth Prieſts of the moſt High. By theſe and the like precedents it plainly enough appeareth, that in what heart ſoever doth dwell unfeigned religion, in the ſame there reſteth alſo a willingneſs to beſtow upon God that ſooneſt which is moſt dear. Amongſt us the law is, that ſith gold is the chiefeſt of metals, if it be any where found in the bowels of the earth, it belongeth in right of honour, as all men know, to the king: whence hath this cuſtom grown, but only from a natural perſuaſion, whereby men judge it decent, for the higheſt perſons always to be honoured with the choiceſt things? *If ye offer unto God the blind*, ſaith the prophet Malachi, *is it not evil? if the lame and ſick, is it good enough? Preſent it unto thy prince, and ſee if he will content himſelf, or accept thy perſon, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.* When Abel preſented God with an offering, it was the fatteſt of all the lambs in his whole flock; he honoured God not only out of his ſubſtance, but out of the very chiefeſt therein; whereby we may ſomewhat judge how religiouſly they ſtand affected towards God, who grudge that any thing worth the having ſhould be his. Long it were to reckon up particularly, what God was owner of under the Law; for of this ſort was all which they ſpent in legal ſacrifices; of this ſort, their uſual oblations

Mal. i. 8.

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and offerings; of this ſort, tithes and firſt-fruits; of this ſort, that which by extraordinary occaſions they vowed unto God; of this ſort, all that they gave to the building of the tabernacle; of this ſort, all that which was gathered amongſt them for erecting of the temple, and the[a] adorning of it erected; of this ſort, whatſoever their Corban contained, wherein that bleſſed widow's deodate was laid up. Now either this kind of honour was prefiguratively altogether ceremonial, and then our Saviour accepteth it not; or, if we find that to him alſo it hath been done, and that with divine approbation given for encouragement of the world, to ſhew, by ſuch kind of ſervice, their dutiful hearts towards Chriſt; there will be no place left for men to make any queſtion at all whether herein they do well or no.

Wherefore to deſcend from the ſynagogue, unto the Church of Chriſt: albeit ſacrifices, wherewith ſometimes God was highly honoured, be not accepted as heretofore at the hands of men, yet, foraſmuch as *Honour God with thy riches*, is an edict of the inſeparable Law of Nature, ſo far forth as men are therein required by ſuch kind of homage to teſtify their thankful minds, this ſacrifice God doth accept ſtill. Wherefore as it was ſaid of Chriſt, *That all kings ſhould worſhip him, and all nations do him ſervice*; ſo this very kind of worſhip or ſervice was likewiſe mentioned, leſt we ſhould think that our Lord and Saviour would allow of no ſuch thing: *The kings of Tarſhiſh, and of the iſles, ſhall bring preſents, the kings of Sheba and Seba ſhall bring gifts.* And, as it maketh not a little to the praiſe of thoſe ſages mentioned in the Goſpel, that the firſt amongſt men which did ſolemnly honour our Saviour on earth

Pſal. l. 13, 14.

Phil. iv. 18.

Pſal. lxxii. 11.

ver. 10.

[a] Becauſe (ſaith David) I have a delight in the Houſe of my God, therefore I have given thereunto of my own both gold and ſilver, to adorn it with. 1 Chron. xxix. 3.

were

were they; ſo it ſoundeth no leſs to the dignity of this particular kind, that the reſt by it were prevented; *They fell down and worſhipped him, and opened their treaſures, and preſented unto him gifts; gold, incenſe, and myrrh.* Matth. ii. 11.

Of all thoſe things which were done to the honour of Chriſt in his lifetime, there is not one whereof he ſpake in ſuch ſort, as when Mary, to teſtify the largeneſs of her affection, ſeemed to waſte away a gift upon him, the price of which gift might, as they thought who ſaw it, much better have been ſpent in works of mercy towards the poor: *Verily, I ſay unto you, whereſoever this Goſpel ſhall be preached throughout all the world, there ſhall alſo this that ſhe hath done be ſpoken of, for a memorial of her.* Mat. xxvi. 13. Of ſervice to God, the beſt works are they which continue longeſt: and, for permanency, what like donation, whereby things are unto him for ever dedicated? That the ancient lands and livings of the Church were all in ſuch ſort given into the hands of God by the juſt lords and owners of them, that unto him they paſſed over their whole intereſt and right therein, the form of ſundry the ſaid donations as yet extant, moſt plainly ſheweth. And where time hath left no ſuch evidence as now remaining to be ſeen, yet the ſame intention is preſumed in all donors, unleſs the contrary be apparent. But to the end it may yet more plainly appear unto all men under what title the ſeveral kinds of Eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions are held; *Our Lord himſelf* (ſaith Saint Auguſtine) *had coffers to keep thoſe things which the faithful OFFERED unto him. Then was the form of the Church-treaſury firſt inſtituted, to the end, that withal we might underſtand, that in forbidding to be careful for to-morrow, his purpoſe was not to bar his ſaints from keeping money, but to withdraw them from doing God ſervice for wealth's ſake, and from forſaking righteouſneſs through fear of loſing their wealth.* John xv. 16. Aug. cap. 15. de mendac. ſect. 29. pag. 437. tom. 6. ed. Par.

The firſt gifts conſecrated unto Chriſt after his

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departure out of the world were ſums of money, in proceſs of time other moveables were added, and at length goods unmoveable; churches and oratories hallowed to the honour of his glorious name; houſes and lands for perpetuity conveyed unto him; inheritance given to remain his as long as the world ſhould endure. *The Apoſtles*, (ſaith Melchiades,) *they foreſaw that God would have his Church amongſt the Gentiles, and for that cauſe in Judea they took no lands, but price of lands ſold.* This he conjecture to have been the cauſe why the Apoſtles did that which the hiſtory reporteth of them.

C. 12. p. 1. cap. 15. et 16.

The truth is, that ſo the ſtate of thoſe times did require, as well other where as in Judea. Wherefore when afterwards it did appear much more commodious for the Church to dedicate ſuch inheritances, than the value and price of them being ſold, the former cuſtom was changed for this, as for the better. The devotion of Conſtantine herein, all the world, even till this very day, admireth. They that lived in the prime of the Chriſtian world thought no teſtament chriſtianly made, nor any thing therein well bequeathed, unleſs ſomething were thereby added unto Chriſt's patrimony. Touching which men, what judgment that the world doth now give, I know not; perhaps we deem them to have been herein but blind and ſuperſtitious perſons. Nay, we in theſe cogitations are blind; they contrariwiſe did with Solomon plainly know and perſuade themſelves, that thus to diminiſh their wealth was, not to diminiſh but to augment it; according to that which God doth promiſe to his own people by the prophet Malachi, and which they by their own particular experience found true. If Wickliff therefore were of that opinion which his adverſaries aſcribe unto him, (whether truly, or of purpoſe to make him odious, I cannot tell, for in his writings I do not find it,) namely, *That Conſtantine, and others following his ſteps, did evil, as having no ſufficient ground whereby*

Prov. iii. 9, 10.

Mal. iii. 10. 2 Chron. xxxi. 10.

Th. Wald. tom. i. lib. iv. c. 39.

whereby they might gather, that ſuch donations are acceptable to Jeſus Chriſt; it was in Wickliff a palpable error. I will uſe but one only argument to ſtand in the ſtead of many. Jacob taking his journey unto Haran, made in this ſort his ſolemn vow; *If God will be with me, and will keep me in this journey which I go, and will give me bread to eat, and clothes to put on, ſo that I come again to my father's houſe in ſafety; then ſhall the Lord be my God, and this ſtone which I have ſet up a pillar ſhall be the Houſe of God, and of all that thou ſhalt give me will I give the tenth unto thee.* May a Chriſtian man deſire as great things as Jacob did at the hands of God? may he deſire them in as earneſt manner? may he promiſe as great thankfulneſs in acknowledging the goodneſs of God? may he vow any certain kind of public acknowledgment beforehand? or, though he vow it not, perform it after, in ſuch ſort that men may ſee he is perſuaded how the Lord hath been his God? are theſe particular kinds of teſtifying thankfulneſs to God, the erecting of oratories, the dedicating of lands and goods to maintain them, forbidden any where? Let any mortal man living ſhew but one reaſon wherefore in this point to follow Jacob's example ſhould not be a thing both acceptable unto God, and in the eyes of the world for ever moſt highly commendable. Concerning goods of this nature, goods whereof when we ſpeak we term them τὰ τῷ Θεῷ ἀφιερωθέντα, the goods that are conſecrated unto God, and as Tertullian ſpeaketh, *depoſita pietatis*, things which piety and devotion hath laid up as it were in the boſom of God; touching ſuch goods, the Law civil, following mere light of nature, defineth them to be no man's, becauſe no mortal man or community of men hath right of propriety in them.

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Gen. xxviii. 20—22.

23. Perſons Eccleſiaſtical are God's ſtewards, not only for that he hath ſet them over his family, as the miniſters of ghoſtly food, but even for this very cauſe alſo, that they are to receive and diſpoſe his tem-

That Eccleſiaſtical perſons are receivers of God's rents; and that the

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temporal revenues, the gifts and oblations which men bring him. Of the Jews it is plain that their tithes they offered unto the Lord, and thoſe offerings the Lord beſtowed upon the Levites. When the Levites gave the tenth of their tithes, this their gift the Law doth term the Lord's heave-offering, and appoint that the High-Prieſt ſhould receive the ſame. Of ſpoils taken in war, that part which they were accuſtomed to ſeparate unto God they brought it before the Prieſt of the Lord, by whom it was laid up in the Tabernacle of the congregation for a memorial of their thankfulneſs towards God, and his goodneſs towards them in fighting for them againſt their enemies. As therefore the Apoſtle magnifieth the honour of Melchiſedech, in that he being an High-Prieſt did receive at the hands of Abraham the tithes which Abraham did honour God with; ſo it argueth in the Apoſtles themſelves great honour, that at their feet the price of thoſe poſſeſſions was laid, which men thought good to beſtow on Chriſt. St. Paul commending the Churches which were in Macedonia for their exceeding liberality this way, ſaith of them, that he himſelf would bear record, they had declared their forward minds according to their power, yea, beyond their power, and had ſo much exceeded his expectation of them; *that they ſeemed as it were even to give away themſelves firſt to the Lord*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *and then by the will of God unto us*: to him, as the owner of ſuch gifts; to us, as his appointed receivers and diſpenſers. The gift of the Church of Antioch, beſtowed unto the uſe of diſtreſſed brethren which were in Judea, Paul and Barnabas did deliver unto the Preſbyters of Jeruſalem; and the head of thoſe Preſbyters was James, he therefore the chiefeſt diſpoſer thereof.

honour of Prelates is, to be thereof his chief receivers; not without liberty from him granted, of converting the ſame unto their own uſe, even in large manner.

Num. xviii. 24.

Num. xviii. 28.

Num. xxxi.

Heb. vii. 3.

Acts iv. 34, 35.

2 Cor. viii. 5.

Acts xi. 30.

Acts xxi. 18. and xii. 17.

Amongſt thoſe Canons which are entitled Apoſtolical, one is this: [a] *We appoint that the Biſhop have care*

[a] Can. 41. pag. 28. Synod. Beveridg. ed. Oxon. tom. i. et Concil.

of thoſe things which belong to the Church; the meaning is, of Church-goods, as the reaſon following ſheweth: *For if the precious ſouls of men muſt be committed unto him of truſt, much more it behoveth the charge of money to be given him, that by his authority the Preſbyters and Deacons may adminiſter all things to them that ſtand in need.* So that he which hath done them the honour to be, as it were, his treaſurers, hath left them alſo authority and power to uſe theſe treaſures, both otherwiſe, and for the maintenance even of their own eſtate; the lower ſort of the Clergy, according unto a meaner; the higher, after a larger proportion. The uſe of ſpiritual goods and poſſeſſions hath been a matter much diſputed of; grievous complaints there are uſually made againſt the evil and unlawful uſage of them, but with no certain determination hitherto on what things and perſons, with what proportion and meaſure they being beſtowed, do retain their lawful uſe. Some men condemn it as idle, ſuperfluous, and altogether vain, that any part of the treaſure of God ſhould be ſpent upon coſtly ornaments appertaining unto his ſervice: who being beſt worſhipped, when he is ſerved in ſpirit and truth, hath not for want of pomp and magnificence rejected at any time thoſe who with faithful hearts have adored him. Whereupon the Heretics, termed *Henriciani* and *Petrobuſiani*, threw down temples and houſes of prayer, erected with marvellous great charge, as being in that reſpect not fit for Chriſt by us to be honoured in. We deny not, but that they who ſometime wandered as pilgrims on earth, and had no temples, but made caves and dens to pray in, did God ſuch honour as was moſt acceptable in his ſight: God did not reject them for their poverty and nakedneſs' ſake; their ſacraments were not abhorred for want of veſſels of gold.

John iv. 24.

Heb. xi. 38.

cil. Antioch. c. 25. pag. 574. tom. ii. Concil. ed. Par. Ἐπίσκοποι ἴχειν τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτων ἐξουσίαν, ὥστε διοικεῖν εἰς πάντας διομίνους μετὰ πάσης εὐλαβείας καὶ φόβου Θεοῦ.

How-

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Howbeit, let them who thus delight to plead answer me: when Moſes firſt, and afterwards David, exhorted the people of Iſrael unto matter of charge about the ſervice of God; ſuppoſe we it had been allowable in them to have thus pleaded: *Our fathers in Egypt ſerved God devoutly; God was with them in all their afflictions, he heard their prayers, pitied their caſe, and delivered them from the tyranny of their oppreſſors; what houſe, tabernacle, or temple had they?* Such argumentations are childiſh and fond; God doth not refuſe to be honoured at all where there lacketh wealth; but where abundance and ſtore is, he there requireth the flower thereof, being beſtowed on him, to be employed even unto the ornament of his ſervice. In Egypt the ſtate of his people was ſervitude, and therefore his ſervice was accordingly. In the deſert they had no ſooner aught of their own, but a tabernacle is required; and in the land of Canaan, a temple. In the eyes of David it ſeemed a thing not fit, a thing not decent, that himſelf ſhould be more richly ſeated than God.

But concerning the uſe of Eccleſiaſtical goods beſtowed this way, there is not ſo much contention amongſt us, as what meaſure of allowance is fit for Eccleſiaſtical perſons to be maintained with. A better rule in this caſe to judge things by we cannot poſſibly have, than the wiſdom of God himſelf; by conſidering what he thought meet for each degree of the Clergy to enjoy in time of the Law, what for Levites, what for Prieſts, and what for High-Prieſts, ſomewhat we ſhall be the more able to diſcern rightly what may be fit, convenient, and right for the Chriſtian Clergy likewiſe. Prieſts for their maintenance had thoſe firſt-fruits of cattle, corn, wine, oil, and other commodities of the earth, which the Jews were accuſtomed yearly to preſent God with. They had the price which was appointed for men to pay in lieu of the firſt-born of their children, and the price of the firſt-born alſo amongſt cattle which were unclean:

Num. xviii. 12, 13, 15.

clean: they had the vowed gifts of the people, or the prices, if they were redeemable by the donors after vow, as ſome things were: they had the free and unvowed oblations of men: they had the remainder of things ſacrificed: with tithes the Levites were maintained; and with the tithe of their tithes the High-Prieſt. BOOK VII. Verſe 8. Lev. xxvii. 11. Numb. xviii. 8, 9, 21, 25.

In a word, if the quality of that which God did aſſign to his Clergy be conſidered, and their manner of receiving it, without labour, expence, or charge, it will appear that the tribe of Levi, being but the twelfth part of Iſrael, had in effect as good as four twelfth parts of all ſuch goods as the Holy Land did yield: ſo that their worldly eſtate was four times as good as any other tribe's in Iſrael beſides. But the High-Prieſt's condition, how ample? to whom belonged the tenth of all the tithe of this land, eſpecially the Law providing alſo, that as the people did bring the beſt of all things unto the Prieſts and Levites, ſo the Levite ſhould deliver the choice and flower of all their commodities to the High-Prieſt, and ſo his tenth-part by that means be made the very beſt part amongſt ten: by which proportion, if the Levites were ordinarily in all not above thirty thouſand men, (whereas when David numbered them, he found almoſt thirty-eight thouſand above the age of thirty years,) the High-Prieſt, after this very reckoning, had as much as three or four thouſand others of the Clergy to live upon. Over and beſides all this, leſt the Prieſts of Egypt holding lands ſhould ſeem in that reſpect better provided for than the Prieſts of the true God, it pleaſed him further to appoint unto them forty and eight whole cities with territories of land adjoining, to hold as their own free inheritance for ever. For to the end they might have all kind of encouragement, not only to do what they ought, but to take pleaſure in that they did; albeit they were expreſsly forbidden to have any part of the land of Canaan laid out whole to themſelves, by themſelves, 1 Chron. xxiii. 3. Gen. xlvii. 22. Numb. xxxv. 7. Joſh. xiv. 4.

in

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in ſuch ſort as the reſt of the tribes had; foraſmuch as the will of God was rather that they ſhould throughout all tribes be diſperſed, for the eaſier acceſs of the people unto knowledge; yet were they not barred altogether to hold land, nor yet otherwiſe the worſe provided for, in reſpect of that former reſtraint; for God, by way of ſpecial preeminence, undertook to feed them at his own table, and out of his own proper treaſury to maintain them, that want and penury they might never feel, except God himſelf did firſt receive injury. A thing moſt worthy our conſideration is the wiſdom of God herein; for the common ſort being prone unto envy and murmur, little conſidereth of what neceſſity, uſe, and importance the ſacred duties of the Clergy are, and for that cauſe hardly yieldeth them any ſuch honour without repining and grudging thereat; they cannot brook it, that when they have laboured and come to reap, there ſhould ſo great a portion go out of the fruit of their labours, and be yielded up unto ſuch as ſweat not for it. But when the Lord doth challenge this as his own due, and requires it to be done by way of homage unto him, whoſe mere liberality and goodneſs had raiſed them from a poor and ſervile eſtate, to place them where they had all thoſe ample and rich poſſeſſions; they muſt be worſe than brute beaſts, if they would ſtorm at any thing which he did receive at their hands. And for him to beſtow his own on his own ſervants, (which liberty is not denied unto the meaneſt of men,) what man liveth that can think it other than moſt reaſonable? Wherefore no cauſe there was, why that which the Clergy had ſhould in any man's eye ſeem too much, unleſs God himſelf were thought to be of an over-having diſpoſition.

Deut. xviii. 8. Lev. xxv. 33, 34.

This is the mark whereat all thoſe ſpeeches drive, *Levi hath no part nor inheritance with his brethren, the Lord is his inheritance*; again, *To the tribe of Levi he gave no inheritance, the ſacrifices of the Lord God of Iſrael are the inheritance of Levi*; again, *The tithes of the*

Deut. x. 9. Joſh. xiii. 14. Numb. xviii. 24.

the children of Iſrael which they ſhall offer as an heave-offering unto the Lord, I have given the Levites for an inheritance; and again, *All the heave-offerings of the holy things which the children of Iſrael ſhall offer unto the Lord, I have given thee, and thy ſons, and thy daughters with thee, to be a duty for ever; it is a perpetual covenant of ſalt before the Lord.* Now that, if ſuch proviſion be poſſible to be made, the Chriſtian Clergy ought not herein to be inferior unto the Jewiſh, what ſounder proof than the Apoſtle's own kind of argument? *Do ye not know, that they which miniſter about the holy things, eat of the things of the temple? and they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar? (even SO) hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the Goſpel ſhould live of the Goſpel.* Upon which words I thus conclude, that if the people of God do abound, and abounding can ſo far forth find in their hearts to ſhew themſelves towards Chriſt their Saviour thankful as to honour him with their riches, (which no Law of God or Nature forbiddeth,) no leſs than the ancient Jewiſh people did honour God; the plain ordinance of Chriſt appointeth as large and as ample proportion out of his own treaſure unto them that ſerve him in the Goſpel, as ever the Prieſts of the Law did enjoy. What further proof can we deſire? It is the bleſſed Apoſtle's teſtimony, That *even ſo the Lord hath ordained.* Yea, I know not whether it be found to interpret the Apoſtle otherwiſe than that, whereas he judgeth the Preſbyters *which rule well in the Church of Chriſt to be worthy of double honour*, he means double unto that which the Prieſts of the Law received; *For if that miniſtry which was of the Letter were ſo glorious, how ſhall not the miniſtry of the Spirit be more glorious?* If the teachers of the Law of Moſes, which God delivered written with letters in tables of ſtone, were thought worthy of ſo great honour, how ſhall not the teachers of the Goſpel of Chriſt be in his ſight moſt worthy, the Holy Ghoſt being ſent from Heaven to engrave the Goſpel on their

Num. xviii. 19.

1 Cor. ix. 13, 14.

1 Tim. v. 17.

2 Cor. iii. 7, 8.

Vide 22. q. 77. art. 1.

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their hearts, who firſt taught it, and whoſe ſucceſſors they that teach it at this day are? So that according to the ordinance of God himſelf, their eſtate for worldly maintenance ought to be no worſe than is granted unto other ſorts of men, each according to that degree they were placed in. Neither are we ſo to judge of their worldly condition as if they were ſervants of men, and at men's hands did receive thoſe earthly benefits by way of ſtipend in lieu of pains whereunto they are hired: nay that which is paid unto them is homage and tribute due unto the Lord Chriſt. His ſervants they are, and from him they receive ſuch goods by way of ſtipend. Not ſo from men: for at the hands of men he himſelf being honoured with ſuch things hath appointed his ſervants therewith according to their ſeveral degrees and places to be maintained. And for their greater encouragement who are his labourers, he hath to their comfort aſſured them for ever, that they are, in his eſtimation, *worthy the hire* which he alloweth them; and therefore if men ſhould withdraw from him the ſtore, which thoſe his ſervants that labour in his work are maintained with, yet he in his word ſhall be found everlaſtingly true, their labour in the Lord ſhall not be forgotten; the hire he accounteth them worthy of, they ſhall ſurely have either one way or other anſwered.

1 Tim. v. 18.

Acts iv. 35.

In the prime of the Chriſtian world, that which was brought and laid down at the Apoſtles' feet, they diſpoſed of by diſtribution according to the exigence of each man's need. Neither can we think that they, who out of Chriſt's treaſury made proviſion for all others, were careleſs to furniſh the Clergy with all things fit and convenient for their eſtate: and as themſelves were chiefeſt in place of authority and calling, ſo no man doubteth but that proportionably they had power to uſe the ſame for their own decent maintenance. The Apoſtles, with the reſt of the Clergy in Jeruſalem, lived at that time according to the

the manner of a fellowſhip, or collegiate ſociety, maintaining themſelves and the poor of the Church with a common purſe, the reſt of the faithful keeping that purſe continually ſtored. And in that ſenſe it is, that the ſacred hiſtory ſaith, *All which believed were in one place, and had all things common.* Acts ii. 44. In the hiſtories of the Church, and in the writings of the ancient Fathers for ſome hundreds of years after, we find no other way for the maintenance of the Clergy but only this, the treaſury of Jeſus Chriſt furniſhed through men's devotion, beſtowing ſometimes goods, ſometimes lands that way, and out of his treaſury the charge of the ſervice of God was defrayed, the Biſhop and the Clergy under him maintained, the poor in their neceſſity miniſtered unto. For which purpoſe, every Biſhop had ſome one of the Preſbyters under him to be treaſurer of the Church, to receive, keep, and deliver all; which office in Churches Cathedral remaineth even till this day, albeit the uſe thereof be not altogether ſo large now as heretofore. The diſpoſition of theſe goods was by the appointment of the Biſhop. Wherefore Proſper ſpeaking of the Biſhop's care herein, ſaith, *It was neceſſary for one to be troubled therewith, to the end that the reſt under him might be freer to attend quietly their ſpiritual buſineſſes.* And leſt any man ſhould imagine, that Biſhops by this means were hindered themſelves from attending the ſervice of God, *Even herein,* ſaith he, *they do God ſervice; for if thoſe things which are beſtowed on the Church be God's, he doth the work of God, who, not of a covetous mind, but with purpoſe of moſt faithful adminiſtration, taketh care of things conſecrated unto God.* And foraſmuch as the Preſbyters of every Church could not all live with the Biſhop, partly for that their number was great, and partly becauſe the people being once divided into pariſhes, ſuch Preſbyters as had ſeverally charge of them were by that mean more conveniently to live in the midſt

Diſp. Proſp. de vita contemp. l. ii. c. 12. Oecon. l. xiv. C. de Sacr. Eccleſ. et Novel. 7. in Princip.

Proſp. de vita contemp. l. ii. c. 16. pag. 66. D. Bibliothec. Patr. tom. 8. ed. Lugd.

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each of his own particular flock, therefore a competent number being fed at the ſame [a] table with the Biſhop, the reſt had their whole allowance apart, which ſeveral allowances were called *ſportulæ*, and they who received them, *ſportulantes fratres*. Touching the Biſhop, as his place and eſtate was higher, ſo likewiſe the proportion of his charges about himſelf being for that cauſe in all equity and reaſon greater; yet, foraſmuch as his ſtint herein was no other than it pleaſed himſelf to ſet, the reſt (as the manner of inferiors is to think that they which are over them always have too much) grudged many times at the meaſure of the Biſhop's private expence, perhaps not without cauſe. Howſoever, by this occaſion there grew amongſt them great heart-burning, quarrel, and ſtrife: where the Biſhops were found culpable, as eating too much beyond their tether, and drawing more to their own private maintenance than the proportion of Chriſt's patrimony, being not greatly abundant, could bear, ſundry conſtitutions hereupon were made to moderate the ſame, according to the Church's condition in thoſe times. Some before they were made Biſhops, having been owners of ample poſſeſſions, ſold them and gave them away to the poor; thus did Paulinus, Hilary, Cyprian, and ſundry others. Hereupon they, who entering into the ſame ſpiritual and high function held their ſecular poſſeſſions ſtill, were hardly thought of: and even when the caſe was fully reſolved, that ſo to do was

Proſp. de vita contemp. l. ii. c. 9. Pont. Diacon. in vita Cypr.

[a] Cypr. l. iv. Ep. 5. Preſbyterii honorem deſignaſſe nos illis jam ſciatis, ut et ſportulis eiſdem cum Preſbyteris honorentur et diviſiones menſuratas æquatis quantitatibus partiantur, ſeſſuri nobiſcum provectis et corroboratis annis ſuis. Which words of Cyprian do ſhew, that every Preſbyter had his ſtanding allowance out of the Church treaſury; that beſides the ſame allowance called Sportula, ſome alſo had their portion in that dividend which was the remainder of every month's expence; thirdly, that out of the Preſbyters under him, the Biſhop as then had a certain number of the graveſt, who lived and commoned with him.

not

not unlawful, yet it grew a queſtion, *Whether they lawfully might then take any thing out of the public treaſury of Chriſt?* a queſtion, *Whether Biſhops, holding by civil title ſufficient to live of their own, were bound in conſcience to leave the goods of the Church altogether to the uſe of others?* Of contentions about theſe matters there was no end, neither appeared there any poſſible way for quietneſs, otherwiſe than by making partition of Church-revenues according to the ſeveral ends and uſes for which they did ſerve, that ſo the Biſhop's part might be certain. Such partition being made, the Biſhop enjoyed his portion ſeveral to himſelf; the reſt of the Clergy likewiſe theirs, a third part was ſevered to the furniſhing and upholding of the Church; a fourth to the erection and maintenance of houſes wherein the poor might have relief. After which ſeparation made, lands and livings began every day to be dedicated unto each uſe ſeverally, by means whereof every of them became in ſhort time much greater than they had been for worldly maintenance; the fervent devotion of men being glad that this new opportunity was given, of ſhewing zeal to the Houſe of God in more certain order.

By theſe things it plainly appeareth what proportion of maintenance hath been ever thought reaſonable for a Biſhop; ſith in that very partition agreed on to bring him unto his certain ſtint, as much is allowed unto him alone as unto all the Clergy under him, namely, a fourth part of the whole yearly rents and revenues of the Church. Nor is it likely, that before thoſe temporalities, which now are ſuch eyeſores, were added unto the honour of Biſhops, their ſtate was ſo mean as ſome imagine. For if we had no other evidence than the covetous and ambitious humour of Heretics, whoſe impotent deſires of aſpiring thereunto, and extreme diſcontentment as oft as they were defeated, even this doth ſhew that the ſtate of Biſhops was not a few degrees advanced above the reſt. Wherefore of grand Apoſtates which were in

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the very prime of the primitive Church, thus Lactantius above thirteen hundred years ſithence teſtified: *Men of a ſlippery faith they were, who feigning that they knew and worſhipped God, but ſeeking only that they might grow in WEALTH and honour, affected the place of the HIGHEST PRIESTHOOD; whereunto, when their betters were choſen before them, they thought it better to leave the Church, and to draw their favourers with them, than to endure thoſe men their governors, whom themſelves deſired to govern.* Now, whereas againſt the preſent eſtate of Biſhops, and the greatneſs of their port, and the largeneſs of their expences at this day, there is not any thing more commonly objected than thoſe ancient canons, whereby they are reſtrained unto a far more ſparing life; their houſes, their retinue, their diet limited within a far more narrow compaſs than is now kept; we muſt know, that thoſe laws and orders were made when Biſhops lived of the ſame purſe which ſerved as well for a number of others as them, and yet all at their diſpoſing. So that convenient it was to provide that there might be a moderate ſtint appointed to meaſure their expences by, leſt others ſhould be injured by their waſtefulneſs. Contrariwiſe, there is now no cauſe wherefore any ſuch law ſhould be urged, when Biſhops live only of that which hath been peculiarly allotted unto them. They having therefore temporalities and other revenues to beſtow for their own private uſe, according to that which their ſtate requireth, and no other having with them any ſuch common intereſt therein, their own diſcretion is to be their law for this matter; neither are they to be preſſed with the rigour of ſuch ancient canons as were framed for other times, much leſs ſo odiouſly to be upbraided with unconformity unto the pattern of our Lord and Saviour's eſtate, in ſuch circumſtances as himſelf did never mind to require that the reſt of the world ſhould of neceſſity be like him. Thus againſt the wealth of the Clergy they allege

Lact. de vera Sap. lib. iv. c. 30. pag. 448. ed. Lugd. Batav.

allege how meanly Chriſt himſelf was provided for; BOOK VII.
againſt Biſhops' palaces, his want of a hole to hide his head in; againſt the ſervice done unto them, that *he came to miniſter, not to be miniſtered unto in the world.* Which things, as they are not unfit to controul covetous, proud, or ambitious deſires of the miniſters of Chriſt, and even of all Chriſtians, whatſoever they be, and to teach men contentment of mind, how mean ſoever their eſtate is, conſidering that they are but ſervants to him, whoſe condition was far more abaſed than theirs is, or can be; ſo to prove ſuch difference in ſtate between us and him unlawful, they are of no force or ſtrength at all. If one convented before their conſiſtories, when he ſtandeth to make his anſwer, ſhould break out into invectives againſt their authority, and tell them that Chriſt, when he was on earth, did not ſit to judge, but ſtand to be judged; would they hereupon think it requiſite to diſſolve their elderſhip, and to permit no tribunals, no judges at all, for fear of ſwerving from our Saviour's example? If thoſe men, who have nothing in their mouths more uſual than the poverty of Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles, allege not this as Julian ſometime did *beati pauperes*, unto Chriſtians, when his meaning was to ſpoil them of that they had; our hope is then, that as they ſeriouſly and ſincerely wiſh, that our Saviour Chriſt in this point may be followed, and to that end only propoſe his bleſſed example; ſo, at our hands again, they will be content to hear with like willingneſs the holy Apoſtle's exhortation made unto them of the Laity alſo: *Be ye followers of us, even as we are of Chriſt; let us be your example, even as the Lord Jeſus Chriſt is ours, that we may all proceed by one and the ſame rule.* 1 Cor. xi. 1. Phil. iii. 16.

24. But beware we of following Chriſt as thieves follow true men, to take their goods by violence from them. Be it that Biſhops were all unworthy, not only of livings, but even of life, yet what hath

That for their unworthineſs to deprive both them and their ſucceſſors

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hath our Lord Jeſus Chriſt deſerved, for which men ſhould judge him worthy to have the things that are his given away from him unto others that have no right unto them? For at this mark it is that the head Lay-reformers do all aim. Muſt theſe unworthy Prelates give place? what then? ſhall better ſucceed in their rooms? is this deſired, to the end that others may enjoy their honours which ſhall do Chriſt more faithful ſervice than they have done? Biſhops are the worſt men living upon earth; therefore let their ſanctified poſſeſſions be divided: amongſt whom? O bleſſed reformation! O happy men, that put to their helping hands for the furtherance of ſo good and glorious a work! Wherefore, albeit the whole world at this day do already perceive, and poſterity be like hereafter a great deal more plainly to diſcern, not that the Clergy of God is thus heaved at becauſe they are wicked, but that means are uſed to put it into the heads of the ſimple multitude that they are ſuch indeed, to the end that thoſe who thirſt for the ſpoil of ſpiritual poſſeſſions may, till ſuch time as they have their purpoſe, be thought to covet nothing but only the juſt extinguiſhment of unreformable perſons; ſo that in regard of ſuch men's intentions, practices, and machinations againſt them, the part that ſuffereth theſe things may moſt fitly pray with David, *Judge thou me, O Lord, according to my righteouſneſs, and according unto mine innocency: O let the malice of the wicked come to an end, and be thou the guide of the juſt:* notwithſtanding, foraſmuch as it doth not ſtand with Chriſtian humility otherwiſe to think, than that this violent outrage of men is a rod in the ireful hands of the Lord our God, the ſmart whereof we deſerve to feel; let it not ſeem grievous in the eyes of my reverend Lords the Biſhops, if to their good conſideration I offer a view of thoſe ſores which are in the kind of their heavenly function moſt apt to breed, and which, being not in time cured, may procure at the length that

of ſuch goods, and to convey the ſame unto men of ſecular callings, were extreme ſacrilegious injuſtice.

Pſal. vii. 8.

that which God of his infinite mercy avert. Of Biſhops in his time St. Jerome complaineth, that they took it in great diſdain to have any fault, great or ſmall, found with them. Epiphanius likewiſe before Jerome noteth their impatiency this way to have been the very cauſe of a ſchiſm in the Church of Chriſt; at what time one Audius, a man of great integrity of life, full of faith and zeal towards God, beholding thoſe things which were corruptly done in the Church, told the Biſhops and Preſbyters their faults in ſuch ſort as thoſe men are wont who love the truth from their hearts, and walk in the paths of a moſt exact life. Whether it were covetouſneſs, or ſenſuality in their lives; abſurdity or error in their teaching; any breach of the Laws and Canons of the Church, wherein he eſpied them faulty, certain and ſure they were to be thereof moſt plainly told. Which thing they, whoſe dealings were juſtly culpable, could not bear; but, inſtead of amending their faults, bent their hatred againſt him who ſought their amendment, till at length they drove him by extremity of infeſtation, through wearineſs of ſtriving againſt their injuries, to leave both them, and with them the Church. Amongſt the manifold accuſations, either generally intended againſt the Biſhops of this our Church, or laid particularly to the charge of any of them, I cannot find that hitherto their ſpitefulleſt adverſaries have been able to ſay juſtly, that any man for telling them their perſonal faults in good and Chriſtian ſort hath ſuſtained in that reſpect much perſecution. Wherefore, notwithſtanding mine own inferior eſtate and calling in God's Church, the conſideration whereof aſſureth me, that in this kind the ſweeteſt ſacrifice which I can offer unto Chriſt is meek obedience, reverence, and awe unto the Prelates which he hath placed in ſeats of higher authority over me, emboldened I am, ſo far as may conveniently ſtand with that duty of humble ſubjection, meekly to crave, my good Lords, your

Epiph. contra Hæreſ. lib. iii. tom. 1. hær. 70.

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favourable pardon, if it ſhall ſeem a fault thus far to preſume; or, if otherwiſe, your wonted courteous acceptation.

Æneid. lib. xii. ver. 25, 26.

—— Sine me hæc haud mollia fatu
Sublatis aperire dolis.

1. In government, be it of what kind ſoever, but eſpecially if it be ſuch kind of government as Prelates have over the Church, there is not one thing publicly more hurtful than that an hard opinion ſhould be conceived of governors at the firſt: and a good opinion how ſhould the world ever conceive of them for their after-proceeding in regiment, whoſe firſt acceſs and entrance thereunto giveth juſt occaſion to think them corrupt men, which fear not that God in whoſe name they are to rule? Wherefore a ſcandalous thing it is to the Church of God, and to the actors themſelves dangerous, to have aſpired unto rooms of Prelacy by wicked means. We are not at this day troubled much with that tumultuous kind of ambition wherewith the elections of Damaſus in St. Jeſome's age, and of Maximus in Gregory's time, and of others, were long ſithence ſtained. Our greateſt fear is rather the evil which Leo and Anthemius did by imperial conſtitution endeavour as much as in them lay to prevent. He which granteth, or he which receiveth the office and

Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxvii. Vide in vita Greg. Naz.

[a] Nemo gradum Sacerdotii pretii venalitate mercetur; quantum quiſque mereatur non quantum dare ſufficiat, æſtimetur. Profecto enim, quis locus tutus et quæ cauſa eſſe poterit excuſata, ſi veneranda Dei templa pecuniis expugnentur? Quem murum integritatis aut vallum providebimus ſi auri ſacra fames in penetralia veneranda proſerpat? quid denique cautum eſſe poterit aut ſecurum, ſi ſanctitas incorrupta corrumpatur? Ceſſet altaribus imminere profanus ardor avaritiæ, et a ſacris adytis repellatur piaculare flagitium. Itaque caſtus et humilis noſtris temporibus eligatur Epiſcopus, ut quocunque locorum pervenerit, omnia vitæ propriæ integritate purificet. Nec pretio ſed precibus ordinetur Antiſtes. Lib. xxxi. C. de Epiſc. et Cler.

dignity

dignity of a Biſhop, otherwiſe than beſeemeth a thing divine and moſt holy; he which beſtoweth and he which obtaineth it after any other ſort than were honeſt and lawful to uſe, if our Lord Jeſus Chriſt were preſent himſelf on earth to beſtow it even with his own hands, ſinneth a ſin by ſo much more grievous than the ſin of Belſhazzar, by how much offices and functions heavenly are more precious than the meaneſt ornaments or implements which thereunto appertain. If it be, as the Apoſtle ſaith, that the Holy Ghoſt doth make Biſhops, and that the whole action of making them is God's own deed, men being therein but his agents, what ſpark of the fear of God can there poſſibly remain in their hearts, who repreſenting the perſon of God in naming worthy men to Eccleſiaſtical charge, do ſell that which in his name they are to beſtow; or who ſtanding as it were at the throne of the living God, do bargain for that which at his hands they are to receive? Wo worth ſuch impious and irreligious profanations! The Church of Chriſt hath been hereby made, not *a den of thieves*, but in a manner the very dwelling place of foul ſpirits; for undoubtedly ſuch a number of them have been in all ages who thus have climbed into the ſeat of Epiſcopal regiment. BOOK VII.

2. Men may by orderly means be inveſted with ſpiritual authority, and yet do harm by reaſon of ignorance how to uſe it to the good of the Church. *It is*, ſaith Chryſoſtom, πολλᾶ μὲν ἀξιώματος, δύσκολον δὲ ἐπισκοπεῖν; *a thing highly to be accounted of, but a hard thing to be that which a Biſhop ſhould be.* Yea, a hard and a toilſome thing it is for a Biſhop to know the things that belong unto a Biſhop. A right good man may be a very unfit magiſtrate. And for diſcharge of a Biſhop's office, to be well minded is not enough, no, not to be well learned alſo. Skill to inſtruct is a thing neceſſary, ſkill to govern much more neceſſary in a Biſhop. It is not ſafe for the Church of Chriſt when Biſhops learn what

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what belongeth unto government, as empirics learn phyſic by killing of the ſick. Biſhops were wont to be men of great learning in the laws both Civil and of the Church; and while they were ſo, the wiſeſt men in the land for counſel and government were Biſhops.

3. Know we never ſo well what belongeth unto a charge of ſo great moment, yet can we not therein proceed but with hazard of public detriment, if we rely on ourſelves alone, and uſe not the benefit of conference with others. A ſingular mean to unity and concord amongſt themſelves, a marvellous help unto uniformity in their dealings, no ſmall addition of weight and credit unto that which they do, a ſtrong bridle unto ſuch as watch for occaſions to ſtir againſt them; finally, a very great ſtay unto all that are under their government, it could not chooſe but be ſoon found, if Biſhops did often and ſeriouſly uſe the help of mutual conſultation. Theſe three rehearſed are things only preparatory unto the courſe of Epiſcopal proceedings. But the hurt is more manifeſtly ſeen which doth grow to the Church of God by faults inherent in their ſeveral actions; as when they careleſsly ordain; when they inſtitute negligently; when corruptly they beſtow Church livings, benefices, prebends, and rooms eſpecially of juriſdiction; when they viſit for gain-ſake, rather than with ſerious intent to do good; when their courts erected for the maintenance of good order, are diſordered; when they regard not the Clergy under them; when neither Clergy nor Laity are kept in that awe for which this authority ſhould ſerve; when any thing appeareth in them rather than a fatherly affection towards the flock of Chriſt; when they have no reſpect to poſterity; and finally, when they neglect the true and requiſite means whereby their authority ſhould be upheld. Surely, the hurt which groweth out of theſe defects muſt needs be exceeding great. In a miniſter ignorance and

and diſability to teach is a maim; nor is it held a thing allowable to ordain ſuch, were it not for the avoiding of a greater evil which the Church muſt needs ſuſtain; if in ſo great ſcarcity of able men, and inſufficiency of moſt pariſhes throughout the land to maintain them, both public prayer and the adminiſtration of Sacraments ſhould rather want, than any man thereunto be admitted lacking dexterity and ſkill to perform that which otherwiſe was moſt requiſite. Wherefore the neceſſity of ordaining ſuch, is no excuſe for the raſh and careleſs ordaining of every one that hath but a friend to beſtow ſome two or three words of ordinary commendation in his behalf. By reaſon whereof the Church groweth burdened with ſilly creatures more than need, whoſe noted baſeneſs and inſufficiency bringeth their very order itſelf into contempt. BOOK VII.

It may be that the fear of a *Quare impedit* doth cauſe inſtitutions to paſs more eaſily than otherwiſe they would; and to ſpeak plainly the very truth, it may be that writs of *Quare non impedit* were for theſe times moſt neceſſary in the other's place: yet where law will not ſuffer men to follow their own judgment, to ſhew their judgment they are not hindered. And I doubt not but that even conſcienceleſs and wicked patrons, of which ſort the ſwarms are too great in the Church of England, are the more emboldened to preſent unto Biſhops any refuſe, by finding ſo eaſy acceptation thereof. Somewhat they might redreſs this ſore, notwithſtanding ſo ſtrong impediments, if it did plainly appear that they took it indeed to heart, and were not in a manner contented with it.

Shall we look for care in admitting whom others preſent, if that which ſome of yourſelves confer be at any time corruptly beſtowed? A foul and an ugly kind of deformity it hath, if a man do but think what it is for a Biſhop to draw commodity and gain from thoſe things whereof he is left a free beſtower, and

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and that in truſt, without any other obligation than his ſacred order only, and that religious integrity which hath been preſumed on in him. Simoniacal corruption I may not for honour's ſake ſuſpect to be amongſt men of ſo great place. So often they do not, I truſt, offend by ſale as by unadviſed gift of ſuch preferments, wherein that ancient canon ſhould ſpecially be remembered, which forbiddeth a Biſhop to be led by human affection, in beſtowing the things of God. A fault no where ſo hurtful, as in beſtowing places of juriſdiction, and in furniſhing Cathedral Churches, the Prebendaries and other dignities whereof are the very true ſucceſſors of thoſe ancient Preſbyters which were at the firſt as counſellors unto Biſhops. A foul abuſe it is, that any one man ſhould be loaded as ſome are with livings in this kind, yea ſome even of them who condemn utterly the granting of any two benefices unto the ſame man, whereas the other is in truth a matter of far greater ſequel, as experience would ſoon ſhew, if Churches Cathedral being furniſhed with the reſidence of a competent number of virtuous, grave, wiſe, and learned Divines, the reſt of the prebends of every ſuch Church were given within the dioceſe unto men of worthieſt deſert for their better encouragement unto induſtry and travel; unleſs it ſeem alſo convenient to extend the benefit of them unto the learned in Univerſities, and men of ſpecial employment otherwiſe in the affairs of the Church of God. But howſoever, ſurely with the public good of the Church it will hardly ſtand, that in any one perſon ſuch favours be more multiplied than law permitteth in thoſe livings which are with cure.

Can. Apoſt. 76.

Touching Biſhops' viſitations, the firſt inſtitution of them was profitable to the end that the ſtate and condition of Churches being known, there might be for evils growing convenient remedies provided in due time. The obſervation of Church-laws, the correction of faults in the ſervice of God, and manners of men,

men, theſe are things that viſitors ſhould ſeek. When theſe things are enquired of formally, and but for cuſtom-ſake, fees and penſions being the only thing which is ſought, and little elſe done by viſitations, we are not to marvel if the baſeneſs of the end doth make the action itſelf loathſome. The good which Biſhops may do not only by theſe viſitations belonging ordinarily to their office, but alſo in reſpect of that power which the founders of colleges have given them of ſpecial truſt, charging even fearfully their conſciences therewith—the good, I ſay, which they might do by this their authority, both within their own dioceſe, and in the well-ſprings themſelves, the Univerſities, is plainly ſuch as cannot chooſe but add weight to their heavy accounts in that dreadful day, if they do it not. BOOK VII.

In their courts, where nothing but ſingular integrity and juſtice ſhould prevail, if palpable and groſs corruptions be found, by reaſon of offices ſo often granted unto men who ſeek nothing but their own gain, and make no account what diſgrace doth grow by their unjuſt dealings unto them under whom they deal, the evil hereof ſhall work more than they which procure it do perhaps imagine.

At the hands of a Biſhop the firſt thing looked for is a care of the Clergy under him; a care, that in doing good they may have whatſoever comforts and encouragements his countenance, authority, and place may yield. Otherwiſe what heart ſhall they have to proceed in their painful courſe, all ſorts of men beſides being ſo ready to malign, deſpiſe, and every way oppreſs them? Let them find nothing but diſdain in Biſhops; in the enemies of preſent government, if that way they liſt to betake themſelves, all kind of favourable and friendly help; unto which part think we it likely that men having wit, courage, and ſtomach, will incline?

As great a fault is the want of ſeverity when need requireth, as of kindneſs and courteſy in Biſhops. But touching this, what with ill uſage of their power among

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among the meaner, and what with diſuſage amongſt the higher ſort, they are in the eyes of both ſorts as bees having loſt their ſting. It is a long time ſithence any great one hath felt, or almoſt any one much feared the edge of that Eccleſiaſtical ſeverity, which ſometime held lords and dukes in a more religious awe than now the meaneſt are able to be kept.

A Biſhop, in whom there did plainly appear the marks and tokens of a fatherly affection towards them that are under his charge, what good might he do? ten thouſand ways more than any man knows how to ſet down. But the ſouls of men are not loved; that which Chriſt ſhed his blood for is not eſteemed precious. This is the very root, the fountain of all negligence in Church-government.

Moſt wretched are the terms of men's eſtate when once they are at a point of wretchleſſneſs ſo extreme, that they bend not their wits any further than only to ſhift out the preſent time, never regarding what ſhall become of their ſucceſſors after them. Had our predeceſſors ſo looſely caſt off from them all care and reſpect to poſterity, a Church Chriſtian there had not been, about the regiment whereof we ſhould need at this day to ſtrive. It was the barbarous affection of Nero, that the ruin of his own imperial ſeat he could have been well enough contented to ſee, in caſe he might alſo have ſeen it accompanied with the fall of the whole world: an affection not more intolerable than theirs, who care not to overthrow all poſterity, ſo they may purchaſe a few days of ignominious ſafety unto themſelves and their preſent eſtates; if it may be termed a ſafety, which tendeth ſo faſt unto their very overthrow that are the purchaſers of it in ſo vile and baſe manner.

Men whom it ſtandeth upon to uphold a reverend eſtimation of themſelves in the minds of others, without which the very beſt things they do are hardly able to eſcape diſgrace, muſt before it be over-late remember how much eaſier it is to retain credit once gotten, than to recover it being loſt. The executors of Biſhops are ſued if their manſion-houſe be ſuffered to

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go to decay: but whom ſhall their ſucceſſors ſue for the dilapidations which they make of that credit, the unrepaired diminutions whereof will in time bring to paſs, that they which would moſt do good in that calling ſhall not be able, by reaſon of prejudice generally ſettled in the minds of all ſorts againſt them? By what means their eſtimation hath hitherto decayed, it is no hard thing to diſcern. Herod and Archelaus are noted to have ſought out purpoſely the dulleſt and moſt ignoble that could be found amongſt the people, preferring ſuch to the High-Prieſt's office, thereby to abate the great opinion which the multitude had of that order, and to procure a more expedite courſe for their own wicked counſels, whereunto they ſaw the High-Prieſts were no ſmall impediment, as long as the common ſort did much depend upon them. It may be there hath been partly ſome ſhew and juſt ſuſpicion of like practice in ſome, in procuring the undeſerved preferments of ſome unworthy perſons, the very cauſe of whoſe advancement hath been principally their unworthineſs to be advanced. But neither could this be done altogether without the inexcuſable fault of ſome preferred before, and ſo oft we cannot imagine it to have been done, that either only or chiefly from thence this decay of their eſtimation may be thought to grow. Somewhat it is that the malice of their cunning adverſaries, but much more which themſelves have effected againſt themſelves. A Biſhop's eſtimation doth grow from the excellency of virtues ſuitable unto his place. Unto the place of a Biſhop thoſe high divine virtues are judged ſuitable, which virtues being not eaſily found in other ſorts of great men, do make him appear ſo much the greater, in whom they are found.

Egiſip. l. ii. c. 12.

Devotion, and the feeling ſenſe of religion, are not uſual in the nobleſt, wiſeſt, and chiefeſt perſonages of ſtate, by reaſon their wits are ſo much employed another way, and their minds ſo ſeldom converſant in heavenly things. If therefore wherein themſelves are defective they ſee that Biſhops do bleſſedly

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bleſſedly excel, it frameth ſecretly their hearts to a ſtooping kind of diſpoſition, clean oppoſite to contempt. The very countenance of Moſes was glorious after that God had conferred with him: and where Biſhops are, the powers and faculties of whoſe ſouls God hath poſſeſſed, thoſe very actions, the kind whereof is common unto them with other men, have notwithſtanding in them a more high and heavenly form, which draweth correſpondent eſtimation unto it, by virtue of that celeſtial impreſſion which deep meditation of holy things, and as it were converſation with God, doth leave in their minds. So that Biſhops which will be eſteemed of as they ought, muſt frame themſelves to that very pattern from whence thoſe Aſian Biſhops unto whom St. John writeth were denominated, even ſo far forth as this our frailty will permit; ſhine they muſt as Angels of God in the midſt of perverſe men. They are not to look that the world ſhould always carry the affection of Conſtantine, to bury that which might derogate from them, and to cover their imbecilities. More than high time it is that they bethink themſelves of the Apoſtle's admonition, *Attende tibi, Have a vigilant eye to thyſelf.* They err if they do not perſuade themſelves, that whereſoever they walk or ſit, be it in their churches or in their conſiſtories, abroad or at home, at their tables or in their cloſets, they are in the midſt of ſnares laid for them. Wherefore as they are with the Prophet every one of them to make it their hourly prayer unto God, *Lead me, O Lord, in thy righteouſneſs, becauſe of enemies*; ſo it is not ſafe for them, no not for a moment, to ſlacken their induſtry in ſeeking every way that eſtimation which may further their labours unto the Church's good. Abſurdity, though but in words, muſt needs be this way a maim, where nothing but wiſdom, gravity, and judgment is looked for. That which the Son of Sirach hath concerning the writings of the old ſages, *Wiſe ſentences are found in them*, ſhould be the proper mark and character of Biſhops'

Biſhops' ſpeeches, whoſe lips, as doors, are not to be opened, but for egreſs of inſtruction and ſound knowledge. If baſe ſervility and dejection of mind be ever eſpied in them, how ſhould men eſteem them as worthy the rooms of the great ambaſſadors of God? A wretched deſire to gain by bad and unſeemly means ſtandeth not with a mean man's credit, much leſs with that reputation which Fathers of the Church ſhould be in. But if beſides all this there be alſo coldneſs in works of piety and charity, utter contempt even of learning itſelf, no care to further it by any ſuch helps as they eaſily might and ought to afford, no not as much as that due reſpect unto their very families about them, which all men that are of account do order as near as they can in ſuch ſort that no grievous offenſive deformity be therein noted; if there ſtill continue in that moſt reverend order ſuch as by ſo many engines work day and night to pull down the whole frame of their own eſtimation amongſt men, ſome of the reſt ſecretly alſo permitting others their induſtrious oppoſites every day more to ſeduce the multitude, how ſhould the Church of God hope for great good at their hands?

What we have ſpoken concerning theſe things, let not malicious accuſers think themſelves therewith juſtified, no more than Shimei was by his ſovereign's moſt humble and meek acknowledgment even of that very crime which ſo impudent a caitiff's tongue upbraided him withal; the one in the virulent rancour of a cankered affection took that delight for the preſent which in the end did turn to his own more tormenting woe, the other in the contrite patience even of deſerved malediction had yet this comfort, *It may be the Lord will look on mine affliction, and do me good for his curſing this day.* As for us over whom Chriſt hath placed them to be the chiefeſt guides and paſtors of our ſouls, our common fault is, that we look for much more in our governors than a

2 Sam. xvi. 12.

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tolerable ſufficiency can yield, and bear much leſs than humanity and reaſon do require we ſhould. Too much perfection over rigorouſly exacted in them cannot but breed in us perpetual diſcontentment, and on both parts cauſe all things to be unpleaſant. It is exceedingly worth the noting, which Plato hath about the means whereby men fall into an utter diſlike of all men with whom they converſe.

Plat. in Phæd.

This ſourneſs of mind which maketh every man's dealings unſavoury in our taſte, entereth by an unſkilful overweening, which at the firſt we have of one, and ſo of another, in whom we afterwards find ourſelves to have been deceived, they declaring themſelves in the end to be frail men, whom we judged demi-gods: when we have oftentimes been thus beguiled, and that far beſides expectation, we grow at the length to this plain concluſion, that there is nothing at all ſound in any man. Which bitter conceit is unſeemly, and plain to have riſen from lack of mature judgment in human affairs: which if ſo be we did handle with art, we would not enter into dealings with men, otherwiſe than being beforehand grounded in this perſuaſion, that the number of perſons notably good or bad is but very ſmall; that the moſt part of good have ſome evil, and of evil men ſome good in them. So true our experience doth find thoſe aphoriſms of Mercurius Triſmegiſtus; Ἀδυνατὸν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνθάδε καθαρεύειν τῆς κακίας, To purge goodneſs quite and clean from all mixture of evil here is a thing impoſſible. Again, Τὸ μὴ λίαν κακὸν ἐνθάδε τὸ ἀγαθόν ἐστι, When in this world we term a thing good, we cannot by exact conſtruction have any other true meaning, than that the ſaid thing ſo termed is not noted to be a thing exceeding evil. And again, Μόνον, ὦ Ἀσκλήπιε, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τὸ δὲ ἔργον οὐδαμοῦ, Amongſt men, O Aſclepius, the name of that which is good we find, but no where the very true thing itſelf. When we cenſure the deeds and dealings of our ſuperiors, to bring with us a fore-conceit thus qualified ſhall be as well on our part

M. Triſ. in Poemandro. dial. vi.

part as theirs a thing available unto quietneſs. But howſoever the caſe doth ſtand with men's either good or bad quality, the verdict which our Lord and Saviour hath given ſhould continue for ever ſure. *Quæ Dei ſunt, Deo*; let men bear the burden of their own iniquity; as for thoſe things which are God's, let not God be deprived of them. For if only to withhold that which ſhould be given be no better than to rob God, if to withdraw any mite of that which is but in purpoſe only bequeathed, though as yet undelivered into the ſacred treaſure of God, be a ſin for which Ananias and Sapphira felt ſo heavily the dreadful hand of divine revenge; quite and clean to take that away which we never gave, and that after God hath for ſo many ages therewith been poſſeſſed, and that without any other ſhew of cauſe, ſaving only that it ſeemeth in their eyes who ſeek it too much for them which have it in their hands, can we term it or think it leſs than moſt impious injuſtice, moſt heinous ſacrilege? Such was the religious affection of Joſeph, that it ſuffered him not to take that advantage, no not againſt the very idolatrous Prieſts of Egypt, which he took for the purchaſing of other men's lands to the King; but he conſidered, that albeit their idolatry deſerved hatred, yet for the honour's ſake due unto prieſthood, better it was the King himſelf ſhould yield them relief in public extremity, than permit that the ſame neceſſity ſhould conſtrain alſo them to do as the reſt of the people did. But it may be men have now found out, that God hath propoſed the Chriſtian Clergy as a prey for all men freely to ſeize upon; that God hath left them as the fiſhes of the ſea, which every man that liſteth to gather into his net may; or that there is no God in heaven to pity them, and to regard the injuries which man doth lay upon them: yet the public good of this Church and Commonwealth doth, I hope, weigh ſomewhat in the hearts of all honeſtly diſpoſed men. Unto

Mal. iii. 8.

Acts v. 2.

Gen. xlvii. 22.

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the public good no one thing is more directly available, than that ſuch as are in place, whether it be of Civil or of Eccleſiaſtical authority, be ſo much the more largely furniſhed even with external helps and ornaments of this life, how much the more highly they are in power and calling advanced above others. For nature is not contented with bare ſufficiency unto the ſuſtenance of man, but doth evermore covet a decency proportionable unto the place which man hath in the body or ſociety of others. For according unto the greatneſs of men's calling, the meaſure of all their actions doth grow in every man's ſecret expectation, ſo that great men do always know that great things are at their hands expected. In a Biſhop great liberality, great hoſpitality, actions in every kind great are looked for; and for actions which muſt be great, mean inſtruments will not ſerve. Men are but men, what room ſoever amongſt men they hold. If therefore the meaſure of their worldly abilities be beneath that proportion which their calling doth make to be looked for at their hands, a ſtronger inducement it is than perhaps men are aware of unto evil and corrupt dealings for ſupply of that defect. For which cauſe we muſt needs think it a thing neceſſary unto the common good of the Church, that great juriſdiction being granted unto Biſhops over others, a ſtate of wealth proportionable ſhould likewiſe be provided for them. Where wealth is had in ſo great admiration, as generally in this golden age it is, that without it angelical perfections are not able to deliver from extreme contempt, ſurely to make Biſhops poorer than they are, were to make them of leſs account and eſtimation than they ſhould be. Wherefore if detriment and diſhonour do grow to Religion, to God, to his Church, when the public account which is made of the chief of the Clergy decayeth, how ſhould it be, but, in this reſpect, for the good of Religion, of God, of his Church, that the

the wealth of Biſhops be carefully preſerved from further diminution? The travels and croſſes wherewith Prelacy is never unaccompanied, they which feel them know how heavy and how great they are. Unleſs ſuch difficulties therefore annexed unto that eſtate be tempered, by co-annexing thereunto things eſteemed of in this world, how ſhould we hope that the minds of men, ſhunning naturally the burdens of each function, will be drawn to undertake the burden of Epiſcopal care and labour in the Church of Chriſt? Wherefore if long we deſire to enjoy the peace, quietneſs, order, and ſtability of religion, which Prelacy (as hath been declared) cauſeth, then muſt we neceſſarily, even in favour of the public good, uphold thoſe things, the hope whereof being taken away, it is not the mere goodneſs of the charge, and the divine acceptation thereof, that will be able to invite many thereunto. What ſhall become of that Commonwealth or Church in the end, which hath not the eye of learning to beautify, guide, and direct it? At the length, what ſhall become of that learning, which hath not wherewith any more to encourage her induſtrious followers? And finally, what ſhall become of that courage to follow learning, which hath already ſo much failed through the only diminution of her chiefeſt rewards, Biſhopricks? Surely, whereſoever this wicked intendment of overthrowing Cathedral Churches, or of taking away thoſe livings, lands, and poſſeſſions, which Biſhops hitherto have enjoyed, ſhall once prevail, the handmaids attending thereupon will be Paganiſm and extreme Barbarity. In the Law of Moſes, how careful proviſion is made that goods of this kind might remain to the Church for ever! *Ye ſhall not make common the holy things of the children of Iſrael, leſt ye die, ſaith the Lord.* Numb. xviii. 32. Touching the fields annexed unto Levitical cities, the Law was plain, they might not be ſold; and the reaſon of the Law this, *for it was their poſſeſſion for ever.* Lev. xxv. He which was Lord and owner of it, his will and pleaſure was, that from the

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Levites it ſhould never paſs to be enjoyed by any other. The Lord's own portion, without his own commiſſion and grant, how ſhould any man juſtly hold? They which hold it by his appointment, had it plainly with this condition, *They ſhall not ſell of it, neither change it, nor alienate the firſt-fruits of the land; for it is holy unto the Lord.* It falleth ſometimes out, as the prophet Habakkuk noteth, that the very *prey of ſavage beaſts becometh dreadful unto themſelves.* It did ſo in Judas, Achan, Nebuchadnezzar; their evil purchaſed goods were their ſnare, and their prey their own terror; a thing no where ſo likely to follow, as in thoſe goods and poſſeſſions, which being laid where they ſhould not reſt, have by the Lord's own teſtimony his moſt bitter curſe, their undividable companion. Theſe perſuaſions we uſe for other men's cauſe, not for theirs with whom God and Religion are parts of the abrogated Law of ceremonies. Wherefore not to continue longer in the cure of a ſore deſperate, there was a time when the Clergy had almoſt as little as theſe good people wiſh. But the kings of this realm and others, whom God had bleſt, conſidered devoutly with themſelves, as David in like caſe ſometimes had done, *Is it meet that we at the hands of God ſhould enjoy all kinds of abundance, and God's Clergy ſuffer want?* They conſidered that of Solomon, *Honour God with thy ſubſtance, and the chiefeſt of all thy revenue; ſo ſhall thy barns be filled with corn, and thy veſſels ſhall run over with new wine.* They conſidered how the care which Jehoſaphat had, in providing that the Levites might have encouragement to do the work of the Lord cheerfully, was left of God as a fit pattern to be followed in the Church for ever. They conſidered what promiſe our Lord and Saviour had made unto them, at whoſe hands his prophets ſhould receive but the leaſt part of the meaneſt kind of friendlineſs, though it were but a draught of water: which promiſe ſeemeth not

Ezek. xlviii. 14.

Habak. ii. 17.

Mal. iii. 9.

Prov. iii. 9, 10.

2 Chron. xix.

to

to be taken, as if Chriſt had made them of any higher courteſy uncapable, and had promiſed reward not unto ſuch as give them but that, but unto ſuch as leave them but that. They conſidered how earneſt the Apoſtle is, that if the miniſters of the Law were ſo amply provided for, leſs care then ought not to be had of them, who under the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt poſſeſſed correſpondent rooms in the Church. They conſidered how needful it is, that they who provoke all others unto works of mercy and charity, ſhould eſpecially have wherewith to be examples of ſuch things, and by ſuch means to win them, with whom other means, without thoſe, do commonly take very ſmall effect.

In theſe and the like conſiderations, the Church-revenues were in ancient times augmented, our Lord thereby performing manifeſtly the promiſe made to his ſervants, that they which did *leave either father, or mother, or lands, or goods for his ſake, ſhould receive even in this world an hundred fold.* For ſome hundreds of years together, they which joined themſelves to the Church, were fain to relinquiſh all worldly emoluments, and to endure the hardneſs of an afflicted eſtate. Afterward the Lord gave reſt to his Church, kings and princes became as fathers thereunto, the hearts of all men inclined towards it, and by his providence there grew unto it every day earthly poſſeſſions in more and more abundance, till the greatneſs thereof bred envy, which no diminutions are able to ſatisfy. For, as thoſe ancient nurſing-fathers thought they did never beſtow enough; even ſo in the eye of this preſent age, as long as any thing remaineth, it ſeemeth to be too much. Our fathers we imitate *in perverſum*, as Tertullian ſpeaketh; like them we are, by being, in equal degree, the contrary unto that which they were. Unto thoſe earthly bleſſings which God as then did with ſo great abundance pour down upon the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate, we may, in regard of moſt near reſemblance, apply the ſelf-ſame words which the Prophet hath, *God bleſſed them exceedingly,* Pſal. cv. 24, 25.

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eeedingly, and by this very mean turned the hearts of their own brethren to hate them, and to deal politicly with his ſervants. Computations are made, and there are huge ſums ſet down for princes, to ſee how much they may amplify and enlarge their own treaſure; how many public burdens they may eaſe; what preſent means they have to reward their ſervants about them, if they pleaſe but to grant their aſſent, and to accept of the ſpoil of Biſhops, by whom Church-goods are but abuſed unto pomp and vanity. Thus albeit they deal with one, whoſe princely virtue giveth them ſmall hope to prevail in impious and ſacrilegious motions; yet ſhame they not to move her royal Majeſty even with a ſuit not much unlike unto that wherewith the Jewiſh High-Prieſt tried Judas, whom they ſolicited unto treaſon againſt his Maſter, and propoſed unto him a number of ſilver pence in lieu of ſo virtuous and honeſt a ſervice. But her ſacred Majeſty diſpoſed to be always like herſelf, her heart ſo far eſtranged from willingneſs to gain by pillage of that eſtate, the only awe whereof under God ſhe hath been unto this preſent hour, as of all other parts of this noble commonwealth, whereof ſhe hath vowed herſelf a protector till the end of her days on earth, which if nature could permit, we wiſh, as good cauſe we have, endleſs: this her gracious inclination is more than a ſeven times ſealed warrant, upon the ſame aſſurance whereof touching time and action, ſo diſhonourable as this, we are on her part moſt ſecure, not doubting but that unto all poſterity it ſhall for ever appear, that from the firſt to the very laſt of her ſovereign proceedings there hath not been one authorized deed other than conſonant with that Symmachus ſaith, *Fiſcus bonorum principum non ſacerdotum damnis ſed hoſtium ſpoliis augeatur:* conſonant with the Imperial Law; *Ea quæ ad beatiſſimæ Eccleſiæ jura pertinent, tanquam ipſam ſacroſanctam et religioſam Eccleſiam intacta convenit venerabiliter cuſtodiri; ut ſicut ipſa religionis et fidei mater perpetua eſt, ita ejus patrimonium jugiter ſervetur illæſum.* As for the caſe of public burdens, let

Lib. x. Ep. 54. DDD. Valent. Theodoſ. et Archad. L. xiv. C. de ſacroſ. Eccleſ.

let any politician living make it appear, that by confiſcation of Biſhops' livings, and their utter diſſolution at once, the commonwealth ſhall ever have half that relief and eaſe which it receiveth by their continuance as now they are, and it ſhall give us ſome cauſe to think, that albeit we ſee they are impiouſly and irreligiouſly minded, yet we may eſteem them at leaſt to be tolerable Commonwealth's-men. But the caſe is too clear and manifeſt, the world doth but too plainly ſee it, that no one order of ſubjects whatſoever within this land doth bear the ſeventh part of that proportion which the Clergy beareth in the burdens of the commonwealth; no revenue of the Crown like unto it, either for certainty or for greatneſs. Let the good which this way hath grown to the commonwealth by the diſſolution of religious houſes, teach men what eaſe unto public burdens there is like to grow by the overthrow of the Clergy. My meaning is not hereby to make the ſtate of Biſhopricks and of thoſe diſſolved companies alike, the one no leſs unlawful to be removed than the other. For thoſe religious perſons were men which followed only a ſpecial kind of contemplative life in the commonwealth, they were properly no portion of God's Clergy, (only ſuch amongſt them excepted, as were alſo Prieſts,) their goods (that excepted, which they unjuſtly held through the Pope's uſurped power of appropriating Eccleſiaſtical livings unto them) may in part ſeem to be of the nature of Civil poſſeſſions, held by other kinds of corporations, ſuch as the city of London hath divers. Wherefore, as their inſtitution was human, and their end for the moſt part ſuperſtitious, they had not therein merely that holy and divine intereſt which belongeth unto Biſhops, who being employed by Chriſt in the principal ſervice of his Church, are receivers and diſpoſers of his patrimony, as hath been ſhewed, which whoſoever ſhall withhold or withdraw at any time from them, he undoubtedly robbeth God himſelf. If they abuſe the

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the goods of the Church unto pomp and vanity, ſuch faults we do not excuſe in them. Only we wiſh it to be conſidered whether ſuch faults be verily in them, or elſe but objected againſt them by ſuch as gape after ſpoil, and therefore are no competent judges what is moderate and what exceſſive in them, whom under this pretence they would ſpoil. But the accuſation may be juſt. In plenty and fulneſs it may be we are of God more forgetful than were requiſite. Notwithſtanding men ſhould remember how not to the Clergy alone it was ſaid by Moſes in Deuteronomy, *Ne cum manducaveris, et biberis, et domos optimas ædificaveris.* If the remedy preſcribed for this diſeaſe be good, let it unpartially be applied. *Intereſt reipublicæ ut re ſua* QUISQUE *bene utatur.* Let all ſtates be put to their moderate penſions, let their livings and lands be taken away from them whoſoever they be, in whom ſuch ample poſſeſſions are found to have been matters of grievous abuſe: were this juſt? would noble families think this reaſonable? The title which Biſhops have to their livings is as good as the title of any ſort of men unto whatſoever we account to be moſt juſtly held by them; yea, in this one thing the claim of Biſhops hath preeminence above all ſecular titles of right, in that God's own intereſt is the tenure whereby they hold, even as alſo it was to the Prieſts of the Law an aſſurance of their ſpiritual goods and poſſeſſions, whereupon though they many times abuſed greatly the goods of the Church, yet was not God's patrimony therefore taken away from them, and made ſaleable unto other tribes. To rob God, to ranſack the Church, to overthrow the whole order of Chriſtian Biſhops, and to turn them out of land and living, out of houſe and home, what man of common honeſty can think it for any manner of abuſe to be a remedy lawful or juſt? We muſt confeſs that God is righteous in taking away that which men abuſe: but doth that excuſe the violence of thieves and robbers? Com-

plain

plain we will not with St. Jerome [a], *that the hands of men are ſo ſtraitly tied, and their liberal minds ſo much bridled and held back from doing good by augmentation of the Church-patrimony.* For we confeſs that herein mediocrity may be and hath been ſometime exceeded. There did want heretofore a Moſes to temper men's liberality, to ſay unto them who enriched the Church, *Sufficit*, Stay your hands, leſt fervour of zeal do cauſe you to empty yourſelves too far. It may be the largeneſs of men's hearts being then more moderate, had been after more durable; and one ſtate by too much overgrowing the reſt, had not given occaſion unto the reſt to undermine it. That evil is now ſufficiently cured: the Church-treaſury, if then it were over full, hath ſince been reaſonably well emptied. That which Moſes ſpake unto givers, we muſt now inculcate unto takers away from the Church, Let there be ſome ſtay, ſome ſtint in ſpoiling. If *grape-gatherers came unto them,* Obad. ver. ſaith the Prophet, *would they not leave ſome remnant behind?* But it hath fared with the wealth of the Church as with a tower, which being built at the firſt with the higheſt, overthroweth itſelf after by its own greatneſs; neither doth the ruin thereof ceaſe with the only fall of that which hath exceeded mediocrity, but one part beareth down another, till the whole be laid proſtrate. For although the ſtate Eccleſiaſtical, both others and even Biſhops themſelves, be now fallen to ſo low an ebb, as all the world at this day doth ſee; yet becauſe there remaineth ſtill ſomewhat which unſatiable minds can thirſt for, therefore we ſeem not to have been hitherto ſufficiently wronged. Touching that which hath been taken from the Church in appropriations

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[a] Pudet dicere; Sacerdotes idolorum, aurigæ, mimi et ſcorta hæreditates capiunt, ſolis clericis et monachis id lege prohibetur, et prohibetur non a perſecutoribus ſed Principibus Chriſtianis. Non de lege conqueror, ſed doleo quod meruerimus hanc legem. Ad Nepot. 7.

known

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known to amount to the value of one hundred twenty-ſix thouſand pounds yearly, we reſt contentedly and quietly without it, till it ſhall pleaſe God to touch the hearts of men, of their own voluntary accord to reſtore it to him again; judging thereof no otherwiſe than ſome others did of thoſe goods which were by Sylla taken away from the citizens of Rome, that albeit they were in truth *male capta*, unconſcionably taken away from the right owners at the firſt, nevertheleſs ſeeing that ſuch as were after poſſeſſed of them held them not without ſome title, which law did after a ſort make good, *repetitio eorum proculdubio labefactabat compoſitam Civitatem.* What hath been taken away as dedicated unto uſes ſuperſtitious, and conſequently not given unto God, or at the leaſtwiſe not ſo rightly given, we repine not thereat. That which hath gone by means ſecret and indirect, through corrupt compoſitions or compacts, we cannot help. What the hardneſs of men's hearts doth make them loath to have exacted, though being due by law, even thereof the want we do alſo bear. Out of that which after all theſe deductions cometh clearly unto our hands, I hope it will not be ſaid that towards the public charge we diſburſe nothing. And doth the reſidue ſeem yet exceſſive? The ways whereby temporal men provide for themſelves and their families are fore-cloſed unto us. All that we have to ſuſtain our miſerable life with is but a remnant of God's own treaſure, ſo far already diminiſhed and clipped, that if there were any ſenſe of common humanity left in this hard-hearted world, the impoveriſhed eſtate of the Clergy of God would at the length even of very commiſeration be ſpared. The mean gentleman that hath but an hundred pound land to live on, would not be haſty to change his worldly eſtate and condition with many of theſe ſo over-abounding Prelates; a common artizan or tradeſman of the city with ordinary Paſtors of the Church.

Flor. lib. iii. c. 13.

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It is our hard and heavy lot that no other ſort of men being grudged at, how little benefit ſoever the public weal reap by them, no ſtate complained of for holding that which hath grown unto them by lawful means; only the governors of our ſouls, they that ſtudy day and night ſo to guide us, that both in this world we may have comfort, and in the world to come endleſs felicity and joy (for even ſuch is the very ſcope of all their endeavours; this they wiſh, for this they labour, how hardly ſoever we uſe to conſtrue of their intents): hard, that only they ſhould be thus continually lifted at for poſſeſſing but that whereunto they have by law both of God and man moſt juſt title. If there ſhould be no other remedy but that the violence of men in the end muſt needs bereave them of all ſuccour, further than the inclinations of others ſhall vouchſafe to caſt upon them as it were by way of alms for their relief but from hour to hour; better they are not than their fathers, who have been contented with as hard a portion at the world's hands: let the light of the ſun and moon, the common benefit of heaven and earth, be taken away from Biſhops, if the queſtion were, whether God ſhould loſe his glory, and the ſafety of his Church be hazarded, or they relinquiſh the right and intereſt which they have in the things of this world. But ſith the queſtion in truth is, whether Levi ſhall be deprived of the portion of God or no, to the end that Simeon or Reuben may devour it as their ſpoil, the comfort of the one in ſuſtaining the injuries which the other would offer, muſt be that prayer poured out by Moſes, the prince of prophets, in moſt tender affection to Levi, *Bleſs, O Lord, his ſubſtance, accept thou the work of his hands; ſmite through the loins of them that riſe up againſt him, and of them which hate him, that they riſe no more.* Deut. xxxiii. 11.

OF THE

LAWS

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

BOOK VIII.

Containing their ſeventh Aſſertion, That to no Civil Prince or Governor there may be given ſuch power of Eccleſiaſtical dominion, as by the Laws of this land belongeth unto the Supreme Regent thereof.

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WE come now to the laſt thing whereof there is controverſy moved, namely, *The power of ſupreme juriſdiction*; which for diſtinction-ſake we call, *The power of Eccleſiaſtical dominion.* It was not thought fit in the Jews' commonwealth, that the exerciſe of ſupremacy Eccleſiaſtical ſhould be denied unto him to whom the exerciſe of chiefty Civil did appertain; and therefore their kings were inveſted with both. This power they gave unto Simon, when they conſented that he ſhould be their prince, not only to ſet men over their works, and country, and weapons, but alſo to provide for the holy things; and that he ſhould be obeyed of every man, and that the writings of the country ſhould be made in his name, and that it ſhould not be lawful for any of the people, or prieſts, to withſtand his words,

1 Maccab. xiv. 4.

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words, or to call any congregation in the country without him. And if haply it be ſurmiſed, that thus much was given to Simon, as being both Prince and High-Prieſt, which otherwiſe (being their civil governor) he could not lawfully have enjoyed; we muſt note, that all this is no more than the ancient Kings of that people had, being Kings and not Prieſts. By this power, David, Aſa, Jehoſhaphat, Joſias, and the reſt, made thoſe laws and orders which ſacred hiſtory ſpeaketh of, concerning matters of mere religion, the affairs of the temple, and ſervice of God. Finally, had it not been by the virtue of this power, how ſhould it poſſibly have come to paſs, that the piety or impiety of the Kings did always accordingly change the public face of religion; which things the Prophets by themſelves never did, nor at any time could hinder from being done? Had the Prieſts alone been poſſeſſed of all power in ſpiritual affairs, how ſhould any thing concerning matter of religion have been made but only by them? In them it had been, and not in the King, to change the face of religion at any time; the altering of religion, the making of Eccleſiaſtical laws, with other the like actions belonging unto the power of dominion, are ſtill termed *the deeds of the King*; to ſhew, that in him was placed the ſupremacy of power in this kind over all, and that unto their Prieſts the ſame was never committed, ſaving only at ſuch times as the Prieſts were alſo Kings and Princes over them. According to the pattern of which example the like power in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical is by the laws of this realm annexed unto the Crown; and there are which do imagine, that Kings being mere lay-perſons, do by this means exceed the lawful bounds of their callings: which thing to the end that they may perſuade, they firſt make a neceſſary ſeparation perpetual and perſonal between the Church and the Commonwealth. Secondly, they ſo tie all kind of power Eccleſiaſtical unto the Church, as if it were in every degree their only

only right, who are by proper ſpiritual functions termed Church-governors, and might not unto Chriſtian princes in any wiſe appertain. To lurk under ſhifting ambiguities, and equivocations of words in matter of principal weight, is childiſh. A Church and a Commonwealth we grant are things in nature one diſtinguiſhed from the other. A Commonwealth is one way, and a Church another way defined. In their opinions the Church and Commonwealth are corporations, not diſtinguiſhed only in nature and definition, but in ſubſtance perpetually ſevered; ſo that they which are of the one can neither appoint nor execute, in whole nor in part, the duties which belong to them which are of the other, without open breach of the Law of God which hath divided them, and doth require that ſo being divided they ſhould diſtinctly or ſeverally work, as depending both upon God, and not hanging one upon the other's approbation for that which either hath to do. We ſay that the care of Religion being common to all ſocieties politic, ſuch ſocieties as do embrace the true Religion have the name of the Church given unto every one of them for diſtinction from the reſt; ſo that every body politic hath ſome Religion, but the Church that Religion which is only true. Truth of Religion is the proper difference whereby a Church is diſtinguiſhed from other politic ſocieties of men; we here mean true Religion in groſs, and not according to every particular. For they which in ſome particular points of Religion do ſever from the truth, may nevertheleſs truly (if we compare them to men of an Heatheniſh Religion) be ſaid to hold and profeſs that Religion which is true. For which cauſe, there being of old ſo many politic ſocieties eſtabliſhed through the world, only the Commonwealth of Iſrael which had the truth of Religion was in that reſpect the Church of God: and the Church of Jeſus Chriſt is every ſuch politic ſociety of men as doth in Religion hold that truth which is proper to

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Chriſtianity. As a politic ſociety it doth maintain Religion, as a Church that Religion which God hath revealed by Jeſus Chriſt. With us therefore the name of a Church importeth only a ſociety of men, firſt united into ſome public form of Regiment, and ſecondly diſtinguiſhed from other ſocieties by the exerciſe of Religion. With them on the other ſide the name of the Church in this preſent queſtion importeth not only a multitude of men ſo united and ſo diſtinguiſhed, but alſo further the ſame divided neceſſarily and perpetually from the body of the Commonwealth; ſo that even in ſuch a politic ſociety as conſiſteth of none but Chriſtians, yet the Church and Commonwealth are two corporations, independently ſubſiſting by themſelves.

We hold, that ſeeing there is not any man of the Church of England but the ſame man is alſo a member of the Commonwealth, nor any member of the Commonwealth which is not alſo of the Church of England, therefore as in a figure triangle the baſe doth differ from the ſides thereof, and yet one and the ſelf-ſame line is both a baſe and alſo a ſide; a ſide ſimply, a baſe if it chance to be the bottom and underlie the reſt: ſo albeit properties and actions of one do cauſe the name of a Commonwealth, qualities and functions of another ſort, the name of the Church to be given to a multitude, yet one and the ſelf-ſame multitude may in ſuch ſort be both. Nay, it is ſo with us, that no perſon appertaining to the one can be denied alſo to be of the other: contrariwiſe, unleſs they againſt us ſhould hold, that the Church and the Commonwealth are two, both diſtinct and ſeparate ſocieties; of which two one comprehendeth always perſons not belonging to the other, (that which they do,) they could not conclude out of the difference between the Church and the Commonwealth, namely, that the Biſhops may not meddle with the affairs of the Commonwealth, becauſe they are governors of another corporation, which

which is the Church; nor kings, with making laws for the Church, becauſe they have government, not of this corporation, but of another divided from it, the Commonwealth; and the walls of ſeparation between theſe two muſt for ever be upheld: they hold the neceſſity of perſonal ſeparation, which clean excludeth the power of one man's dealing with both; we of natural, but that one and the ſame perſon may in both bear principal ſway.

The cauſes of common received errors in this point ſeem to have been eſpecially two; one, that they who embrace true Religion living in ſuch commonwealths as are oppoſite thereunto, and in other public affairs, retaining civil communion with ſuch, are conſtrained, for the exerciſe of their Religion, to have a ſeveral communion with thoſe who are of the ſame Religion with them. This was the ſtate of the Jewiſh Church both in Egypt and Babylon, the ſtate of Chriſtian Churches a long time after Chriſt. And in this caſe, becauſe the proper affairs and actions of the Church, as it is the Church, have no dependence on the laws, or upon the government of the civil ſtate, an opinion hath thereby grown, that even ſo it ſhould be always. This was it which deceived Allen in the writing of his Apology: *The Apoſtles* (ſaith he) *did govern the Church in Rome, when Nero bare rule, even as at this day in all the Church's dominions. The Church hath a ſpiritual Regiment without dependence, and ſo ought ſhe to have amongſt Heathens, or with Chriſtians.* Another occaſion of which miſconceit is, that things appertaining to Religion are both diſtinguiſhed from other affairs, and have always had in the Church ſpiritual perſons choſen to be exerciſed about them. By which diſtinction of ſpiritual affairs, and perſons therein employed, from temporal, the error of perſonal ſeparation always neceſſary between the Church and Commonwealth hath ſtrengthened itſelf. For of every politic ſociety that being true which Ariſtotle

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ſtotle ſaith, namely, *That the ſcope thereof is not ſimply to live, nor the duty ſo much to provide for the life, as for the means of living well*; and that even as the ſoul is the worthier part of man, ſo human ſocieties are much more to care for that which tendeth properly to the ſoul's eſtate, than for ſuch temporal things which the life hath need of; other proof there needeth none to ſhew that as by all men the kingdom of God is to be ſought firſt, ſo in all commonwealths things ſpiritual ought above temporal t o be ſought for; and of things ſpiritual, the chiefeſt is Religion. For this cauſe, perſons and things employed peculiarly about the affairs of Religion are by an excellency termed Spiritual. The Heathens themſelves had their ſpiritual laws, and cauſes, and affairs always ſevered from their temporal; neither did this make two independent eſtates among them. God by revealing true Religion doth make them that receive it his Church. Unto the Jews he ſo revealed the truth of Religion, that he gave them in ſpecial conſiderations laws, not only for the adminiſtration of things ſpiritual, but alſo temporal. The Lord himſelf appointing both the one and the other in that Commonwealth, did not thereby diſtract it into ſeveral independent communities, but inſtitute ſeveral functions of one and the ſelf-ſame community. Some reaſons therefore muſt there be alleged why it ſhould be otherwiſe in the Church of Chriſt.

Ariſt. Pol. ib. iii. cap. 6.

Ariſt. Pol. lib. vi. cap. 7. apud fin. Liv. lib. i.

Three kinds of their proofs are, 1. taken from the difference of affairs and offices.

I ſhall not need to ſpend any great ſtore of words in anſwering that which is brought out of the holy Scripture to ſhew that ſecular and eccleſiaſtical affairs and offices are diſtinguiſhed; neither that which hath been borrowed from antiquity, uſing by phraſe of ſpeech to oppoſe the Commonweal to the Church of Chriſt; neither yet their reaſons which are wont to be brought forth as witneſſes, that the Church and Commonweal were always diſtinct. For whether a Church or Commonweal do differ, is not the queſtion we ſtrive for; but our controverſy is concerning

concerning the kind of diſtinction, whereby they are ſevered the one from the other; whether as under Heathen kings the Church did deal with her own affairs within herſelf, without depending at all upon any in civil authority, and the Commonweal in hers, altogether without the privity of the Church; ſo it ought to continue ſtill even in ſuch Commonweals as have now publickly embraced the truth of Chriſtian Religion; whether they ought evermore to be two ſocieties in ſuch ſort, ſeveral and diſtinct. I aſk therefore, what ſociety was that in Rome, whereunto the Apoſtle did give the name of the Church of Rome in his time? If they anſwer (as needs they muſt) that the Church of Rome in thoſe days was that whole ſociety of men which in Rome profeſſed the name of Chriſt, and not that religion which the laws of the Commonweal did then authorize; we ſay as much, and therefore grant that the Commonweal of Rome was one ſociety, and the Church of Rome another, in ſuch ſort that there was between them no natural dependence. But when whole Rome became Chriſtian, when they all embraced the Goſpel, and made laws in defence thereof, if it be held that the Church and Commonweal of Rome did then remain as before; there is no way how this could be poſſible, ſave only one, and that is, they muſt reſtrain the name of a Church in a Chriſtian Commonweal to the Clergy, excluding all the reſt of believers, both prince and people. For if all that believe be contained in the name of the Church, how ſhould the Church remain by perſonal ſubſiſtence divided from the Commonweal, when the whole Commonweal doth believe? The Church and the Commonweal are in this caſe therefore perſonally one ſociety, which ſociety being termed a Commonweal as it liveth under whatſoever form of ſecular law and regiment, a Church as it liveth under the ſpiritual law of Chriſt; forſomuch as theſe two laws contain ſo many and different offices, there

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there must of necessity be appointed in it some to one charge, and some to another, yet without dividing the whole and making it two several impaled societies.

The difference therefore either of affairs or offices ecclesiastical from secular is no argument that the Church and Commonweal are always separate and independent the one on the other; which thing even Allen himself considering somewhat better, doth in this point a little correct his former judgment before mentioned, and confesseth in his defence of English Catholics, that the power political hath her princes, laws, tribunals; the spiritual, her prelates, canons, councils, judgments, and those, when the temporal princes were Pagans, wholly separate; but in Christian Commonweals joined though not confounded. Howbeit afterwards his former sting appeareth again; for in a Commonwealth he holdeth, that the Church ought not to depend at all upon the authority of any civil person whatsoever, as in England he saith it doth.

Hebr. v. 1.

Allen, lib. xxxi. pag. 151.

2. Taken from the speeches of the Fathers opposing the one to the other. Euseb. Pamphil. de vita Constant. lib. iii. Aug. Ep.

It will be objected, that the Fathers do oftentimes mention the Commonweal and the Church of God by way of opposition. Can the same thing be opposed to itself? If one and the same society be both Church and Commonwealth, what sense can there be in that speech, *That they suffer and flourish together?* what sense in that which maketh one thing to be adjudged to the Church, and another to the Commonweal? Finally in that which putteth a difference between the causes of the Province and the Church, doth it not hereby appear that the Church and Commonweal are things evermore personally separate? No, it doth not hereby appear that there is perpetually any such separation; we speak of them as two, we may sever the rights and the causes of the one well enough from the other, in regard of that difference which we grant is between them, albeit we make no personal difference.

For

For the truth is, that the Church and the Commonwealth are names which import things really different; but those things are accidents, and such accidents as may and always should lovingly dwell together in one subject. Wherefore the real difference between the accidents signified by these names, doth not prove different subjects for them always to reside in. For albeit the subjects wherein they be resident be sometimes different, as when the people of God have their residence among Infidels; yet the nature of them is not such, but that their subject may be one, and therefore it is but a changeable accident, in those accidents they are to be divers. There can be no error in our own conceit concerning this point, if we remember still what accident that is for which a society hath the name of a Commonwealth, and what accident that which doth cause it to be termed a Church. A Commonwealth we name it simply in regard of some regiment or policy under which men live; a Church for the truth of that Religion which they profess. Now names betokening accidents inabstracted, betoken not only the accidents themselves, but also together with them subjects whereunto they cleave. As when we name a schoolmaster and a physician, those names do not only betoken two accidents, teaching and curing, but also some person or persons in whom those accidents are. For there is no impediment but both may be in one man, as well as they are for the most part in divers. The Commonweal and Church therefore being such names, they do not only betoken these accidents of civil government and Christian Religion which we have mentioned, but also together with them such multitudes as are the subjects of those accidents. Again, their nature being such as they may well enough dwell together in one subject, it followeth that their names, though always implying that difference of accidents that hath been set down, yet do not always imply different subjects

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alſo. When we oppoſe therefore the Church and Commonwealth in Chriſtian ſociety, we mean by the Commonwealth that ſociety with relation to all the public affairs thereof, only the matter of true Religion excepted; by the Church, the ſame ſociety with only reference unto the matter of true Religion, without any affairs beſides: when that ſociety which is both a Church and a Commonwealth doth flouriſh in thoſe things which belong unto it as a Commonwealth, we then ſay, the Commonwealth doth flouriſh; when in both of them, we then ſay, the Church and Commonwealth do flouriſh together.

Iſai. i. 21—23.

The prophet Eſay to note corruptions in the Commonwealth complaineth, *That where juſtice and judgment had lodged now were murderers; princes were become companions of thieves; every one loved gifts and rewards, but the fatherleſs was not judged, neither did the widow's cauſe come before them.* To ſhew abuſes in the Church, Malachy doth make this complaint; *Ye offer unclean bread upon mine altar: if ye offer the blind for ſacrifice, it is not evil as ye think; if the lame and the ſick, nothing is amiſs.* The treaſure which David beſtowed upon the temple did argue the love which he bore unto the Church: the pains which Nehemiah took for building the walls of the city are tokens of his care for the Commonwealth. Cauſes of the Commonwealth, or Province, are ſuch as Gallio was content to be judge of: *If it were a matter of wrong, or an evil deed, (O ye Jews,) I would according to reaſon maintain you:* cauſes of the Church are ſuch as Gallio there reciteth; *If it be a queſtion of your law, look ye to it, I will be no judge thereof.* In reſpect of this difference therefore the Church and the Commonwealth may in ſpeech be compared or oppoſed aptly enough the one to the other; yet this is no argument that they are two independent ſocieties.

Mal. i. 7, 8.

1 Chron. xxix. 3.

Nehem. ii. 17.

Acts xviii. 14, 15.

3. Taken from the effect of.

Some other reaſons there are which ſeem a little more nearly to make for the purpoſe, as long as they

are

punishment inflicted by the one or the other.

are but heard and not ſifted. For what though a man being ſevered by excommunication from the Church, be not thereby deprived of freedom in the city, or being there diſcommoned, is not therefore forthwith excommunicated and excluded the Church? what though the Church be bound to receive them upon repentance, whom the Commonweal may refuſe again to admit? if it chance the ſame man to be ſhut out of both, diviſion of the Church and Commonweal, which they contend for, will very hardly hereupon follow. For we muſt note, that members of a Chriſtian Commonweal have a triple ſtate; a natural, a civil, and a ſpiritual. No man's natural eſtate is cut off otherwiſe than by that capital execution; after which he that is none of the body of the Commonwealth doth not, I think, remain fit in the body of that viſible Church. And concerning man's civil eſtate, the ſame is ſubject partly to inferior abatements of liberty, and partly to diminution in the higheſt degree, ſuch as baniſhment is; ſith it caſteth out quite and clean from the body of the Commonweal, it muſt needs alſo conſequently caſt the baniſhed party even out of the very Church he was of before, becauſe that Church and the Commonweal he was of were both one and the ſame ſociety: ſo that whatſoever doth utterly ſeparate a man's perſon from the one, it ſeparateth from the other alſo. As for ſuch abatements of civil eſtate as take away only ſome privilege, dignity, or other benefit which a man enjoyeth in the Commonweal, they reach only to our dealing with public affairs; from which what may let but that men may be excluded and thereunto reſtored again, without diminiſhing or augmenting the number of perſons, in whom either Church or Commonwealth conſiſteth? He that by way of puniſhment loſeth his voice in a public election of magiſtrates, ceaſeth not thereby to be a citizen. A man diſfranchiſed may notwithſtanding enjoy as a ſubject the common benefit of protection under laws and magiſtrates. So that theſe inferior diminutions

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nutions which touch men civilly, but neither do clean extinguiſh their eſtates as they belong to the Commonwealth, nor impair a whit their condition as they are of the Church of God—theſe, I ſay, do clearly prove a difference of the one from the other, but ſuch a difference as maketh nothing for their ſurmiſe of diſtracted ſocieties.

And concerning excommunication, it cutteth off indeed from the Church, and yet not from the Commonwealth; howbeit ſo, that the party excommunicate is not thereby ſevered from one body which ſubſiſteth in itſelf, and retained by another in like ſort ſubſiſting; but he which before had fellowſhip with that ſociety whereof he was a member, as well touching things ſpiritual as civil, is now by force of excommunication, although not ſevered from the body in civil affairs, nevertheleſs for the time cut off from it as touching communion in thoſe things which belong to the ſame body, as it is the Church. A man having been both excommunicated by the Church, and deprived of civil dignity in the Commonwealth, is upon his repentance neceſſarily reunited into the one, but not of neceſſity into the other. What then? that which he is admitted unto is a communion in things divine, whereof both parts are partakers; that from which he is withheld is the benefit of ſome human privilege or right which other citizens happily enjoy. But are not theſe ſaints and citizens one and the ſame people? are they not one and the ſame ſociety? doth it hereby appear that the Church which received an excommunicate, can have no dependency on any perſon which hath chief authority and power of thoſe things in the Commonwealth whereunto the ſame party is not admitted? Wherefore to end this point, I conclude: firſt, that under the dominions of Infidels the Church of Chriſt and their Commonwealth were two ſocieties independent. Secondly, that in thoſe commonwealths, where the Biſhop of Rome beareth ſway, one ſociety is both the Church and the Commonwealth; but the Biſhop of Rome doth

doth divide the body into two divers bodies, and doth not ſuffer the Church to depend upon the power of any civil prince and potentate. Thirdly, that within this realm of England the caſe is neither as in the one, nor as in the other of the former two: but from the ſtate of Pagans we differ in that with us one ſociety is both the Church and Commonwealth, which with them it was not; as alſo from the ſtate of thoſe nations which ſubjected themſelves to the Biſhop of Rome, in that our Church hath dependence from the chief in our Commonwealth, which it hath not when he is ſuffered to rule. In a word, our ſtate is according to the pattern of God's own ancient elect people, which people was not part of them the Commonwealth, and part of them the Church of God; but the ſelf-ſame people whole and entire were both under one chief governor on whoſe ſupreme authority they did all depend. Now the drift of all that hath been alleged to prove perpetual ſeparation and independency between the Church and the Commonwealth is, that this being held neceſſary, it might conſequently be thought fit, that in a Chriſtian kingdom he whoſe power is greateſt over the Commonwealth, may not lawfully have ſupremacy of power alſo over the Church, that is to ſay, ſo far as to order thereby and to diſpoſe of ſpiritual affairs, ſo far as the higheſt uncommanded commander in them. Whereupon it is grown a queſtion, whether government eccleſiaſtical, and power of dominion in ſuch degrees as the laws of this land do grant unto the ſovereign governor thereof, may by the ſaid ſupreme governor lawfully be enjoyed and held? For reſolution wherein, we are, firſt, to define what the power of dominion is—ſecondly, then to ſhew by what right—thirdly, after what ſort—fourthly, in what meaſure—fifthly, in what inconveniency, and according to whoſe example Chriſtian kings may have it. And when theſe generals are opened, to examine afterwards how lawful that is which we in regard of dominion do attribute unto our own: namely, the title of headſhip over the Church, ſo

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ſo far as the bounds of this kingdom do reach: ſecondly, the prerogative of calling and diſſolving great aſſemblies, about ſpiritual affairs public: thirdly, the right of aſſenting unto all thoſe orders concerning Religion, which muſt after be in force as law: fourthly, the advancement of principal Church-governors to their rooms of prelacy: fifthly, judicial authority higher than others are capable of; and ſixthly, exemption from being puniſhable with ſuch kind of cenſures as the platform of reformation doth teach that they ought to be ſubject unto.

What the power of dominion is.

Luke xi. 17. WITHOUT order there is no living in public ſociety, becauſe the want thereof is the mother of confuſion, whereupon diviſion of neceſſity followeth; and out of diviſion deſtruction. The Apoſtle there-
1 Cor. xiv. 40. fore, giving inſtruction to public ſocieties, requireth that all things be orderly done. Order can have no place in things, except it be ſettled amongſt the perſons that ſhall by office be converſant about them; and if things and perſons be ordered, this doth imply that they are diſtinguiſhed by degrees: for order is a gradual diſpoſition. The whole world conſiſting of parts ſo many, ſo different, is by this only thing upheld; he which framed them, hath ſet them in order. The very Deity itſelf both keepeth and requireth for ever this to be kept as a law, that whereſoever there is a coagmentation of many, the loweſt be knit unto the higheſt by that which being interjacent may cauſe each to cleave to the other, and ſo all to continue one. This order of things and perſons in public ſocieties, is the work of policy, and the proper inſtrument thereof in every degree is power; power being that ability which we have of ourſelves, or receive from others for performance of any action. If the action which we have to perform be converſant about matters of mere religion, the power of performing

forming of it is then ſpiritual; and if that power be ſuch as hath not any other to over-rule it, we term it dominion, or power ſupreme, ſo far as the bounds thereof extend. When therefore Chriſtian kings are ſaid to have ſpiritual dominion or ſupreme power in eccleſiaſtical affairs and cauſes, the meaning is, that within their own precincts and territories they have an authority and power to command, even in matters of Chriſtian Religion, and that there is no higher nor greater that can in thoſe caſes over-command them, where they are placed to reign as kings. But withal we muſt likewiſe note that their power is termed ſupremacy, as being the higheſt, not ſimply without exception of any thing. For what man is ſo brainſick, as not to except in ſuch ſpeeches God himſelf, the King of all dominion? who doubteth but that the king who receiveth it muſt hold it of and under the law, according to that old axiom, *Attribuat Rex legi, quod lex attribuit ei poteſtatem*; and again, *Rex non debet eſſe ſub homine, ſed ſub Deo et lege?* Thirdly, whereas it is altogether without reaſon, *that kings are judged to have by virtue of their dominion, although greater power than any, yet not than all the ſtate of thoſe ſocieties conjoined, wherein ſuch ſovereign rule is given them*; there is not any thing hereunto to the contrary by us affirmed, no not when we grant ſupreme authority unto kings, becauſe ſupremacy is not otherwiſe intended or meant to exclude, partly foreign powers, and partly the power which belongeth in ſeveral unto others, contained as parts in that politic body over which thoſe kings have ſupremacy: *Where the King hath power of dominion, or ſupreme power, there no foreign ſtate, or potentate, no ſtate or potentate domeſtical, whether it conſiſteth of one or many, can poſſibly have in the ſame affairs and cauſes authority higher than the King.* Power of ſpiritual dominion therefore is in cauſes eccleſiaſtical that ruling authority which neither any foreign ſtate, nor yet any part of that politic body at home, wherein the ſame is eſtabliſhed, can lawfully over-rule. It

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hath been declared already in general how *the beſt eſtabliſhed dominion is where the law doth moſt rule the King*; the true effect whereof particularly is found as well in eccleſiaſtical as civil affairs. In theſe the King, through his ſupreme power, may do ſundry great things himſelf, both appertaining to peace and war, both at home, and by command, and by commerce with ſtates abroad, becauſe the law doth ſo much permit. Sometimes on the other ſide; *The King alone hath no right to do without conſent of his Lords and Commons in Parliament: the King himſelf cannot change the nature of pleas, nor courts, no not ſo much as reſtore blood*, becauſe the law is a bar unto him; the poſitive laws of the realm have a privilege therein, and reſtrain the King's power; which poſitive laws, whether by cuſtom or otherwiſe eſtabliſhed, without repugnancy to the laws of God and nature, ought not leſs to be in force even in ſupernatural affairs of the Church: wherefore in regard of eccleſiaſtical laws, we willingly embrace that of Ambroſe; *Imperator bonus intra Eccleſiam, non ſupra Eccleſiam eſt*; *Kings have dominion to exerciſe in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, but according to the Laws of the Church*; whether it be therefore the nature of courts, or the form of pleas, or the kind of governors, or the order of proceeding in whatſoever buſineſs, for the received laws and liberty of the Church *the King hath ſupreme authority and power, but againſt them never*. What ſuch poſitive laws have appointed to be done by others than the King, or by others with the King, and in what form they have appointed the doing of it, the ſame of neceſſity muſt be kept, neither is the King's ſole authority to alter it; yet, as it were a thing unreaſonable, if in civil affairs the King, albeit the whole univerſal body did join with him, ſhould do any thing by their abſolute power for the ordering of their ſtate at home, in prejudice of thoſe ancient laws of nations which are of force throughout all the world, becauſe the neceſſary commerce of kingdoms

kingdoms dependeth on them; ſo in principal matters belonging to Chriſtian Religion, a thing very ſcandalous and offenſive it muſt needs be thought, if either kings or laws ſhould diſpoſe of the law of God, without any reſpect had unto that which of old hath been reverently thought of throughout the world, and wherein there is no law of God which forceth us to ſwerve from the ways wherein ſo many and holy ages have gone. Wherefore not without good conſideration the very law itſelf hath provided, *That judges eccleſiaſtical appointed under the King's commiſſion ſhall not adjudge for hereſy any thing but that which heretofore hath been adjudged by the authority of the Canonical Scriptures, or by the firſt four General Councils, or by ſome other General Council wherein the ſame hath been declared hereſy by the expreſs words of the ſaid Canonical Scriptures, or ſuch as hereafter ſhall be determined to be hereſy by the high court of Parliament of this realm, with the aſſent of the Clergy in the Convocation: An.* 1 *Reg. Eliz.* By which words of the law, who doth not plainly ſee, how that in one branch of proceeding by virtue of the King's ſupreme authority, the credit which thoſe four firſt General Councils have throughout all Churches, and evermore had, was judged by the making of the aforeſaid act a juſt cauſe wherefore they ſhould be mentioned in that caſe, as a requiſite part of that rule wherewith dominion was to be limited? But of this we ſhall further conſider when we come unto that which ſovereign power may do in making eccleſiaſtical laws.

The right which men give, God ratifies.

Unto which ſupreme power in Kings two kinds of adverſaries there are which have oppoſed themſelves: one ſort defending, *That ſupreme power in cauſes eccleſiaſtical throughout the world appertaineth of divine right to the Biſhop of Rome:* another ſort, *That the ſaid power belongeth in every national Church unto the Clergy thereof aſſembled.* We which defend as well againſt the one as againſt the other, *That kings within their own precincts may have it,* muſt ſhew by what

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what right it muſt come unto them. Firſt, unto me it ſeemeth almoſt out of doubt and controverſy, that every independent multitude, before any certain form of regiment eſtabliſhed, hath, under God, ſupreme authority, full dominion over itſelf; even as a man, not tied with the band of ſubjection as yet unto any other, hath over himſelf the like power. God creating mankind did endue it naturally with power to guide itſelf in what kind of ſociety ſoever they ſhould chooſe to live. A man which is born lord of himſelf may be made another's ſervant. And that power which naturally whole ſocieties have may be derived unto many, few, or one, under whom the reſt ſhall then live in ſubjection. Some multitudes are brought into ſubjection by force, as they who being ſubdued are fain to ſubmit their necks unto what yoke it pleaſeth their conquerors to lay upon them; which conquerors by juſt and lawful wars do hold their power over ſuch multitudes as a thing deſcending unto them, divine Providence itſelf ſo diſpoſing. For it is God who giveth victory in the day of war; and unto whom dominion in this ſort is derived, the ſame they enjoy according to the law of nations, which law authorizeth conquerors to reign as abſolute lords over them whom they vanquiſh[a]. Sometimes it pleaſeth God himſelf by ſpecial appointment to chooſe out and nominate ſuch as to whom dominion ſhall be given, which thing he did often in the commonwealth of Iſrael. They which in this ſort receive power immediately from God, have it by mere divine right, they by human on whom the ſame is beſtowed according to men's diſcretion, when they are left freely by God to make choice of their own governors. By which of theſe means ſoever it happen that kings or governors be advanced unto their eſtates, we muſt acknowledge both their lawful choice to be approved of God, and themſelves to be God's lieutenants, and confeſs their power which

[a] Corona eſt poteſtas delegata a Deo. Bracton.

they

they have to be his. As for ſupreme power in Eccleſiaſtical affairs, the Word of God doth no where appoint that all kings ſhould have it, neither that any ſhould not have it; for which cauſe it ſeemeth to ſtand altogether by human right, that unto Chriſtian kings there is ſuch dominion given.

Again, on whom the ſame is beſtowed at men's diſcretions, they likewiſe do hold it by divine right. If God in his revealed Word hath appointed ſuch power to be, although himſelf extraordinarily beſtow it not, but leave the appointment of perſons to men; yea, albeit God do neither appoint nor aſſign the perſon, nevertheleſs when men have aſſigned and eſtabliſhed both, who doth doubt but that ſundry duties and affairs depending thereupon are preſcribed by the Word of God, and conſequently by that very right to be exacted? For example-ſake, the power which Roman emperors had over foreign provinces was not a thing which the Law of God did ever inſtitute, neither was Tiberius Cæſar by eſpecial commiſſion from heaven therewith inveſted; and yet payment of tribute unto Cæſar, being now made emperor, is the plain Law of Jeſus Chriſt; unto kings by human right, honour by very divine right, is due; man's ordinances are many times propoſed as grounds in the ſtatutes of God. And therefore of what kind ſoever the means be whereby governors are lawfully advanced to their ſtates, as we by the Laws of God ſtand bound meekly to acknowledge them for God's lieutenants, and to confeſs their power his, ſo by the ſame Law they are both authorized and required to uſe that power as far as it may be in any ſtate available to his honour. The Law appointeth no man to be a huſband, but if a man hath betaken himſelf unto that condition, it giveth him power and authority over his own wife. That the Chriſtian world ſhould be ordered by the kingly regiment, the Law of God doth not any where command; and yet the Law of God doth give

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them, which once are exalted unto that place of eſtate, right to exact at the hands of their ſubjects general obedience in whatſoever affairs their power may ſerve to command, and God doth ratify works of that ſovereign authority which kings have received by men. This is therefore the right whereby kings do hold their power, but yet in what ſort the ſame doth reſt and abide in them it ſomewhat behoveth farther to ſearch; where, that we be not enforced to make over large diſcourſes about the different conditions of ſovereign or ſupreme power, that which we ſpeak of kings ſhall be in reſpect of the ſtate, and according to the nature of this kingdom, where the people are in no ſubjection, but ſuch as willingly themſelves have condeſcended unto for their own moſt behoof and ſecurity. In kingdoms therefore of this quality the higheſt governor hath indeed univerſal dominion, but with dependency upon that whole entire body, over the ſeveral parts whereof he hath dominion; ſo that it ſtandeth for an axiom in this caſe, The king is *major ſinguliis, univerſis minor*. The king's dependency we do not conſtrue as ſome have done, who are of opinion that no man's birth can make him a king, but that every particular perſon advanced to ſuch authority hath at his entrance into his reign the ſame beſtowed on him, as an eſtate in condition, by the voluntary deed of the people, in whom it doth lie to put by any one, and to prefer ſome other before him better liked of, or judged fitter for the place, and that the party ſo rejected hath no injury done unto him, no, although the ſame be done in a place where the crown doth go διὰ γένους, by ſucceſſion, and to a perſon which is capital, and hath apparently, if blood be reſpected, the neareſt right. They plainly affirm in all well appointed kingdoms, the cuſtom evermore hath been, and is, that children ſucceed not their parents till the people after a ſort have created them anew, neither that they grow to their fathers as natural and

proper

proper heirs, but are then to be reckoned for kings when at the hands of ſuch as repreſent the king's majeſty, they have by ſceptre and a diadem received as it were the inveſtiture of kingly power. Their very words are, *That where ſuch power is ſettled into a family or kindred, the ſtock itſelf is thereby choſen, but not the twig that ſpringeth of it. The next of the ſtock unto him that reigneth are not through nearneſs of blood made kings, but rather ſet forth to ſtand for the kingdom. Where regal dominion is hereditary, it is notwithſtanding (if we look to the perſons which have it) altogether elective.* To this purpoſe are ſelected heaps of Scriptures concerning the ſolemn coronation or inauguration of Saul, of David, of Solomon, and others, by the nobles, ancients, and people of the commonweal of Iſrael; as if theſe ſolemnities were a kind of deed, whereby the right of dominion is given. Which ſtrange, untrue, and unnatural conceits, ſet abroad by ſeeds-men of rebellion, only to animate unquiet ſpirits, and to feed them with poſſibility of aſpiring to thrones, if they can win the hearts of the people, what hereditary title ſoever any other before them may have—I ſay, theſe unjuſt and inſolent poſitions I would not mention, were it not thereby to make the countenance of truth more orient; for unleſs we will openly proclaim defiance unto all law, equity, and reaſon, we muſt (there is no remedy) acknowledge, that, in kingdoms hereditary, birth giveth right unto ſovereign dominion; and the death of the predeceſſor putteth the ſucceſſor by blood in ſeiſin. Thoſe public ſolemnities before ſpecified do but ſerve for an open teſtification of the inheritor's right, or belong unto the form of inducting him into poſſeſſion of that thing he hath right unto: therefore in caſe it doth happen that without right of blood a man in ſuch wiſe be poſſeſſed, all theſe new elections and inveſtings are utterly void, they make him no indefeaſible eſtate, the inheritor by blood may diſpoſſeſs him as an uſurper. The caſe

Junius Brutus, vindic. p. 83.

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thus ſtanding, albeit we judge it a thing moſt true that kings, even inheritors, do hold their right in the power of dominion, with dependency upon the whole body politic over which they have rule as kings; yet ſo it may not be underſtood as if ſuch dependency did grow, for that every ſupreme governor doth perſonally take from thence his power by way of gift, beſtowed of their own free accord upon him at the time of his entrance into the ſaid place of his ſovereign government: but the caſe of dependency is that firſt original conveyance, when power was derived from the whole into one; to paſs from him unto them, whom out of him nature by lawful births ſhould produce, and no natural or legal inability make uncapable. *Neither can any man with reaſon think, but that the firſt inſtitution of kings, a ſufficient conſideration wherefore their power ſhould always depend on that from which it always flows by original influence of power, from the body unto the king, is the cauſe of the king's dependency in power upon the body.* By dependency we mean ſubordination and ſubjection. A manifeſt token of which dependency may be this; as there is no more certain argument that lands are held under any as lords, than if we ſee that ſuch lands in defect of heirs fall under them by eſcheat; in like manner it doth follow rightly, that ſeeing dominion when there is none to inherit it returneth unto the body, therefore they which before were inheritors thereof did hold it with dependency upon the body; ſo that by comparing the body with the head, as touching power, it ſeemeth always to reſide in both, fundamentally and radically in the one, in the other derivatively; in one the habit, in the other the act of power. May a body politic then at all times withdraw in whole or in part the influence of dominion which paſſeth from it, if inconveniences do grow thereby? It muſt be preſumed, that ſupreme governors will not in ſuch caſe oppoſe themſelves, and be ſtiff in detaining that, the uſe whereof is with

Tully de Offic.

public

public detriment: but ſurely without their conſent I ſee not how the body by any juſt means ſhould be able to help itſelf, ſaving when dominion doth eſcheat; ſuch things therefore muſt be thought upon beforehand, that power may be limited ere it be granted, which is the next thing we are to conſider. BOOK VIII.

In what meaſure.

IN power of dominion, all kings have not an equal latitude. Kings by conqueſt make their own charter; ſo that how large their power, either civil or ſpiritual, is, we cannot with any certainty define further, than only to ſet them in the line of the Law of God and Nature for bounds. Kings by God's own ſpecial appointment have alſo that largeneſs of power which he doth aſſign or permit with approbation. Touching kings which were firſt inſtituted by agreement and compoſition made with them, over whom they reign, how far their power may extend, the articles of compact between them are to ſhew: not only the articles of compact at the firſt beginning, which for the moſt part are either clean worn out of knowledge, or elſe known to very few, but whatſoever hath been after in free and voluntary manner condeſcended unto, whether by expreſs conſent, (whereof poſitive laws are witneſſes,) or elſe by ſilent allowance famouſly notified through cuſtom, reaching beyond the memory of man. By which means of after-agreement, it cometh many times to paſs in kingdoms, that they whoſe ancient predeceſſors were by violence and force made ſubject, do by little and little grow into that ſweet form of kingly government which philoſophers define, *Regency willingly ſuſtained, and endued with chiefty of power in the greateſt things.* Ariſt. Pol. lib. iii. cap. 1.

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things. Many of the ancients in their writings do ſpeak of kings with ſuch high and ample terms, as if univerſality of power, even in regard of things and not of perſons, did appertain to the very being of a king. The reaſon is, becauſe their ſpeech concerning kings they frame according to the ſtate of thoſe monarchs to whom unlimited authority was given; which ſome not obſerving, imagine that all kings, even in that they are kings, ought to have whatſoever power they judge any ſovereign ruler lawfully to have enjoyed. But the moſt judicious philoſopher, whoſe eye ſcarce any thing did eſcape which was to be found in the boſom of nature, he conſidering how far the power of one ſovereign ruler may be different from another regal authority, noteth in Spartan kings; *That of all others they were moſt tied to law, and ſo the moſt reſtrained power.* A king which hath not ſupreme power in the greateſt things, is rather entitled a king, than inveſted with real ſovereignty. We cannot properly term him a king, of whom it may not be ſaid, at the leaſtwiſe, as touching certain the chiefeſt affairs of the ſtate, ἄρχειν, ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ ἀδύνος, his right in them is to have rule, not ſubject to any other predominancy. I am not of opinion that ſimply in kings the moſt, but the beſt limited power is beſt both for them and the people: the moſt limited is that which may deal in feweſt things, the beſt that which in dealing is tied unto the ſoundeſt, perfecteſt, and moſt indifferent rule, which rule is the Law; I mean not only the Law of Nature, and of God, but the national Law conſonant thereunto. *Happier that people whoſe law is their king in the greateſt things, than that whoſe king is himſelf their law. Where the king doth guide the ſtate, and the law the king, that commonwealth is like an harp or melodious inſtrument, the ſtrings whereof are tuned and handled all by one, following as laws the rules and canons of muſical ſcience.* Moſt divinely therefore Archytas maketh unto public felicity theſe four ſteps and degrees, every of which

Pythagoras apud Erdant. de Regno.

which doth ſpring from the former, as from another cauſe, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς νομίμῳ, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων ἀκόλαθῳ, ὁ δὲ ἀρχόμενῳ ἀπόλυπῳ, ἡ δὲ ὅλη κοινωνία εὐδαίμων, *The king ruling by law, the magiſtrate following, the ſubject free, and the whole ſociety happy*; adding on the contrary ſide, that where this order is not, it cometh by tranſgreſſion thereof to paſs that a king groweth a tyrant; he that ruleth under him abhorreth to be guided by him or commanded; the people ſubject unto both, have freedom under neither; and the whole community is wretched. In which reſpect, I cannot chooſe but commend highly their wiſdom, by whom the foundation of the commonwealth hath been laid; wherein though no manner of perſon or cauſe be unſubject unto the king's power, yet ſo is the power of the king over all, and in all limited, that unto all his proceedings the law itſelf is a rule. The axioms of our regal government are theſe, *Lex facit regem:* the king's grant of any favour made contrary to the law is void; *Rex nihil poteſt niſi quod jure poteſt.* Our kings therefore, when they are to take poſſeſſion of the crown they are called unto, have it pointed out before their eyes, even by the very ſolemnities and rites of their inauguration, to what affairs by the ſame law their ſupreme power and authority reacheth; crowned we ſee they are, enthronized and anointed; the crown a ſign of a military dominion; the throne of ſedentary or judicial; the oil of religious and ſacred power. It is not on any ſide denied, that kings may have authority in ſecular affairs. The queſtion then is, *What power they may lawfully have and exerciſe in cauſes of God. A prince, or magiſtrate, or a community,* (ſaith Dr. Stapleton,) *may have power to lay corporal puniſhment on them which are teachers of perverſe things; power to make laws for the peace of the Church; power to proclaim, to defend, and even by revenge to preſerve* dogmata, *the very Articles of Religion themſelves from violation.* Others, in affection no leſs devoted unto the Papacy,

Stapl. de Doct. Principip. lib. v. c. 17.

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do likewiſe yield, that the Civil magiſtrate may by his edicts and laws keep all Eccleſiaſtical perſons within the bounds of their duties, and conſtrain them to obſerve the canons of the Church, to follow the rule of ancient diſcipline. That if Joaſh was commended for his care and proviſion concerning ſo ſmall a part of religion, as the Church-treaſure; it muſt needs be unto Chriſtian Kings themſelves greater honour, and to Chriſtianity a larger benefit, when the cuſtody of religion and the worſhip of God in general is their charge. If therefore all theſe things mentioned be moſt properly the affairs of God's Eccleſiaſtical cauſes; if the actions ſpecified be works of power, and if that power be ſuch as kings may uſe of themſelves, without the fear of any other power ſuperior in the ſame thing; it followeth neceſſarily, that kings may have ſupreme power, not only in Civil, but alſo in Eccleſiaſtical affairs, and conſequently that they may withſtand what Biſhop or Pope ſoever ſhall, under the pretended claim of higher ſpiritual authority, oppoſe themſelves againſt their proceedings. But they which have made us the former grant, will never hereunto condeſcend; what they yield that princes may do, it is with ſecret exception always underſtood, if the Biſhop of Rome give leave, if he interpoſe no prohibition; wherefore ſomewhat it is in ſhew, in truth nothing which they grant. Our own reformers do the very like; when they make their diſcourſe in general concerning the authority which magiſtrates may have, a man would think them to be far from withdrawing any jot of that which with reaſon may be thought due; *The prince and civil magiſtrate* (ſaith one of them) *hath to ſee the Laws of God touching his worſhip, and touching all matters, and all orders of the Church to be executed, and duly obſerved; and to ſee every Eccleſiaſtical perſon do that office whereunto he is appointed, and to puniſh thoſe which fail in their office accordingly.* Another acknowledgeth; *That the magiſtrate may lawfully uphold all truth by his ſword,*

T. C. lib. i. p. 192.

ſword, puniſh all perſons, enforce all to their duties towards God and men; maintain by his laws every point of God's Word, puniſh all vice in all men; ſee into all cauſes, viſit the Eccleſiaſtical eſtate, and correct the abuſes thereof: finally to look to his ſubjects, that under him they may lead their lives in all godlineſs and honeſty. A third more frankly profeſſeth; *That in caſe their Church-diſcipline were eſtabliſhed, ſo little it ſhorteneth the arms of ſovereign dominion in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, that her gracious Majeſty, for any thing they teach or hold to the contrary, may no leſs than now remain ſtill over all perſons, in all things ſupreme governeſs, even with that full and royal authority, ſuperiority, and preeminence, ſupremacy and prerogative, which the laws already eſtabliſhed do give her, and her Majeſty's Injunctions, and the articles of the Convocation-houſe, and other writings apologetical of her royal authority, and ſupreme dignity, do declare and explain.* Poſidonius was wont to ſay of the Epicure, *That he thought there were no gods, but that thoſe things which he ſpake concerning the gods were only given out for fear of growing odious amongſt men; and therefore that in words he left gods remaining, but in very deed overthrew them, inſomuch as he gave them no kind of action.* After the very ſelf-ſame manner, when we come unto thoſe particular effects, prerogatives of dominion, which the laws of this land do grant unto the kings thereof, it will appear how theſe men, notwithſtanding their large and liberal ſpeeches, abate ſuch parcels out of the afore alleged grant and flouriſhing ſhew, that a man comparing the one with the other, may half ſtand in doubt, leſt their opinion in very truth be againſt that authority which by their ſpeeches they ſeem mightily to uphold, partly for the avoiding of public obloquy, envy, and hatred; partly to the intent they may both in the end, by the eſtabliſhment of their diſcipline, extinguiſh the force of ſupreme power which princes have, and yet, in the mean while, by giving forth theſe ſmooth diſcourſes,

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Farmer's Def. of the Godly Magiſtrate.

Humble Motion, p. 163.

Cicero, lib. i. de Nat. Deor.

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courſes, obtain that their favourers may have ſomewhat to allege for them by way of apology, and that ſuch words only ſound towards all kind of fulneſs of power. But for myſelf, I had rather conſtrue ſuch their contradictions in the better part, and impute their general acknowledgment of the lawfulneſs of kingly power unto the force of truth, preſenting itſelf before them ſometimes above their particular contrarieties, oppoſitions, denials, unto that error which having ſo fully poſſeſſed their minds, caſteth things inconvenient upon them, of which things in their due place. Touching that which is now in hand, we are on all ſides fully agreed; firſt, that there is not any reſtraint or limitation of matter for regal authority and power to be converſant in, but of religion only; and of whatſoever cauſe thereunto appertaining kings may lawfully have charge, they lawfully may therein exerciſe dominion and uſe the temporal ſword: ſecondly, that ſome kind of actions converſant about ſuch affairs are denied unto kings; as, namely, actions of power and order, and of ſpiritual juriſdiction, which hath with it inſeparably joined power to adminiſter the Word and Sacraments, power to ordain, to judge as an ordinary, to bind and looſe, to excommunicate, and ſuch like: thirdly, that even in thoſe very actions which are proper unto dominion, there muſt be ſome certain rule whereunto kings in all their proceedings ought to be ſtrictly tied; which rule for proceeding in Eccleſiaſtical affairs and cauſes by regal power, hath not hitherto been agreed upon with ſuch uniform conſent, and certainty, as might be wiſhed. The different ſentences of men herein I will not now go about to examine; but it ſhall be enough to propoſe what rule doth ſeem in this caſe moſt reaſonable.

Kinds.

By what rule.

The cauſe of deriving ſupreme power from a whole entire multitude into ſome ſpecial part thereof, is partly the neceſſity of expedition in public affairs, partly the inconvenience of confuſion and trouble, where

where a multitude of equals dealeth; and partly the diſſipation which muſt needs enſue, in companies where every man wholly ſeeketh his own particular, as we all would do, even with other men's hurts, and haply the very overthrow of themſelves, in the end alſo, if for the procurement of the common good of all men, by keeping every ſeveral man in order, ſome were not inveſted with authority over all, and encouraged with prerogative-honour to ſuſtain the weighty burden of that charge. The good which is proper unto each man belongeth to the common good of all, as part to the whole perfection; but theſe two are things different; for men by that which is proper are ſevered, united they are by that which is common. Wherefore, beſides that which moveth each man in particular to ſeek his own private good, there muſt be of neceſſity in all public ſocieties alſo a general mover directing unto common good, and framing every man's particular unto it. The end whereunto all government was inſtituted, was *Bonum publicum*, the univerſal or common good [a]. Our queſtion is of dominion, for that end and purpoſe derived into one: ſuch as all in one public ſtate have agreed, that the ſupreme charge of all things ſhould be committed unto one; they, I ſay, conſidering what inconveniency may grow where ſtates are ſubject unto ſundry ſupreme authorities, have for fear of theſe inconveniences withdrawn from liking to eſtabliſh many; οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, the multitude of ſupreme commanders is troubleſome. *No man* (ſaith our Saviour) *can ſerve two maſters*; ſurely two ſupreme maſters would make any one's ſervice ſomewhat uneaſy in ſuch caſes as might fall out. Suppoſe that to morrow the power which hath dominion in juſtice require thee at the court; that which in war, at the field; that which in religion, at the temple; all have equal authority over thee, and impoſſible it is,

[a] Ob utilitatem publicam reipublicæ per unum conſuli oportere, prudentiſſimi docent. L. C. 11. F. de origine Juris Civilis.

that

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that then in ſuch caſe thou ſhouldeſt be obedient unto all: by chooſing any one whom thou wilt obey, certain thou art for thy diſobedience to incur the diſpleaſure of the other two.

According to what example.

But there is nothing for which ſome comparable reaſon or other may not be found. Are we able to ſhew any commendable ſtate of government, which by experience and practice hath felt the benefit of being in all cauſes ſubject unto the ſupreme authority of one? Againſt the policy of the Iſraelites, I hope there will no man except, where Moſes deriving ſo great a part of his burden in government unto others, did notwithſtanding retain to himſelf univerſal ſupremacy; Jehoſhaphat appointing one to be choſen in the affairs of God, and another in the king's affairs, did this as having dominion over them in both. If therefore, from approbation of heaven, the kings of God's own choſen people had in the affairs of Jewiſh religion ſupreme power, why not Chriſtian kings the like alſo in Chriſtian religion? Firſt, unleſs men will anſwer, as ſome have done; *That the Jews' religion was of far leſs perfection and dignity than ours, ours being that truth whereof theirs was but a ſhadowiſh prefigurative reſemblance.* Secondly; *That all parts of their religion, their laws, their ſacrifices, and their rites and ceremonies, being fully ſet down to their hands, and needing no more, but only to be put in execution, the kings might well have higheſt authority to ſee that done; whereas with us there are a number of myſteries even in belief, which were not ſo generally for them, as for us, neceſſary to be with ſound expreſs acknowledgment underſtood: a number of things belonging to external government, and our manner of ſerving God, not ſet down by particular ordinances, and delivered to us in writing; for which cauſe the ſtate of the Church doth now require that the ſpiritual authority of Eccleſiaſtical perſons be large, abſolute, and not ſubordinate to regal power.* Thirdly; *That whereas God armed Jewiſh religion with the temporal ſword, but Chriſtian with that of ſpiritual puniſhment;*

Stapl. de prin. Doct. pag. 197.

Stapl. ib.

Idem. ib.

ment; the one with power to impriſon, to ſcourge, to put to death, the other with bare authority to cenſure and excommunicate; there is no reaſon that the Church which hath no viſible ſword ſhould in regiment be ſubject unto any other power, than only unto theirs which have authority to bind and looſe. Fourthly; *that albeit whilſt the Church was reſtrained unto one people, it ſeemed not incommodious to grant their king the general chiefty of power; yet now the Church having ſpread itſelf over all nations, great inconveniences muſt thereby grow, if every Chriſtian king in his ſeveral territory ſhould have the like power.* Of all theſe differences, there is not one which doth prove it a thing repugnant to the Law either of God or of Nature, that all ſupremacy of external power be in Chriſtian kingdoms granted unto kings thereof, for preſervation of quietneſs, unity, order, and peace, in ſuch manner as hath been ſhewed.

Of the title of Headſhip.

FOR the title or ſtate itſelf, although the laws of this land have annexed it to the crown, yet ſo far we ſhould not ſtrive, if ſo be men were nice and ſcrupulous in this behalf only; becauſe they do wiſh that for reverence to Chriſt Jeſus, the civil magiſtrate did rather uſe ſome other form of ſpeech wherewith to expreſs that ſovereign authority which he lawfully hath over all both perſons and cauſes of the Church. But I ſee that hitherto they which condemn utterly the name ſo applied, do it becauſe they miſlike that ſuch power ſhould be given to civil governors. The great exception that Sir Thomas Moore took againſt that title, who ſuffered death for denial of it, was *for that it maketh a lay, a ſecular perſon, the head of the ſtate Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical*; as though God himſelf did not name Saul the Head

Roffenſis, Epiſt. p. 517.

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Head of all the tribes of Iſrael; and conſequently of that tribe alſo among the reſt, whereunto the ſtate Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical belonged. When the authors of the Centuries reprove it in kings and civil governors, the reaſon is, *iſtis non competit iſte Primatus*; ſuch kind of power is too high for them, they fit it not. In excuſe of Mr. Calvin, by whom this realm is condemned of blaſphemy, for entitling Henry the Eighth *ſupreme head of this Church under Chriſt*, a charitable conjecture is made, that he ſpake by miſinformation; howbeit as he profeſſeth utter diſlike of that name, ſo whether the name be uſed or no, the very power itſelf which we give unto civil magiſtrates, he much complaineth of, and proteſteth, *That their power over all things was it, which had ever wounded him deeply: that unadviſed perſons had made them too ſpiritual; that throughout Germany this fault did reign; that in thoſe very parts where Calvin himſelf was, it prevailed more than was to be wiſhed; that rulers, by imagining themſelves ſo ſpiritual, have taken away Eccleſiaſtical government; that they think they cannot reign unleſs they aboliſh all the authority of the Church, and be themſelves the chief judges, as well in doctrine, as in the whole ſpiritual regency.* So that, in truth, the queſtion is, whether the magiſtrate, by being Head in ſuch ſenſe as we term him, do uſe or exerciſe any part of that authority, not which belongeth unto Chriſt, but which other men ought to have.

Præf. Cent. 7.

Calvin in com. 7. Amos vii. 13. pag. 223. tom. v. ed. Amſtelodam.

Theſe things being firſt conſidered thus, it will be eaſier to judge concerning our own eſtate, whether by force of Eccleſiaſtical government kings have any other kind of prerogative than they may lawfully hold and enjoy. It is, as ſome do imagine, too much, that kings of England ſhould be termed Heads in relation of the Church. That which we do underſtand by headſhip is, their only ſupreme power in Eccleſiaſtical affairs and cauſes. That which lawful princes are, what ſhould make it unlawful

lawful for men in ſpiritual ſtiles or titles to ſignify? If the having of ſupreme power be allowed, why is the expreſſing thereof by the title of Head condemned? They ſeem in words (at leaſtwiſe ſome of them) now at length to acknowledge, that kings may have dominion or ſupreme government even over all, both perſons and cauſes. We, in terming our princes *Heads of the Church*, do but teſtify that we acknowledge them ſuch governors. Again, to this it will peradventure be replied; *That howſoever we interpret ourſelves, it is not fit for a mortal man, and therefore not fit for a civil magiſtrate to be entitled the Head of the Church, which was given to our Saviour Chriſt to lift him above all powers, rules, dominions, titles, in heaven or in earth. Where, if this title belong alſo to civil magiſtrates, then it is manifeſt that there is a power in earth whereunto our Saviour Chriſt is not in this point ſuperior. Again, if the civil magiſtrate may have this title, he may be termed alſo the firſt-begotten of all creatures, the firſt-begotten of all the dead, yea, the redeemer of his people. For theſe are alike given him as dignities whereby he is lifted up above all creatures. Beſides this, the whole argument of the Apoſtle in both places doth lead to ſhew that this title,* Head of the Church, *cannot be ſaid of any creature: and further, the very demonſtrative articles, amongſt the Hebrews eſpecially, whom St. Paul doth follow, ſerve to tie that which is verified of one, unto himſelf alone; ſo that when the Apoſtle doth ſay that Chriſt is* Κεφαλὴ, *the Head; it is as if he ſhould ſay, Chriſt, and none other, is the Head of the Church.* Thus have we againſt the entitling of the higheſt magiſtrate, *Head*, with relation unto the Church, four ſeveral arguments gathered by ſtrong ſurmiſe out of words marvellous unlikely to have been written to any ſuch purpoſe, as that whereunto they are now uſed and urged. To the Epheſians, The Apoſtle writeth; *That Chriſt, God hath ſet on his right hand in the heavenly places above all the regency and authority,*

T. C. lib. ii. p. 411.

Epheſ. i. 22. Col. i. 18.

Epheſ. i. 20, 21, 22.

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authority, and power, and dominion, and whatſoever name is named, not in this world only, but in that which ſhall be alſo: and hath under his feet ſet all things, and hath given him head above all things unto the Church, which is his body, even the fulneſs of him which accompliſheth all in all. To the Coloſſians in
Col. i. 18. like manner; *That he is the Head of the Body of the Church, who is a firſt-born regency out of the dead, to the end he might be made amongſt them all ſuch an one as hath the chiefty:* he meaneth, amongſt all them whom
Col. i. 16. he mentioned before, ſaying; *By him all things that are, were made; the things in the heavens, and the things in the earth, the things that are viſible, and the things that are inviſible, whether they be thrones or dominions, or regencies, &c.* Unto the fore-alleged arguments therefore we anſwer: firſt, that it is not ſimply the title of *Head*, in ſuch ſort underſtood, as the Apoſtle himſelf meant it; ſo that the ſame being imparted in another ſenſe unto others, doth not any ways make thoſe others his equals; inaſmuch as diverſity of things is uſually to be underſtood, even when of words there is no diverſity; and it is only the adding of one and the ſame thing unto divers perſons, which doth argue equality in them. If I term Chriſt and Cæſar Lords, yet this is no equalizing Cæſar with Chriſt, becauſe it is not thereby intended: *To term the emperor Lord*, (ſaith Tertullian,) *I, for my part, will not refuſe, ſo that I be not required to call him Lord in the ſame ſenſe that God is ſo termed.* Neither doth it follow, which is objected in the ſecond place, that if the civil magiſtrate may be entitled a *Head*, he may as well be termed, *the firſt begotten of all creatures, the firſt begotten of the dead, and the redeemer of his people.* For albeit the former dignity doth lift him up no leſs than theſe, yet theſe terms are not appliable, and apt to ſignify any other inferior dignity, as the former term of *Head* was. The argument of matter which the Apoſtle followeth hath ſmall evidence or proof, that his meaning

was

was to appropriate unto Chriſt that the aforeſaid title, otherwiſe than only in ſuch ſenſe as doth make it, being ſo underſtood, too high to be given to any creature. BOOK VIII.

As for the force of the article where our Lord and Saviour is called the *Head*, it ſerveth to tie that unto him by way of excellency, which in meaner degrees is common to others; it doth not exclude any other utterly from being termed *Head*, but from being entitled, as Chriſt is, *the Head*, by way of the very higheſt degree of excellency. Not in the communication of names, but in the confuſion of things, there is error. Howbeit, if *Head* were a name that could not well be, nor never had been uſed to ſignify that which a magiſtrate may be in relation to ſome Church, but were by continual uſe of ſpeech appropriated unto the only thing it ſignifieth; being applied unto Jeſus Chriſt then, although we muſt carry in ourſelves a right underſtanding, yet ought we otherwiſe rather to ſpeak, unleſs we interpret our own meaning by ſome clauſe of plain ſpeech, becauſe we are all elſe in manifeſt danger to be underſtood according to that conſtruction and ſenſe, wherein ſuch words are perſonally ſpoken. But here the rareſt conſtruction, and moſt removed from common ſenſe, is that which the word doth import being applied unto Chriſt; that which we ſignify by it in giving it to the magiſtrate, it is a great deal more familiar in the common conceit of men.

The word is ſo fit to ſignify all kinds of ſuperiority, preeminence, and chiefty, that nothing is more ordinary than to uſe it in vulgar ſpeech, and in common underſtanding ſo to take it[a]. If therefore Chriſtian Kings may have any preeminence or chiefty above all others, although it be leſs than that which Theodore Beza giveth, who placeth Kings amongſt the principal members whereunto public

[a] Eſai. vii. 9. Pekah is termed the Head of Samaria.

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function in the Church belongeth, and denieth not, but that of them which have public function, the civil magiſtrate's power hath all the reſt at command, in regard of that part of his office, which is to procure that peace and good order be eſpecially kept in things concerning the firſt Table; if even hereupon they term him *the Head of the Church*, which is *his kingdom*, it ſhould not ſeem ſo unfit a thing; which title ſurely we could not communicate to any other, no not although it ſhould at our hands be exacted with torments, but that our meaning herein is made known to the world, ſo that no man which will underſtand can eaſily be ignorant that we do not impart unto kings, when we term them *Heads*, the honour which is properly given to our Lord and Saviour Chriſt, when the bleſſed Apoſtle in Scripture doth term him the *Head of the Church*.

The power which we ſignify in that name, differeth in three things plainly from that which Chriſt doth challenge.

Firſt, it differeth in order, becauſe God hath given him to his Church for the Head, ὑπὲρ πάντα, ὑπεράνω πᾶσης ἀρχῆς, *Far above all principalities and powers, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not in this world only, but alſo in that which is to come:* whereas the power which others have is ſubordinate unto his.

Ephes. i. 21.

Secondly, again, as he differeth in order, ſo in meaſure of power alſo; becauſe God hath given unto him the ends of the earth for his poſſeſſion; unto him, dominion from ſea to ſea; unto him all power both in heaven and earth; unto him ſuch ſovereignty, as doth not only reach over all places, perſons, and things, but doth reſt in his own only perſon, and is not by any ſucceſſion continued; he reigneth Head and King, nor is there any kind of law which tieth him, but his own proper will and wiſdom; his power is abſolute, the ſame jointly over all which it is ſeverally over each: not ſo the power

Pſal. ii. 8.

of

of any other Headſhip. How kings are reſtrained, and how their power is limited, we have ſhewed before; ſo that unto him is given, by the title of *Headſhip over the Church*, that largeneſs of power, wherein neither man nor angel can be matched or compared with him.

Thirdly, the laſt and greateſt difference between him and them, is in the very kind of their power. The Head being, of all other parts of the body, moſt divine, hath dominion over all the reſt; it is the fountain of ſenſe, of motion; the throne where the guide of the ſoul doth reign; the court from whence direction of all things human proceedeth. Why Chriſt is called *the Head of the Church*, theſe cauſes themſelves do yield. As the Head is the chiefeſt part of a man, above which there is none, always joined with the body; ſo Chriſt, the higheſt in his Church, is always knit to it. Again, as the Head giveth ſenſe and motion unto all the body, ſo he quickeneth us, and, together with underſtanding of heavenly things, giveth ſtrength to walk therein. Seeing therefore that they cannot affirm Chriſt ſenſibly preſent, or always viſibly joined unto his body the Church which is on earth, inaſmuch as his corporal reſidence is in heaven; again, ſeeing they do not affirm (it were intolerable if they ſhould) that Chriſt doth perſonally adminiſter the external regiment of outward actions in the Church, but, by the ſecret inward influence of his grace, giveth ſpiritual life, and the ſtrength of ghoſtly motions thereunto; impoſſible it is, that they ſhould ſo cloſe up their eyes, as not to diſcern what odds there is between that kind of operation which we imply in the Headſhip of princes, and that which agreeth to our Saviour's dominion over the Church. The Headſhip which we give unto kings is altogether viſibly exerciſed, and ordereth only the external frame of the Church-affairs here amongſt us; ſo that it plainly differeth from Chriſt's, even in very nature and

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kind. To be in ſuch ſort united unto the Church as he is; to work as he worketh, either on the whole Church or upon any particular aſſembly, or in any one man, doth neither agree, nor hath any poſſibility of agreeing unto any one beſides him.

T. C. lib. ii. p. 411.

Againſt the firſt diſtinction or difference, it is to be objected; *That to entitle a magiſtrate Head of the Church, although it be under Chriſt, is abſurd. For Chriſt hath a two-fold ſuperiority; over his Church, and over kingdoms: according to the one, he hath a ſuperior, which is his Father; according to the other, none, but immediate authority with his Father; that is to ſay, of the Church he is Head and Governor only as the Son of man; Head and Governor of kingdoms only as the Son of God. In the Church, as man, he hath officers*

T. C. lib. ii. p. 418.

under him, which officers are Eccleſiaſtical perſons. As for the Civil magiſtrate, his office belongeth unto kingdoms, and to commonwealths, neither is he there an under or ſubordinate Head, conſidering that his authority cometh from God, ſimply and immediately, even as our Saviour Chriſt's doth. Whereunto the ſum of our anſwer is, firſt, that as Chriſt being Lord or Head over all, doth by virtue of that ſovereignty rule all; ſo he hath no more a ſuperior in governing his Church, than in exerciſing ſovereign dominion upon the reſt of the world beſides: ſecondly, that all authority, as well Civil as Eccleſiaſtical, is ſubordinate unto him: and, thirdly, the Civil magiſtrate being termed Head, by reaſon of that authority in Eccleſiaſtical affairs which hath been already declared that themſelves do acknowledge to be lawful, it followeth, that he is a Head even ſubordinated of Chriſt, and to Chriſt. For more plain explication whereof, unto God we acknowledge daily, that kingdom, power, and glory, are his; that he is the immortal and inviſible King of ages; as well the future which ſhall be, as the preſent which now is. That which the Father doth work as Lord and King over all, he worketh not without, but by the Son,

Son, who through co-eternal generation received of the Father that power which the Father hath of himſelf. And for that cauſe our Saviour's words concerning his own dominion are, *To me all power both in heaven and earth is given.* The Father by the Son did create, and doth guide all; wherefore Chriſt hath ſupreme dominion over the whole univerſal world. Chriſt is God, Chriſt is Λόγος, the conſubſtantial Word of God, Chriſt is alſo that conſubſtantial Word which was made man. As God, he ſaith of himſelf, *I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end: He which was, and which is, and which is to come; even the very Omnipotent.* As the conſubſtantial Word of God, he hath with God, before the beginning of the world, that glory, which, as he was man, he requireth to have; *Father, glorify thy Son with that glory which with thee he enjoyed before the world was.* Further, it is not neceſſary, that all things ſpoken of Chriſt ſhould agree to him either as God, or elſe as man; but ſome things as he is the conſubſtantial Word of God, ſome things as he is that Word incarnate. The works of ſupreme dominion which have been ſince the firſt beginning wrought by the power of the Son of God, are now moſt properly and truly the works of the Son of man: the Word made fleſh doth ſit for ever, and reign as ſovereign Lord over all. Dominion belongeth unto the kingly office of Chriſt, as propitiation and mediation unto his prieſtly; inſtruction, unto his paſtoral and prophetical office. His works of dominion are, in ſundry degrees and kinds, according to the different conditions of them that are ſubject unto it: he preſently doth govern, and hereafter ſhall judge the world entire and wholly; and therefore his regal power cannot be with truth reſtrained unto a proportion of the world only. Notwithſtanding, foraſmuch as all do not ſhew and acknowledge, with dutiful ſubmiſſion, that obedience which they owe unto him; therefore ſuch as do,

Apoc. i. 8.

John xvii. 5.

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their Lord he is termed by way of excellency, no otherwiſe than the Apoſtle doth term God the Saviour generally of all, but eſpecially of the faithful; theſe being brought to the obedience of faith, are every where ſpoken of as men tranſlated into that kingdom, wherein whoſoever is comprehended, Chriſt is the author of eternal ſalvation unto them; they have a high and ghoſtly fellowſhip with God and Chriſt and ſaints; or, as the Apoſtle in more ample manner ſpeaketh, *Aggregated they are unto mount Sion, and to the city of the living God, the celeſtial Jeruſalem, and to the company of innumerable angels, and to the congregation of the firſt-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the ſpirits of juſt and perfect men, and to Jeſus the Mediator of the New Teſtament.* In a word, they are of that myſtical body, which we term the Church of Chriſt. As for the reſt, we account them *aliens from the commonwealth of Iſrael, and that live in the kingdom of darkneſs, and that are in this preſent world without God.* Our Saviour's dominion is therefore over theſe, as over rebels; over them, as over dutiful and loving ſubjects. Which things being in holy Scriptures ſo plain, I ſomewhat muſe at that ſtrange poſition, that Chriſt in the government of his Church, and ſuperiority over the officers of it, hath himſelf a ſuperior, which is the Father; but in governing of kingdoms and commonwealths, and in the ſuperiority which he hath over kingdoms, no ſuperior.

Heb. xii. 22—24.

T. C. lib. ii. p. 418.

Again, *That the civil magiſtrate's authority cometh from God immediately, as Chriſt's doth, and is not ſubordinate unto Chriſt.* In what Evangeliſt, Apoſtle, or Prophet, is it found, that Chriſt (ſupreme Governor of the Church) ſhould be ſo unequal to himſelf, as he is ſupreme Governor of kingdoms? The works of his providence for the preſervation of mankind by upholding kingdoms, not only obedient unto, but alſo obſtinate and rebellious againſt him, are

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ſuch as proceed from divine power; and are not the works of his providence for ſafety of God's elect, by gathering, inſpiring, comforting, and every way preſerving his Church, ſuch as proceed from the ſame power likewiſe? Surely, if Chriſt, as God and man, hath ordained certain means for the gathering and keeping of his Church, ſeeing this doth belong to the government of that Church; it muſt in reaſon follow, I think, that as God and man he worketh in Church regiment; and conſequently hath no more there any ſuperiors, than in the government of the commonwealth. Again, to *be in the midſt of his, whereſoever they are aſſembled in his name*, and to be *with them to the world's end*, are comforts which Chriſt doth perform to his Church as Lord and Governor; yea, ſuch as he cannot perform but by that very power wherein he hath no ſuperior. Wherefore, unleſs it can be proved, that all the works of our Saviour's government in the Church are done by the mere and only force of his human nature, there is no remedy but to acknowledge it a manifeſt error that Chriſt in his government of the world is equal to the Father, but not in the government of the Church. Indeed, to the honour of this dominion, it cannot be ſaid, that God did exalt him otherwiſe than only according to that human nature wherein he was made low. For, as the Son of God, there could no advancement or exaltation grow unto him: and yet the dominion whereunto he was in his human nature lifted up, is not without divine power exerciſed. It is by divine power, that the Son of man, who ſitteth in heaven, doth work as King and Lord upon us which are on earth. The exerciſe of his dominion over the Church militant cannot chooſe but ceaſe, when there is no longer any militant Church in the world. And therefore, as generals of armies, when they have finiſhed the work, are wont to yield up ſuch commiſſions as were given for that purpoſe,

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and to remain in the ſtate of ſubjects, and not as lords, as concerning their former authority; even ſo, when the end of all things is come, the Son of man (who till then reigneth) ſhall do the like, as touching regiment over the militant Church on the earth. So that between the Son of man and his brethren, over whom he reigneth now in this their warfare, there ſhall be then, as touching the exerciſe of that regiment, no ſuch difference; they not warfaring any longer under him, but he together with them, under God, receiving the joys of everlaſting triumph, that ſo God may be all in all; all miſery in all the wicked, through his juſtice; in all the righteous, through his love, all felicity and bliſs. In the mean while he reigneth over the world as King, and doth thoſe things wherein none is ſuperior unto him, whether we reſpect the works of his providence and kingdom, or of his regiment over the Church. The cauſe of error in this point doth ſeem to have been a miſconceit, that Chriſt, as Mediator, being inferior to his Father, doth, as Mediator, all works of regiment over the Church; when, in truth, regiment doth belong to his kingly office, mediatorſhip to his prieſtly. For, as the High-Prieſt both offered ſacrifices for expiation of the people's ſins, and entered into the holy place, there to make interceſſion for them; ſo Chriſt having finiſhed upon the croſs that part of his prieſtly office, which wrought the propitiation for our ſins, did afterwards enter into the very heaven, and doth there, as Mediator of the New Teſtament, appear in the ſight of God for us. A like ſleight of judgment it is, when they hold, that Civil authority is from God, but not immediately through Chriſt, nor with any ſubordination to Chriſt, nor doth any thing from God by the hands of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. They deny it not, to be ſaid of Chriſt in the Old Teſtament, *By me princes rule, and the nobles, and all the judges of the earth.* In the New

Heb. ix. 25.

Prov. viii. 15.

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as much is taught, *That Chriſt is the prince of the kings of the earth.* Wherefore, to the end it may more plainly appear, how all authority of man is derived from God through Chriſt, and muſt by Chriſtian men be acknowledged to be no otherwiſe held than of and under him; we are to note, that, becauſe whatſoever hath neceſſary being, the Son of God doth cauſe it to be, and thoſe things without which the world cannot well continue, have neceſſary being in the world; a thing of ſo great uſe as government cannot chooſe but be originally from him. Touching that authority which Civil magiſtrates have in Eccleſiaſtical affairs, it being from God by Chriſt, as all other good things are, cannot chooſe but be held as a thing received at his hands; and becauſe ſuch power is of neceſſity for the ordering of religion, wherein the eſſence and very being of the Church conſiſteth, and can no otherwiſe flow from him, than according to that ſpecial care which he hath to govern and guide his own people, it followeth, that the ſaid authority is of and under him after a more ſpecial manner, in that he is Head of the Church, and not in reſpect of his general regency over the world. *All things* (ſaith the Apoſtle, ſpeaking unto the Church) *are yours, and ye are Chriſt's, and Chriſt is God's.* Kings are Chriſt's as ſaints, becauſe they are of the Church, if not collectively, yet diviſively underſtood. It is over each particular perſon within that Church where they are kings: ſurely, authority reaching both unto all men's perſons, and to all kinds of cauſes alſo, it is not denied but that they may have and lawfully exerciſe it; ſuch authority it is, for which, and for no other in the world, we term them Heads; ſuch authority they have under Chriſt, becauſe he in all things is Lord over all; and even of Chriſt it is that they have received ſuch authority, inaſmuch as of him all lawful powers are; therefore the civil magiſtrate is, in regard of this power, an under and ſubordinate Head of Chriſt's people.

Apoc. i. 5. Rom. xiii. 1. Humble Motion, p. 63.

1 Cor. iii. 22, 23.

It

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T. C. l. ii. p. 413.

It is but idle where they ſpeak, *That although, for ſeveral companies of men, there may be ſeveral Heads or Governors, differing in the meaſure of their authority from the chiefeſt, who is Head over all; yet it cannot be in the Church, for that the reaſon why head-magiſtrates appoint others for ſuch ſeveral places is, becauſe they cannot be preſent every where to perform the office of an Head. But Chriſt is never from his Body, nor from any part of it, and therefore needeth not to ſubſtitute any, which may be Heads, ſome over one Church, and ſome over another.* Indeed the conſideration of man's imbecility, which maketh many Heads neceſſary where the burden is too great for one, moved Jethro to be a perſuader of Moſes, that a number of Heads or Rulers might be inſtituted for diſcharge of that duty by parts, which in whole he ſaw was troubleſome. Now although there be not in Chriſt any ſuch defect or weakneſs, yet other cauſes there be divers more than we are able to ſearch into, wherefore it might ſeem unto him expedient to divide his kingdom into many provinces, and place many Heads over it, that the power which each of them hath in particular with reſtraint, might illuſtrate the greatneſs of his unlimited authority. Beſides, howſoever Chriſt be ſpiritually always united unto every part of his Body, which is the Church, nevertheleſs, we do all know, and they themſelves who allege this will, I doubt not, confeſs alſo, that from every Church here viſible, Chriſt, touching viſible and corporal preſence, is removed as far as heaven from the earth is diſtant. Viſible government is a thing neceſſary for the Church; and it doth not appear, how the exerciſe of viſible government over ſuch multitudes every where diſperſed throughout the world, ſhould conſiſt without ſundry viſible governors; whoſe power being the greateſt in that kind, ſo far as it reacheth, they are in conſideration thereof termed ſo far Heads. Wherefore, notwithſtanding the perpetual conjunction, by virtue whereof our Saviour always remaineth ſpiritu-

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ally united unto the parts of his myſtical Body, Heads indeed with ſupreme power, extending to a certain compaſs, are for the exerciſe of a viſible regiment not unneceſſary. Some other reaſons there are belonging unto this branch, which ſeem to have been objected, rather for the exerciſe of men's wits in diſſolving ſophiſms, than that the authors of them could think in likelihood thereby to ſtrengthen their cauſe. For example, *If the magiſtrate be Head of the Church within his own dominion, then is he none of the Church: for all that are of the Church make the Body of Chriſt, and every one of the Church fulfilleth the place of one member of the Body. By making the magiſtrate therefore Head, we do exclude him from being a member ſubject to the Head, and ſo leave him no place in the Church.* T. C. 1. p. 419. Ut Hen. 8. 6. 9. By which reaſon, the name of a body politic is ſuppoſed to be always taken of the inferior ſort alone, excluding the principal guides and governors, contrary to all men's cuſtoms of ſpeech. The error ariſeth by miſconceiving of ſome Scripture-ſentences where Chriſt as the Head, and the Church as the Body, are compared or oppoſed the one to the other. And becauſe, in ſuch compariſons or oppoſitions, the Body is taken for thoſe only parts which are ſubject unto the Head, they imagine that whoſo is the Head of any Church, he is therefore even excluded from being a part of that Church; that the magiſtrate can be none of the Church, if ſo we make him the Head of the Church in his own dominions; a chief and principal part of the Church therefore next this, is ſurely a ſtrange concluſion. A Church doth indeed make the Body of Chriſt, being wholly taken together; and every one in the ſame Church fulfilleth the place of a member in the Body, but not the place of an inferior member, the which hath ſupreme authority and power over all the reſt. Wherefore, by making the magiſtrate Head in his own dominions, we exclude him from being a member ſubject unto any other perſon which may viſibly there rule in a

place

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place of a Superior or Head over him; but ſo far are we off from leaving him by this means no place in the Church, that we do grant him the chief place. Indeed the Heads of thoſe viſible Bodies, which are many, can be but parts inferior in that ſpiritual Body which is but one; yea, they may from this be excluded clean, who notwithſtanding ought to be honoured, as poſſeſſing in order the higheſt rooms: but for the magiſtrate to be termed, in his dominions, an Head, doth not bar him from being any way a part or member of the Church of God.

As little to the purpoſe are thoſe other cavils: *A Church which hath the magiſtrate for Head, is perfect man without Chriſt.* So that the knitting of our Saviour thereunto ſhould be an addition of that which is too much. Again, *If the Church be the Body of Chriſt, and of the civil magiſtrate, it ſhall have two Heads, which being monſtrous, is to the great diſhonour of Chriſt and his Church.* Thirdly, *If the Church be planted in a popular eſtate, then, foraſmuch as all govern in common, and all have authority, all ſhall be Heads there, and no Body at all, which is another monſter.* It might be feared what this birth of ſo many monſters together might portend, but that we know how things, natural enough in themſelves, may ſeem monſtrous, through miſconceit; which error of mind is indeed a monſter: and the ſkilful in nature's myſteries have uſed to term it the womb of monſters; if any be, it is that troubled underſtanding, wherein, becauſe things lie confuſedly mixed together, what they are it appeareth not. A Church perfect without Chriſt, I know not how a man ſhall imagine; unleſs there may be either Chriſtianity without Chriſt, or elſe a Church without Chriſtianity. If magiſtrates be Heads of the Church, they are of neceſſity Chriſtians, then is their Head Chriſt. The adding of Chriſt univerſal Head over all, unto magiſtrates' particular Headſhip, is no more ſuperfluous in any Church than in other ſocieties; each is to be both ſeverally ſubject

ject unto ſome Head, and to have a Head alſo general for them all to be ſubject unto. For ſo in armies, in civil corporations, we ſee it fareth. A Body politic, in ſuch reſpects, is not like a natural Body; in this, more Heads than one is ſuperfluous; in that not. It is neither monſtrous, nor yet uncomely, for a Church to have different Heads: for if Chriſtian Churches be in number many, and every of them a perfect Body by itſelf, Chriſt being Lord and Head over all; why ſhould we judge it a thing more monſtrous for one Body to have two Heads, than one Head ſo many Bodies? him that God hath made the ſupreme Head of the whole Church; the Head, not only of that myſtical Body which the eye of man is not able to diſcern, but even of every Chriſtian politic ſociety, of every viſible Church in the world? And whereas, laſtly, it is thought ſo ſtrange, that in popular ſtates a multitude to itſelf ſhould be both Body and Head, all this wonderment doth grow from a little overſight, in deeming that the ſubject wherein Headſhip ought to reſide, ſhould be evermore ſome one perſon; which thing is not neceſſary. For in the collective body that have not derived as yet the principality of power into ſome one or few, the whole of neceſſity muſt be Head over each part; otherwiſe it could not have power poſſibly to make any one certain perſon Head; inaſmuch as the very power of making a Head belongeth unto Headſhip. Theſe ſuppoſed monſters we ſee therefore are no ſuch giants, as that there ſhould need any Hercules to tame them.

The laſt difference which we have between the title of Head when we give it unto Chriſt, and when we give it to other governors, is, that the kind of dominion which it importeth is not the ſame in both. Chriſt is Head, as being the fountain of life and ghoſtly nutriment, the well-ſpring of ſpiritual bleſſings poured into the body of the Church; they

Heads,

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Heads, as being the principal inſtruments for the Church's outward government; he Head, as founder of the houſe; they, as his chiefeſt overſeers. Againſt this is exception eſpecially taken, and our purveyors are herein ſaid to have their proviſion from the Popiſh ſhambles: for by Pighius and Harding, to prove that Chriſt alone is not Head of the Church, this diſtinction, they ſay, is brought; that according to the inward influence of grace, Chriſt only is Head; but according to the outward government, the being Head is a thing common to him with others. To raiſe up falſehoods of old condemned, and bring it for confirmation of any thing doubtful, which already hath ſufficiently been proved an error, and is worthily ſo taken, this would juſtly deſerve cenſuring. But ſhall manifeſt truth therefore be reproached, becauſe men convicted of ſome things of manifeſt untruth have at any time thought or alleged it? If too much eagerneſs againſt their adverſaries had not made them forget themſelves, they might remember, where being charged as maintainers of thoſe very things, for which others before them have been condemned of hereſy, yet, leſt the name of any ſuch Heretic holding the ſame which they do, ſhould make them odious, they ſtick not frankly to confeſs,

T. C. l. iii. p. 168. *That they are not afraid to conſent in ſome points with Jews and Turks.* Which defence, for all that, were a very weak buckler for ſuch as ſhould conſent with Jews and Turks in that which they have been abhorred and hated for in the Church. But as for this diſtinction of Headſhip, ſpiritual and myſtical, of Jeſus Chriſt, miniſterial and outward in others beſides Chriſt; what cauſe is there to miſlike either Harding, or Pighius, or any other beſides for it? That which they have been reproved for is, not becauſe they did therein utter an untruth, but ſuch a truth as was not ſufficient to bear up the cauſe which they did thereby ſeek to maintain. By this diſtinction, they have both truly and ſufficiently proved that the name of Head im-

importing power and dominion over the Church might be given to others beſides Chriſt, without prejudice to any part of his honour. That which they ſhould have made manifeſt was, that the name of Head importing the power of univerſal dominion over the whole Church of Chriſt militant, doth, and that by divine right, appertain to the Pope of Rome. They did prove it lawful to grant unto others beſides Chriſt, the power of Headſhip in a different kind from his; but they ſhould have proved it lawful to challenge, as they did to the Biſhop of Rome, a power univerſal in that different kind. Their fault was therefore in exacting wrongfully ſo great a power as they challenged in that kind, and not in making two kinds of power, unleſs ſome reaſons can be ſhewed for which this diſtinction of power ſhould be thought erroneous and falſe. A little they ſtir (although in vain) to prove that we cannot with truth make ſuch diſtinction of power, whereof the one kind ſhould agree unto Chriſt only, and the other be further communicated. Thus therefore they argue, *If there be no Head but Chriſt, in reſpect of ſpiritual government, there is no Head but he in reſpect of the Word, Sacraments, and Diſcipline, adminiſtered by thoſe whom he hath appointed, for as much alſo as it is his ſpiritual government.* Their meaning is, that whereas we make two kinds of power, of which two, the one being ſpiritual is proper unto Chriſt; the other, men are capable of, becauſe it is viſible and external; we do amiſs altogether in diſtinguiſhing, they think, for as much as the viſible and external power of regiment over the Church, is only in relation unto the Word, Sacraments, and Diſcipline, adminiſtered by ſuch as Chriſt hath appointed thereunto; and the exerciſe of this power is alſo his ſpiritual government: therefore we do but vainly imagine a viſible and external power in the Church differing from his ſpiritual power. Such diſputes as this do ſomewhat reſemble the practiſing of well-willers upon their friends in the

T. C. l. ii. p. 415.

pangs

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pangs of death; whoſe manner is, even then, to put ſmoke in their noſtrils, and ſo to fetch them again, although they know it a matter impoſſible to keep them living. The kind of affection which the favourers of this labouring cauſe bear towards it will not ſuffer them to ſee it die, although by what means they ſhould make it live, they do not ſee. But they may ſee that theſe wreſtlings will not help. Can they be ignorant how little it booteth to overcaſt ſo clear a light with ſome miſt of ambiguity in the name of ſpiritual regiment? To make things therefore ſo plain, that henceforward a child's capacity may ſerve rightly to conceive our meaning, we make the ſpiritual regiment of Chriſt to be generally that whereby his Church is ruled and governed in things ſpiritual. Of this general we make two diſtinct kinds; the one inviſible, exerciſed by Chriſt himſelf in his own perſon; the other outwardly adminiſtered by them whom Chriſt doth allow to be rulers and guiders of his Church. Touching the former of theſe two kinds, we teach that Chriſt, in regard thereof, is particularly termed the Head of the Church of God; neither can any other creature, in that ſenſe and meaning, be termed Head beſides him; becauſe it importeth the conduct and government of our ſouls by the hand of that bleſſed Spirit wherewith we are ſealed and marked, as being peculiarly his. Him only therefore do we acknowledge to be the Lord, which dwelleth, liveth, and reigneth in our hearts; him only to be that Head which giveth ſalvation and life unto his body; him only to be that fountain from whence the influence of heavenly graces diſtilleth, and is derived into all parts, whether the Word, or the Sacraments, or Diſcipline, or whatſoever be the means whereby it floweth. As for the power of adminiſtering theſe things in the Church of Chriſt, which power we call the power of Order, it is indeed both ſpiritual and his; ſpiritual, becauſe ſuch properly concerns the Spirit; his, becauſe by him it was inſtituted.

ſtituted. Howbeit, neither ſpiritual, as that which is inwardly and inviſibly exerciſed; nor his, as that which he himſelf in perſon doth exerciſe. Again, that power of dominion, which is indeed the point of this controverſy, and doth alſo belong to this ſecond kind of ſpiritual government, namely, unto that regiment which is external and viſible; this likewiſe being ſpiritual in regard of the matter about which it dealeth, and being his, in as much as he approveth whatſoever is done by it, muſt notwithſtanding be diſtinguiſhed alſo from that power whereby he himſelf in perſon adminiſtereth the former kind of his own ſpiritual regiment, becauſe he himſelf in perſon doth not adminiſter this; we do not therefore vainly imagine, but truly and rightly diſcern a power external and viſible in the Church exerciſed by men, and ſevered in nature from that ſpiritual power of Chriſt's own regiment; which power is termed ſpiritual, becauſe it worketh ſecretly, inwardly, and inviſibly; his, becauſe none doth, nor can it perſonally exerciſe, either beſides or together with him; ſeeing that him only we may name our Head, in regard of his power, and yet, in regard of that other power from this, term others alſo beſides him, Heads, without any contradiction at all. Which thing may very well ſerve for anſwer unto that alſo which they further allege againſt the aforeſaid diſtinction, namely; *That even the outward ſocieties and aſſemblies of the Church where one or two are gathered together in his name, either for hearing of the Word, or for prayer, or any other Church exerciſe, our Saviour Chriſt being in the midſt of them as Mediator, muſt be their Head: and if he be not there idle, but doing the office of a Head fully, it followeth, that even in the outward ſocieties and meetings of the Church, no mere man can be called the Head of it, ſeeing that our Saviour Chriſt doing the whole office of the Head himſelf alone, leaveth nothing to men, by doing whereof they may obtain that title.* Which obje&tion I take as being made for nothing but only to

T. C. l. ii. p. 415.

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maintain argument. For they are not ſo far gone as to argue this in ſooth and right good earneſt. *God ſtandeth* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *in the midſt of gods*; if God be there preſent, he muſt undoubtedly be preſent as God; if he be not there idle, but doing the office of a God fully, it followeth, that God himſelf alone doing the whole office of a God, leaveth nothing in ſuch aſſemblies to any other, by doing whereof they may obtain ſo high a name. The Pſalmiſt therefore hath ſpoken amiſs, and doth ill to call judges, gods. Not ſo; for as God hath his office differing from theirs, and doth fully diſcharge it even in the midſt of them, ſo they are not hereby excluded from all kind of duty, for which that name ſhould be given unto them alſo, but in that duty for which it was given them they are encouraged religiouſly and carefully to order themſelves after the ſelf-ſame manner. Our Lord and Saviour being in the midſt of his Church as Head, is our comfort, without the abridgment of any one duty, for performance whereof others are termed Heads in another kind than he is. If there be of the ancient Fathers, which ſay; *That there is but one Head of the Church, Chriſt; and that the miniſter that baptizeth cannot be the Head of him that is baptized, becauſe Chriſt is the Head of the whole Church: and that Paul could not be Head of the Church which he planted, becauſe Chriſt is the Head of the whole Body*; they underſtand the name of Head in ſuch ſort as we grant that it is not applicable to any other, no not in relation to the leaſt part of the whole Church; he which baptizeth, baptizeth into Chriſt; he which converteth, converteth into Chriſt; he which ruleth, ruleth for Chriſt. The whole Church can have but one to be Head as lord and owner of all; wherefore, if Chriſt be Head in that kind, it followeth, that no other beſides can be ſo either to the whole or to any part.

T. C. lib. iii. p. 413.

To

To call and diſſolve all ſolemn aſſemblies about the public affairs of the Church.

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AMONGST ſundry prerogatives of Simon's dominion over the Jews there is reckoned, as not the leaſt, *That no man might gather any great aſſembly in the land without him.* For ſo the manner of Jewiſh regiment had always been, that whether the cauſe for which men aſſembled themſelves in peaceable, good, and orderly ſort were Eccleſiaſtical, or Civil, ſupreme authority ſhould aſſemble them. David gathered all Iſrael together unto Jeruſalem; when the Ark was to be removed, he aſſembled the ſons of Aaron and the Levites. Solomon did the like at ſuch time as the Temple was to be dedicated; when the Church was to be reformed, Aſa in his time did the ſame: the ſame upon like occaſions was done afterwards by Joaſh, Hezekias, Joſiah, and others.

The conſuls of Rome Polybius affirmeth to have had a kind of regal authority, in that they might call together the ſenate and people whenſoever it pleaſed them. Seeing therefore the affairs of the Church and Chriſtian religion are public affairs, for the ordering whereof more ſolemn aſſemblies ſometimes are of as great importance and uſe, as they are for ſecular affairs; it ſeemeth no leſs an act of ſupreme authority to call the one, than the other. Wherefore the Clergy, in ſuch wiſe gathered together, is an Eccleſiaſtical ſenate, which with us, as in former times, the chiefeſt Prelate at his diſcretion did uſe to aſſemble: ſo that afterwards in ſuch conſiderations as have been before ſpecified, it ſeemed more meet to annex the ſaid prerogative to the Crown. The plot of reformed diſcipline not liking thereof ſo well, taketh order that every former aſſembly before it breaketh up ſhould itſelf appoint both the time and place of their after-meeting again.

Polyb. l. vi. de milit. ac domeſt. Rom. Diſcipl.

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But becauſe I find not any thing on that ſide particularly alleged againſt us herein, a longer diſputation about ſo plain a cauſe ſhall not need. The ancient Imperial Law forbiddeth ſuch aſſemblies as the Emperor's authority did not cauſe to be made. Before Emperors became Chriſtians, the Church had never any general Synod; their greateſt meeting conſiſting of Biſhops and other the graveſt in each province. As for the civil governor's authority, it ſuffered them only as things not regarded, or not accounted of at ſuch times as it did ſuffer them. So that what right a Chriſtian king hath as touching aſſemblies of that kind, we are not able to judge till we come to later times, when religion had won the hearts of the higheſt powers. Conſtantine (as Pighius doth grant) was not only the firſt that ever did call any general Council together, but even the firſt that deviſed the calling of them for conſultation about the buſineſſes of God. After he had once given the example, his ſucceſſors a long time followed the ſame; inſomuch that St. Jerome, to diſprove the authority of a Synod which was pretended to be general, uſeth this as a forcible argument, *Dic, quis Imperator hanc Synodum juſſerit convocari?* Their anſwer hereunto is no anſwer, which ſay, *That the Emperors did not this without conference had with the Biſhops:* for to our purpoſe it is enough, if the Clergy alone did it not otherwiſe than by the leave and appointment of their ſovereign Lords and Kings. Whereas therefore it is on the contrary ſide alleged, that Valentinian the elder being requeſted by Catholic Biſhops to grant that there might be a Synod for the ordering of matters called in queſtion by the Arians, anſwered, that he being one of the Laity might not meddle with ſuch matters, and thereupon willed, that the Prieſts and Biſhops, to whom the care of thoſe things belongeth, ſhould meet and conſult together by themſelves where they thought good; we muſt, with the Emperor's ſpeech, weigh the occaſion

Lib. i. de Col. illicit. et de conventiculis, cap. de Epiſc. et Preſbyt.

Hierarch. lib. vi. c. 1.

Conſtant. concil. a Theodoſio. Sardicen. concil. a Conſtant.

Hieron. cont. Ruffinum, lib. ii.

Sozomen. l. vi. cap. 7. Ambroſ. Epiſt. 32.

caſion and drift thereof. Valentinian and Valens, the one a Catholic, the other an Arian, were Emperors together; Valens, the Governor of the Eaſt, and Valentinian of the Weſt empire. Valentinian therefore taking his journey from the Eaſt unto the Weſt parts, and paſſing for that intent through Thracia, there the Biſhops which held the ſoundneſs of Chriſtian belief, becauſe they knew that Valens was their profeſſed enemy, and therefore if the other was once departed out of thoſe quarters, the Catholic cauſe was like to find very ſmall favour, moved preſently Valentinian about a Council to be aſſembled under the countenance of his authority; who by likelihood conſidering what inconvenience might grow thereby, inaſmuch as it could not be but a means to incenſe Valens the more againſt them, refuſed himſelf to be author of, or preſent at any ſuch aſſembly: and of this his denial gave them a colourable reaſon, to wit, that he was, although an Emperor, yet a ſecular perſon, and therefore not able in matters of ſo great obſcurity to ſit as competent judge; but if they which were Biſhops and learned men did think good to conſult thereof together, they might. Whereupon, when they could not obtain that which they moſt deſired, yet that which he granted unto them they took and forthwith had a Council. Valentinian went on towards Rome, they remaining in conſultation till Valens which accompanied him returned back; ſo that now there was no remedy, but either to incur a manifeſt contempt, or elſe at the hands of Valens himſelf to ſeek approbation of that they had done. To him therefore they became ſuitors; his anſwer was ſhort, *Either Arianiſm, or exile, which they would*; whereupon their baniſhment enſued. Let reaſonable men now therefore be judges, how much this example of Valentinian doth make againſt the authority, which we ſay that ſovereign rulers may lawfully have as concerning ſynods and meetings Eccleſiaſtical.

Of the authority of making Laws.

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THERE are which wonder that we ſhould account any ſtatute a law, which the High Court of Parliament in England hath eſtabliſhed about the matters of Church-regiment; the Prince and Court of Parliament having (as they ſuppoſe) no more lawful means to give order to the Church and Clergy in thoſe things, than they have to make laws for the hierarchies of Angels in heaven; that the Parliament being a mere temporal court, can neither by the Law of Nature, nor of God, have competent power to define of ſuch matters: that ſupremacy in this kind cannot belong unto Kings, as Kings, becauſe Pagan Emperors, whoſe princely power was true ſovereignty, never challenged ſo much over the Church; that power, in this kind, cannot be the right of any earthly crown, prince, or ſtate, in that they be Chriſtians, foraſmuch as if they be Chriſtians, they all owe ſubjection to the Paſtors of their ſouls; that the Prince therefore not having it himſelf, cannot communicate it to the Parliament, and conſequently cannot make laws here, or determine of the Church's regiment by himſelf, Parliament, or any other Court ſubjected unto him.

The Parliament of England, together with the Convocation annexed thereunto, is that whereupon the very eſſence of all government within this kingdom doth depend; it is even the body of the whole realm; it conſiſteth of the King, and of all that within the land are ſubject unto him. The Parliament is a Court, not ſo merely temporal as if it might meddle with nothing but only leather and wool. Thoſe days of Queen Mary are not yet forgotten, wherein the realm did ſubmit itſelf unto the legate of Pope Julius, at which time, had they been perſuaded, as this man ſeemeth now to be, had they

they thought that there is no more force in laws made by Parliament concerning Church affairs, than if men ſhould take upon them to make orders for the hierarchies of Angels in heaven, they might have taken all former ſtatutes of that kind as cancelled, and, by reaſon of nullity, abrogated. What need was there that they ſhould bargain with the Cardinal, and purchaſe their pardon by promiſe made beforehand, that what laws they had made, aſſented unto, or executed, againſt the Biſhop of Rome's ſupremacy, the ſame they would in that preſent Parliament effectually abrogate and repeal? Had they power to repeal laws made, and none to make laws concerning the regiment of the Church? Again, when they had by ſuit obtained his confirmation for ſuch foundations of biſhoprics, cathedral churches, hoſpitals, colleges, and ſchools; for ſuch marriages before made, for ſuch inſtitutions into livings Eccleſiaſtical, and for all ſuch judicial proceſſes; as having been ordered according to the laws before in force, but contrary unto the Canons and Orders of the Church of Rome, were in that reſpect thought defective, although the Cardinal in his letters of diſpenſation did give validity unto thoſe acts, even *Apoſtolicæ firmitatis robur*, the very ſtrength of Apoſtolical ſolidity; what had all theſe been without thoſe grave authentical words? *Be it enacted by the authority of this preſent Parliament, that all and ſingular articles and clauſes contained in the ſaid diſpenſation, ſhall remain and be reputed and taken to all intents and conſtructions in the laws of this realm, lawful, good, and effectual, to be alleged and pleaded in all courts eccleſiaſtical and temporal, for good and ſufficient matter either for the plaintiff or defendant, without any allegation or objection to be made againſt the validity of them, by pretence of any general council, canon, or decree to the contrary.* Somewhat belike they thought there was in this mere temporal court, without which the Pope's own mere Eccleſiaſtical

An. 1. & 2. Phil. & Mar. c. 8.

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Legate's diſpenſation had taken ſmall effect in the Church of England; neither did they or the Cardinal imagine any thing committed againſt the Law of Nature, or of God, becauſe they took order for the Church's affairs, and that even in the Court of Parliament. The moſt natural and religious courſe in making laws is, that the matter of them be taken from the judgment of the wiſeſt in thoſe things which they are to concern. In matters of God, to ſet down a form of prayer, a ſolemn confeſſion of the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, and ceremonies meet for the exerciſe of religion; it were unnatural not to think the Paſtors and Biſhops of our ſouls a great deal more fit, than men of ſecular trades and callings: howbeit, when all which the wiſdom of all ſorts can do is done for the deviſing of laws in the Church, it is the general conſent of all that giveth them the form and vigour of laws, without which they could be no more unto us than the counſel of phyſicians to the ſick. Well might they ſeem as wholeſome admonitions and inſtructions; but laws could they never be, without the conſent of the whole Church, to be guided by them; whereunto both nature and the practice of the Church of God ſet down in Scripture, is found every way ſo fully conſonant, that God himſelf would not impoſe his own laws upon the people by the hand of Moſes, without their free and open conſent. Wherefore, to define and determine, even of the Church's affairs by way of aſſent and approbation, as laws are defined in that right of power, which doth give them the force of laws; thus to define of our own Church's regiment, the Parliament of England hath competent authority.

Touching that ſupremacy of power which our kings have in the caſe of making laws, it reſteth principally in the ſtrength of a negative voice; which not to give them, were to deny them that, without which they were kings but by a mere title, and

and not in exerciſe of dominion. Be it in regiment popular, ariſtocratical, or regal, principality reſteth in that perſon, or thoſe perſons unto whom is given right of excluding any kind of law whatſoever it be before eſtabliſhment. This doth belong unto kings as kings; Pagan emperors, even Nero himſelf had no leſs, but much more than this, in the laws of his own empire. That he challenged not any intereſt of giving voice in the laws of the Church, I hope no man will ſo conſtrue, as if the cauſe were conſcience and fear to encroach upon the Apoſtles' right. If then it be demanded, by what right from Conſtantine downward, the Chriſtian emperors did ſo far intermeddle with the Church's affairs, either we muſt herein condemn them, as being over preſumptuouſly bold, or elſe judge that, by a law, which is termed *regia*, that is to ſay, regal, the people having derived unto their emperors their whole power for making of laws, and by that means his edicts being made laws[a], what matter ſoever they did concern; as imperial dignity endowed them with competent authority and power to make laws for religion, ſo they were thought by Chriſtianity to uſe their power, being Chriſtians, unto the benefit of the Church of Chriſt. Was there any Chriſtian Biſhop in the world which did then judge this repugnant unto the dutiful ſubjection which Chriſtians do owe to the Paſtors of their ſouls? to whom, in reſpect of their ſacred order, it is not by us, neither may be denied, that kings and princes are, as much as the very meaneſt that liveth under them, bound in conſcience to ſhew themſelves gladly and willingly obedient; receiving the ſeals of ſalvation, the bleſſed Sacraments at their hands, as at the hands of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with all reverence, not diſdaining to be taught and admoniſhed by them, nor

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[a] Item quod Principi placuit, Legis habet vigorem. Inſt. de J. N. G. et C.

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withholding from them as much as the leaſt part of their due and decent honour. All which, for any thing that hath been alleged, may ſtand very well without reſignation of ſupremacy of power in making laws, even laws concerning the moſt ſpiritual affairs of the Church; which laws being made amongſt us, are not by any of us ſo taken or interpreted, as if they did receive their force from power which the Prince doth communicate unto the Parliament, or unto any other Court under him, but from power which the whole body of the realm being naturally poſſeſſed with, hath by free and deliberate aſſent derived unto him that ruleth over them, ſo far forth as hath been declared. So that our laws made concerning religion, do take originally their eſſence from the power of the whole realm and Church of England, than which, nothing can be more conſonant unto the Law of Nature and the will of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

T. C. lib. i. p. 92.

To let theſe go, and return to our own men; *Eccleſiaſtical governors*, they ſay, *may not meddle with making of Civil laws, and of laws for the commonwealth; nor the Civil magiſtrate, high or low, with making of orders for the Church.* It ſeemeth unto me very ſtrange, that theſe men, which are in no cauſe more vehement and fierce than where they plead, that Eccleſiaſtical perſons may not κυριεύειν, be lords, ſhould hold that the power of making Eccleſiaſtical laws, which thing of all other is moſt proper unto dominion, belongeth to none but Eccleſiaſtical perſons only. Their overſight groweth herein for want of exact obſervation, what it is to make a law. Tully, ſpeaking of the Law of Nature, ſaith; *That thereof God himſelf was* Inventor, Diſceptator, Lator, *the Deviſer, the Diſcuſſer, and Deliverer:* wherein he plainly alludeth unto the chiefeſt parts which then did appertain to his public action. For when laws were made, the firſt thing was to have them deviſed; the ſecond to ſift them with as much

much exactneſs of judgment as any way might be uſed; the next by ſolemn voice of ſovereign authority to paſs them, and give them the force of laws. It cannot in any reaſon ſeem otherwiſe than moſt fit, that unto Eccleſiaſtical perſons the care of deviſing Eccleſiaſtical laws be committed, even as the care of Civil unto them which are in thoſe affairs moſt ſkilful. This taketh not away from Eccleſiaſtical perſons all right of giving voice with others, when Civil laws are propoſed for regiment of the commonwealth, whereof themſelves, though now the world would have them annihilated, are notwithſtanding as yet a part; much leſs doth it cut off that part of the power of princes, whereby, as they claim, ſo we know no reaſonable cauſe wherefore we may not grant them, without offence to Almighty God, ſo much authority in making all manner of laws within their own dominions, that neither Civil nor Eccleſiaſtical do paſs without their royal aſſent. BOOK VIII.

In deviſing and diſcuſſing of laws, wiſdom eſpecially is required; but that which eſtabliſheth them and maketh them, is power, even power of dominion; the chiefty whereof (amongſt us) reſteth in the perſon of the king. Is there any law of Chriſt's which forbiddeth kings and rulers of the earth to have ſuch ſovereign and ſupreme power in the making of laws either Civil or Eccleſiaſtical? If there be, our controverſy hath an end. Chriſt, in his Church, hath not appointed any ſuch law concerning temporal power, as God did of old unto the commonwealth of Iſrael; but leaving that to be at the world's free choice, his chiefeſt care is, that the ſpiritual Law of the Goſpel might be publiſhed far and wide. They that received the Law of Chriſt were, for a long time, people ſcattered in ſundry kingdoms, Chriſtianity not exempting them from the laws which they had been ſubject unto, ſaving only in ſuch caſes as thoſe laws did enjoin that which the religion of Chriſt did forbid. Hereupon grew their

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their manifold perſecutions throughout all places where they lived; as oft as it thus came to paſs, there was no poſſibility that the emperors and kings under whom they lived, ſhould meddle any whit at all with making laws for the Church. From Chriſt, therefore, having received power, who doubteth, but as they did, ſo they might, bind them to ſuch orders as ſeemed fitteſt for the maintenance of their religion, without the leave of high or low in the commonwealth; foraſmuch as in religion it was divided utterly from them, and they from it? But when the mightieſt began to like of the Chriſtian faith; by their means, whole free ſtates and kingdoms became obedient unto Chriſt. Now the queſtion is, whether kings, by embracing Chriſtianity, do thereby receive any ſuch law as taketh from them the weightieſt part of that ſovereignty which they had even when they were heathens? whether, being infidels, they might do more in cauſes of religion, than now they can by the Laws of God, being true believers? For, whereas in regal ſtates, the King, or ſupreme Head of the commonwealth, had, before Chriſtianity, a ſupreme ſtroke in making of laws for religion; he muſt by embracing Chriſtian religion utterly deprive himſelf thereof, and in ſuch cauſes become ſubject unto his ſubjects, having even within his own dominions them whoſe commandment he muſt obey; unleſs his power be placed in the hand of ſome foreign ſpiritual potentate: ſo that either a foreign or domeſtic commander upon earth, he muſt admit more now, than before he had, and that in the chiefeſt things whereupon commonwealths do ſtand. But apparent it is unto all men which are not ſtrangers unto the doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, that no ſtate of the world receiving Chriſtianity is by any law therein contained bound to reſign the power which they lawfully held before: but over what perſons, and in what cauſes ſoever the ſame hath been in force, it may

may ſo remain and continue ſtill. That which, as kings, they might do in matters of religion, and did in matter of falſe religion, being idolatrous and ſuperſtitious kings, the ſame they are now even in every reſpect fully authorized to do in all affairs pertinent to the ſtate of true Chriſtian religion. And, concerning the ſupreme power of making laws for all perſons in all cauſes to be guided by, it is not to be let paſs, that the head enemies of this Headſhip are conſtrained to acknowledge the King endued even with this very power, ſo that he may and ought to exerciſe the ſame, taking order for the Church and her affairs, of what nature or kind ſoever, in caſe of neceſſity: as when there is no lawful miniſtry, which they interpret then to be (and this ſurely is a point very remarkable) whereſoever the miniſtry is wicked. A wicked miniſtry is no lawful miniſtry; and in ſuch ſort no lawful miniſtry, that what doth belong unto them as miniſters by right of their calling, the ſame is annihilated in reſpect of their bad qualities; their wickedneſs is itſelf a deprivation of right to deal in the affairs of the Church, and a warrant for others to deal in them which are held to be of a clean other ſociety, the members whereof have been before ſo peremptorily for ever excluded from power of dealing with affairs of the Church. They which once have learned throughly this leſſon, will quickly be capable perhaps of another equivalent unto it. For if the wickedneſs of the miniſtry transfers their right unto the King, in caſe the King be as wicked as they, to whom then ſhall the right deſcend? There is no remedy, all muſt come by devolution at length, even as the family of Brown will have it, unto the godly among the people, for confuſion unto the wiſe and the great by the poor and the ſimple; ſome Kniperdoling, with his retinue, muſt take this work of the Lord in hand, and the making of Church laws and orders muſt prove to be their right in the end. If not for love of the truth,

T. C. l. iii. p. 51.

yet

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yet for ſhame of groſs abſurdities, let theſe contentions and trifling fancies be abandoned. The cauſe which moved them for a time to hold a wicked miniſtry no lawful miniſtry; and, in this defect of a lawful miniſtry, authorized kings to make laws and orders for the affairs of the Church, till it were well eſtabliſhed, is ſurely this: firſt, they ſee that whereas the continual dealing of the kings of Iſrael in the affairs of the Church doth make now very ſtrong againſt them, the burden hereof they ſhall in time well enough ſhake off, if it may be obtained, that it is indeed lawful for kings to follow theſe holy examples; howbeit no longer than during the caſe of neceſſity, while the wickedneſs, and, in reſpect thereof, the unlawfulneſs of the miniſtry doth continue. Secondly, they perceive right well, that unleſs they ſhould yield authority unto kings in caſe of ſuch ſuppoſed neceſſity, the diſcipline they urge were clean excluded as long as the Clergy of England doth thereunto remain oppoſite. To open therefore a door for her entrance, there is no reaſon but the tenet muſt be this: that now when the miniſtry of England is univerſally wicked, and in that reſpect hath loſt all authority, and is become no lawful miniſtry, no ſuch miniſtry as hath the right, which otherwiſe ſhould belong unto them if they were virtuous and godly, as their adverſaries are; in this neceſſity the King may do ſomewhat for the Church: that which we do imply in the name of Headſhip, he may both have and exerciſe, till they be entered which will diſburden and caſe him of it; till they come, the King is licenſed to hold that power which we call Headſhip. But what afterwards? In a Church ordered, that which the ſupreme magiſtrate hath to do, is to ſee that the Laws of God touching his worſhip, and touching all matters and orders of the Church, be executed and duly obſerved; to ſee that every Eccleſiaſtical perſon do that office whereunto he is appointed, to puniſh thoſe that fail in their office. In a word, that which Allen himſelf acknow-

T. C. l. i. p. 192.

acknowledged, unto the earthly power which God hath given him it doth belong to defend the laws of the Church, to cauſe them to be executed, and to puniſh rebels and tranſgreſſors of the ſame; on all ſides therefore it is confeſſed, that to the King belongeth power of maintaining the laws made for Church regiment, and of cauſing them to be obſerved; but principality of power in making them, which is the thing we attribute unto kings, this both the one ſort and the other do withſtand. Apol. 1. fol. 40. pag. 2.

Power to command all perſons, and to be over all judges in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical.

Touching the King's ſupereminent authority in commanding, and in judging of cauſes Eccleſiaſtical; firſt, to explain therein our meaning, it hath been taken as if we did hold, that kings may preſcribe what themſelves think good to be done in the ſervice of God: how the Word ſhall be taught, how the Sacraments adminiſtered; that kings may perſonally ſit in the Conſiſtory where the Biſhops do, hearing and determining what cauſes ſoever do appertain unto the Church; that kings and queens, in their own proper perſons, are by judicial ſentence to decide the queſtions which do ariſe about matters of faith and Chriſtian religion; that kings may excommunicate; finally, that kings may do whatſoever is incident unto the office and duty of an Eccleſiaſtical judge. Which opinion, becauſe we account as abſurd, as they who have fathered the ſame upon us, we do them to wit, that this is our meaning and no otherwiſe. There is not within this realm an Eccleſiaſtical officer, that may, by the authority of his own place, command univerſally throughout the King's dominions: but they of this people whom one may command, are to another's commandment unſubject. Only the King's royal power is of ſo large compaſs, that no man commanded by him according to the order of law can plead himſelf to be without the bounds and limits of that authority; I ſay, according to order of law, becauſe with us the higheſt have thereunto ſo tied themſelves, that otherwiſe than ſo, they take not upon them

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them to command any. And, that kings ſhould be in ſuch ſort ſupreme commanders over all men we hold it requiſite, as well for the ordering of ſpiritual as civil affairs; inaſmuch as without univerſal authority in this kind, they ſhould not be able, when need is, to do as virtuous kings have done. *Joſiah, purpoſing to renew the Houſe of the Lord, aſſembled the Prieſts and Levites; and when they were together, gave them their charge, ſaying, Go out unto the cities of Judah, and gather of all Iſrael money to repair the Houſe of the Lord from year to year, and haſte the things: but the Levites haſtened not. Therefore the King commanded Jehoida, the Chief Prieſt, and ſaid unto him; Why haſt thou not required of the Levites, to bring in out of Judah and Jeruſalem, the tax of Moſes, the ſervant of the Lord, and of the congregation of Iſrael, for the tabernacle of the teſtimony? For wicked Athaliah and her children brake up the Houſe of the Lord God, and all the things that were dedicated for the Houſe of the Lord, did they beſtow upon Baalim. Therefore the King commanded, and they made a cheſt, and ſet it at the gate of the Houſe of the Lord without; and they made a proclamation through Judah and Jeruſalem, to bring unto the Lord the tax that Moſes the ſervant of the Lord laid upon Iſrael in the wilderneſs.* Could either he have done this, or after him Hezekiah the like concerning the celebration of the Paſſover, but that all ſorts of men in all things did owe unto theſe their ſovereign rulers the ſame obedience which ſometimes Joſhua had them by vow and promiſe bound unto? *Whoſoever ſhall rebel againſt thy commandments, and will not obey thy words in all thou commandeſt him, let him be put to death; only be ſtrong and of a good courage.* Furthermore, judgment Eccleſiaſtical we ſay is neceſſary for deciſion of controverſies riſing between man and man, and for correction of faults committed in the affairs of God: unto the due execution whereof there are three things neceſſary, laws, judges, and ſupreme governors of judgments. What courts there ſhall

2 Chron. xxiv. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

Joſ. i. 18.

ſhall be, and what cauſes ſhall belong unto each court, and what judges ſhall determine of every cauſe, and what order in all judgments ſhall be kept; of theſe things the laws have ſufficiently diſpoſed, ſo that his duty who ſitteth in any ſuch court, is to judge, not of, but after the ſame law; *Imprimis illud obſervare debet Judex, ne aliter judicet quam legibus, conſtitutionibus, aut moribus proditum eſt, ut Imperator Juſtinianus*; which laws (for we mean the poſitive laws of our realm concerning Eccleſiaſtical affairs) if they otherwiſe diſpoſe of any ſuch thing, than according to the law of reaſon, and of God, we muſt both acknowledge them to be amiſs, and endeavour to have them reformed: but touching that point, what may be objected ſhall after appear. Our judges in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical are either ordinary, or commiſſionary; ordinary, thoſe whom we term Ordinaries; and ſuch, by the laws of this land, are none but Prelates only, whoſe power to do that which they do is in themſelves, and belonging to the nature of their Eccleſiaſtical calling. In ſpiritual cauſes, a lay-perſon may be no Ordinary; a Commiſſionary Judge there is no let but that he may be; and that our laws do evermore refer the ordinary judgment of ſpiritual cauſes unto ſpiritual perſons, ſuch as are termed Ordinaries, no man which knoweth any thing of the practice of this realm can eaſily be ignorant. Now, beſides them which are authorized to judge in ſeveral territories, there is required an univerſal power which reacheth over all, imparting ſupreme authority of government over all courts, all judges, all cauſes; the operation of which power is as well to ſtrengthen, maintain, and uphold particular juriſdictions, which haply might elſe be of ſmall effect; as alſo to remedy that which they are not able to help, and to redreſs that wherein they at any time do otherwiſe than they ought to do. This power being ſometime in the Biſhop of Rome, who

Juſt. de offic. jud.

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who by ſiniſter practices had drawn it into his hands, was for juſt conſiderations by public conſent annexed unto the King's royal ſeat and crown; from thence the authors of reformation would tranſlate it into their national aſſemblies or ſynods; which ſynods are the only helps which they think lawful to uſe againſt ſuch evils in the Church, as particular juriſdictions are not ſufficient to redreſs. In which caſe our laws have provided, that the King's ſupereminent authority and power ſhall ſerve: as, namely, when the whole Eccleſiaſtical ſtate, or the principal perſons therein, do need viſitation and reformation; when in any part of the Church errors, ſchiſms, hereſies, abuſes, offences, contempts, enormities, are grown; which men in their ſeveral juriſdictions either do not, or cannot help: whatſoever any ſpiritual authority and power (ſuch as legates from the ſee of Rome did ſometimes exerciſe) hath done or might heretofore have done for the remedies of thoſe evils in lawful ſort, (that is to ſay, without the violation of the Laws of God or Nature in the deed done,) as much in every degree our laws have fully granted that the King for ever may do, not only by ſetting Eccleſiaſtical ſynods on work, that the thing may be their act and the King their motioner unto it, for ſo much perhaps the maſters of the reformation will grant; but by commiſſioners few or many, who having the King's letters patent, may in the virtue thereof execute the premiſes as agents in the right, not of their own peculiar and ordinary, but of his ſupereminent power. When men are wronged by inferior judges, or have any juſt cauſe to take exception againſt them; their way for redreſs is to make their appeal; an appeal is a preſent delivery of him which maketh it out of the hands of their power and juriſdiction from whence it is made. Pope Alexander having ſometimes the King of England at advantage, cauſed him, amongſt other things, to agree, that as many

1 Eliz. cap. 1.

many of his ſubjects as would, might have appeal to the Court of Rome. *And thus* (ſaith one) *that whereunto a mean perſon at this day would ſcorn to ſubmit himſelf, ſo great a king was content to be ſubject to.* *Notwithſtanding, even when the Pope* (ſaith he) *had ſo great authority amongſt princes which were far off, the Romans he could not frame to obedience, nor was able to obtain that himſelf might abide at Rome, though promiſing not to meddle with other than Eccleſiaſtical affairs.* So much are things that terrify more feared by ſuch as behold them aloof off than at hand. Reformers I doubt not in ſome cauſes will admit appeals, but appeals made to their ſynods; even as the Church of Rome doth allow of them ſo they be made to the Biſhop of Rome. As for that kind of appeal which the Engliſh laws do approve from the judge of any certain particular court unto the King, as the only ſupreme governor on earth, who by his delegates may give a final definitive ſentence, from which no farther appeal can be made; will their platform allow of this? Surely, foraſmuch as in that eſtate which they all dream of, the whole Church muſt be divided into pariſhes, in which none can have greater or leſs authority and power than another; again, the King himſelf muſt be but a common member in the body of his own pariſh, and the cauſes of that only pariſh muſt be by the officers thereof determinable; in caſe the King had ſo much favour or preferment, as to be made one of thoſe officers, (for otherwiſe by their poſitions he were not to meddle any more than the meaneſt amongſt his ſubjects with the judgment of any Eccleſiaſtical cauſe,) how is it poſſible they ſhould allow of appeals to be made from any other abroad to the King? To receive appeals from all other judges, belongeth to the higheſt in power of all, and to be in power over all, (as touching judgment in Eccleſiaſtical cauſes,) this, as they think, belongeth only to ſynods. Whereas therefore, with us kings do

Machiavel. Hiſt. Florent. lib. i.

25 Hen. VIII. c. 19.

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exercise over all things, persons, and causes supreme power, both of voluntary and litigious jurisdictions; so that according to the one, they incite, reform, and command; according to the other, they judge universally, doing both in far other sort than such as have ordinary spiritual power; oppugned we are herein by some colourable shew of argument, as if to grant thus much to any secular person it were unreasonable: *For sith it is* (say they) *apparent out of the Chronicles, that judgment in Church-matters pertaineth to God; seeing likewise it is evident out of the Apostles, that the High-Priest is set over those matters in God's behalf; It must needs follow, that the principality or direction of the judgment of them is, by God's ordinance, appertaining to the High-Priest, and consequently to the ministry of the Church: and if it be by God's ordinance appertaining unto them, how can it be translated from them to the civil magistrate?* Which argument, briefly drawn into form, lieth thus: that which belongeth unto God, may not be translated unto any other but whom he hath appointed to have it in his behalf; but principality of judgment in Church-matters appertaineth unto God, which hath appointed the High-Priest, and consequently the ministry of the Church alone, to have it in his behalf; *ergo*, it may not from them be translated to the civil magistrate. The first of which propositions we grant, as also in the second that branch which ascribeth unto God principality in Church-matters. But, that either he did appoint none but only the High-Priest to exercise the said principality for him; or that the ministry of the Church may in reason from thence be concluded to have alone the same principality by his appointment, these two points we deny utterly. For, concerning the High-Priest, there is, first, no such ordinance of God to be found; *Every High-Priest* (saith the Apostle) *is taken from among men, and is ordained for men in things pertaining to God*; whereupon it may well be gathered, that the Priest was

T. C. l. iii. p. 154.

2 Chron. xix. 5.

Heb. v. 1.

Heb. v. 1.

was indeed ordained of God to have power in things appertaining unto God. For the Apoſtle doth there mention the power of offering gifts and ſacrifices for ſin; which kind of power was not only given of God unto Prieſts, but reſtrained unto Prieſts only. The power of juriſdiction and ruling authority, this alſo God gave them, but not them alone. For it is held, as all men know, that others of the Laity were herein joined by the law with them. But, concerning principality in Church-affairs, (for of this our queſtion is, and of no other,) the Prieſt neither had it alone, nor at all, but in Spiritual or Church-affairs (as hath been already ſhewed) it was the royal prerogative of kings only. Again, though it were ſo, that God had appointed the High-Prieſt to have the ſaid principality or government in thoſe matters; yet how can they who allege this, enforce thereby, that conſequently the miniſtry of the Church, and no other, ought to have the ſame, when they are ſo far off from allowing ſo much to the miniſtry of the Goſpel, as the prieſthood of the Law had by God's appointment, that we but collecting thereout a difference in authority and juriſdiction amongſt the Clergy, to be for the polity of the Church not inconvenient, they forthwith think to cloſe up our mouths by anſwering; *That the Jewiſh High-Prieſts had authority above the reſt, only in that they prefigured the ſovereignty of Jeſus Chriſt; as for the miniſters of the Goſpel, it is altogether unlawful to give them as much as the leaſt title, any ſyllable whereof may ſound to principality?* And of the regency which may be granted, they hold others even of the Laity no leſs capable than the Paſtors themſelves. How ſhall theſe things cleave together? The truth is, that they have ſome reaſon to think it not at all of the fitteſt for kings to ſit as ordinary judges in matters of faith and religion. An ordinary judge muſt be of the quality which in a ſupreme judge is not neceſſary; becauſe the perſon of the one is charged with that which the other authority diſchargeth,

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without employing perſonally himſelf therein. It is an error to think, that the King's authority can have no force nor power in the doing of that which himſelf may not perſonally do. For firſt, impoſſible it is that at one and the ſame time, the King in perſon ſhould order ſo many and ſo different affairs, as by his own power every where preſent are wont to be ordered both in peace and war, at home and abroad. Again, the King, in regard of his nonage or minority, may be unable to perform that thing wherein years of diſcretion are requiſite for perſonal action; and yet his authority even then be of force. For which cauſe we ſay, that the King's authority dieth not, but is, and worketh always alike. Sundry conſiderations there may be effectual to withhold the King's perſon from being a doer of that which notwithſtanding his power muſt give force unto, even in civil affairs; where nothing doth more either concern the duty, or better beſeem the majeſty of kings, than perſonally to adminiſter juſtice to their people, (as moſt famous princes have done:) yet if it be in caſe of felony or treaſon, the learned in the law of this realm do affirm, that well may the King commit his authority to another to judge between him and the offender; but the King being himſelf there a party, he cannot perſonally ſit to give judgment.

Stamf. Pleas of the Crown, l. ii. c. 3.

As therefore the perſon of the King may, for juſt conſiderations, even where the cauſe is civil, be notwithſtanding withdrawn from occupying the ſeat of judgment, and others under his authority be fit, he unfit himſelf to judge; ſo the conſiderations for which it were haply not convenient for kings to ſit and give ſentence in ſpiritual courts, where cauſes Eccleſiaſtical are uſually debated, can be no bar to that force and efficacy which their ſovereign power hath over thoſe very conſiſtories, and for which we hold, without any exception, that all courts are the King's. All men are not for all things ſufficient, and therefore public affairs being divided, ſuch perſons

perſons muſt be authorized judges in each kind, as common reaſon may preſume to be moſt fit. Which cannot of kings and princes ordinarily be preſumed in cauſes merely Eccleſiaſtical; ſo that even common ſenſe doth rather adjudge this burden unto other men. We ſee it hereby a thing neceſſary, to put a difference, as well between that ordinary juriſdiction which belongeth unto the Clergy alone, and that commiſſionary wherein others are for juſt conſiderations appointed to join with them; as alſo between both theſe juriſdictions, and a third, whereby the King hath tranſcendent authority, and that in all cauſes over both. Why this may not lawfully be granted unto him there is no reaſon. A time there was, when kings were not capable of any ſuch power, as, namely, when they profeſſed themſelves open enemies unto Chriſt and Chriſtianity. A time there followed, when they, being capable, took ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs to themſelves, as ſeemed beſt in their own eyes, becauſe no certainty, touching their right, was as yet determined. The Biſhops, who alone were before accuſtomed to have the ordering of ſuch affairs, ſaw very juſt cauſe of grief, when the higheſt favouring hereſy withſtood, by the ſtrength of ſovereign authority, religious proceedings. Whereupon they oftentimes, againſt this unreſiſtible power, pleaded the uſe and cuſtom which had been to the contrary; namely, that the affairs of the Church ſhould be dealt in by the Clergy, and by no other; unto which purpoſe, the ſentences that then were uttered in defence of unabolifhed orders and laws, againſt ſuch as did of their own heads contrary thereunto, are now altogether impertinently brought in oppoſition againſt them, who uſe but that power which laws have given them, unleſs men can ſhew that there is in thoſe laws ſome manifeſt iniquity or injuſtice. Whereas therefore againſt the force judicial and imperial, which ſupreme authority hath, it is alleged, how Conſtan-

T. C. l. iii. p. 155.

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tine termeth Church-officers, *Overſeers of things within the Church*, himſelf, *of thoſe without the Church*; how Auguſtine witneſſeth, that the Emperor not daring to judge of the Biſhop's cauſe, committed it to the Biſhops; and was to crave pardon of the Biſhops, for that by the Donatiſts' importunity, which made no end of appealing unto him, he was, being weary of them, drawn to give ſentence in a matter of theirs; how Hilary beſeecheth the Emperor Conſtance to provide that the governors of his provinces ſhould not preſume to take upon them the judgment of Eccleſiaſtical cauſes, to whom only commonwealth matters belonged; how Ambroſe affirmeth, that palaces belong unto the Emperor, churches to the Miniſtry; that the Emperor hath the authority over the common walls of the city, and not in holy things; for which cauſe he never would yield to have the cauſes of the Church debated in the prince's conſiſtories, but excuſed himſelf to the Emperor Valentinian, for that being convented to anſwer concerning Church-matters in a civil court, he came not: we may by theſe teſtimonies drawn from antiquity, if we liſt to conſider them, diſcern how requiſite it is that authority ſhould always follow received laws in the manner of proceeding. For, inaſmuch as there was at the firſt no certain law determining what force the principal civil magiſtrate's authority ſhould be of, how far it ſhould reach, and what order it ſhould obſerve; but Chriſtian emperors from time to time did what themſelves thought moſt reaſonable in thoſe affairs; by this means it cometh to paſs that they in their practice vary, and are not uniform. Virtuous emperors, ſuch as Conſtantine the Great was, made conſcience to ſwerve unneceſſarily from the cuſtom which had been uſed in the Church, even when it lived under infidels; Conſtantine, of reverence to Biſhops and their ſpiritual authority, rather abſtained from that which himſelf might lawfully do, than was willing to claim a power not fit or decent

Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. l. iv. Ep. 162. 166.

Lib. ii. ep. 13.

decent for him to exerciſe. The order which hath been before, he ratifieth, exhorting the Biſhops to look to the Church, and promiſing that he would do the office of a Biſhop over the commonwealth; which very Conſtantine, notwithſtanding, did not thereby ſo renounce all authority in judging of ſpecial cauſes, but that ſometime he took, as St. Auguſtine witneſſeth, even perſonal cognition of them; howbeit, whether as purpoſing to give therein judicially any ſentence, I ſtand in doubt. For if the other, of whom St. Auguſtine elſewhere ſpeaketh, did in ſuch ſort judge, ſurely there was cauſe why he ſhould excuſe it as a thing not uſually done. Otherwiſe there is no let, but that any ſuch great perſon may hear thoſe cauſes to and fro debated, and deliver in the end his own opinion of them, declaring on which ſide himſelf doth judge that the truth is. But this kind of ſentence bindeth no ſide to ſtand thereunto; it is a ſentence of private perſuaſion, and not of ſolemn juriſdiction, albeit a King or an Emperor pronounce it. Again, on the contrary part, when governors infected with hereſy were poſſeſſed of the higheſt power, they thought they might uſe it as pleaſed themſelves, to further by all means that opinion which they deſired ſhould prevail: they not reſpecting at all what was meet, preſumed to command and judge all men in all cauſes, without either care of orderly proceeding, or regard to ſuch laws and cuſtoms as the Church had been wont to obſerve. So that the one ſort feared to do even that which they might; and that which the other ought not, they boldly preſumed upon; the one ſort of modeſty excuſed themſelves where they ſcarce needed; the other, though doing that which is inexcuſable, bare it out with main power, not enduring to be told by any man how far they roved beyond their bounds. So great odds was between them whom before we mentioned, and ſuch as the younger Valentinian, by whom St. Ambroſe being commanded to yield up one of the Churches under him unto the Arians,

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Arians, whereas they which were ſent on this meſſage alleged, that the Emperor did but uſe his own right, foraſmuch as all things were in his power; the anſwer which the holy Biſhop gave them was, *That the Church is the Houſe of God, and that thoſe things that are God's are not to be yielded up, and diſpoſed of at the Emperor's will and pleaſure; his palaces he might grant to whomſoever he pleaſeth, but God's own habitation not ſo.* A cauſe why many times emperors do more by their abſolute authority than could very well ſtand with reaſon, was the over-great importunity of wicked heretics, who, being enemies to peace and quietneſs, cannot otherwiſe than by violent means be ſupported.

In this reſpect therefore we muſt needs think the ſtate of our own Church much better ſettled than theirs was; becauſe our laws have with far more certainty preſcribed bounds unto each kind of power. All deciſion of things doubtful and correction of things amiſs are proceeded in by order of law, what perſon ſoever he be unto whom the adminiſtration of judgment belongeth. It is neither permitted unto Prelates nor Prince to judge and determine at their own diſcretion, but law hath preſcribed what both ſhall do. What power the King hath, he hath it by law, the bounds and limits of it are known; the entire community giveth general order by law, how all things publicly are to be done, and the King, as the head thereof, the higheſt in authority over all, cauſeth, according to the ſame law, every particular to be framed and ordered thereby. The whole body politic maketh laws, which laws give power unto the King; and the King having bound himſelf to uſe according unto law that power, it ſo falleth out, that the execution of the one is accompliſhed by the other in moſt religious and peaceable ſort. There is no cauſe given unto any to make ſupplication, as Hilary did, that civil governors, to whom commonwealth matters only belong, may not preſume to take upon them the judgment of Eccleſiaſtical cauſes. If the cauſe be ſpiritual, ſecular courts do not meddle with

with it: we need not excuſe ourſelves with Ambroſe, but boldly and lawfully we may refuſe to anſwer before any civil judge in a matter which is not civil, ſo that we do not miſtake either the nature of the cauſe or of the court, as we eaſily may do both, without ſome better direction than can be by the rules of this new-found diſcipline. But of this moſt certain we are, that our laws do neither ſuffer a [a] ſpiritual court to entertain thoſe cauſes which by the law are civil; nor yet, if the matter be indeed ſpiritual, a mere civil court to give judgment of it. Touching ſupreme power therefore to command all men, and in all manner of cauſes of judgment to be higheſt, let thus much ſuffice as well for declaration of our own meaning, as for defence of the truth therein.

The cauſe is not like when ſuch aſſemblies are gathered together by ſupreme authority concerning other affairs of the Church, and when they meet about the making of Eccleſiaſtical laws or ſtatutes. For in the one they are only to adviſe, in the other to decree. The perſons which are of the one, the King doth voluntarily aſſemble, as being in reſpect of quality fit to conſult withal; them which are of the other he calleth by preſcript of law, as having right to be thereunto called. Finally, the one are but themſelves, and their ſentence hath but the weight of their own judgment; the other repreſent the whole Clergy,

[a] See the Statute of Edw. I. and Edw. II. and Nat. Brev. touching prohibition. See alſo in Bracton theſe ſentences, l. v. c. 2. Eſt juriſdictio ordinaria quædam delegata, quæ pertinet ad Sacerdotium, et Forum Eccleſiaſticum, ſicut in cauſis Spiritualibus et Spiritualitati annexis. Eſt etiam alia juriſdictio ordinaria vel delegata, quæ pertinet ad coronam, et dignitatem Regis, et ad regnum in cauſis et placitis rerum temporalium in foro ſeculari. Again, Cum diverſæ ſint hinc inde juriſdictiones, et diverſi judices, et diverſæ cauſæ, debet quilibet ipſorum imprimis æſtimare, an ſua ſit juriſdictio, ne falcem videatur ponere in meſſem alienam. Again, Non pertinet ad Regem injungere pœnitentias, nec ad judicem ſecularem; nec etiam ad eos pertinet cognoſcere de iis quæ ſunt Spiritualibus annexa, ſicut de decimis et aliis Eccleſiæ proventionibus. Again, Non eſt Laicus conveniendus coram Judice Eccleſiaſtico de aliquo quod in foro ſeculari terminari poſſit et debeat.

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and their voices are as much as if all did give perſonal verdict. Now the queſtion is, whether the Clergy alone ſo aſſembled ought to have the whole power of making Eccleſiaſtical laws, or elſe conſent of the Laity may thereunto be made neceſſary, and the King's aſſent ſo neceſſary that his ſole denial may be of force to ſtay them from being laws.

What laws may be made for the affairs of the Church, and to whom the power of making them appertaineth.

If they with whom we diſpute were uniform, ſtrong, and conſtant in that which they ſay, we ſhould not need to trouble ourſelves about their perſons, to whom the power of making laws for the Church belongs. For they are ſometime very vehement in contention, that from the greateſt thing unto the leaſt about the Church, all muſt needs be immediately from God. And to this they apply the pattern of the ancient tabernacle which God delivered unto Moſes, and was therein ſo exact, that there was not left as much as the leaſt pin for the wit of man to deviſe in the framing of it. To this they alſo apply that ſtrait and ſevere charge which God ſo often gave concerning his own Law, *Whatſoever I command you, take heed ye do it; thou ſhalt put nothing thereto, thou ſhalt take nothing from it*; nothing, whether it be great or ſmall. Yet ſometimes bethinking themſelves better, they ſpeak as acknowledging that it doth ſuffice to have received in ſuch ſort the principal things from God, and that for other matters the Church had ſufficient authority to make laws. Whereupon they now have made it a queſtion, what perſons they are whoſe right it is to take order for the Church's affairs, when the inſtitution of any new thing therein is requiſite? Law may be requiſite to be made either concerning things that are only to be known and believed in, or elſe touching that which is to be done by the Church of God. The Law of Nature and the Law of God are ſufficient for declaration in both what belongeth unto each man ſeparately, as his ſoul is the ſpouſe of Chriſt; yea, ſo ſufficient that they plainly and fully ſhew whatſoever God doth require by way of neceſſary introduction unto the ſtate of everlaſting bliſs. But as a man liveth

Deut. iv. 2. and xii. 32. Joſh. i. 7.

Thom. 1. 2. quæſ. 108. art. 2.

liveth joined with others in common ſociety, and belongeth to the outward politic body of the Church, albeit the ſame Law of Nature and Scripture hath in this reſpect alſo made manifeſt the things that are of greateſt neceſſity; nevertheleſs, by reaſon of new occaſions ſtill ariſing, which the Church, having care of ſouls, muſt take order for as need requireth, hereby it cometh to paſs, that there is, and ever will be, ſo great uſe even of human laws and ordinances, deducted by way of diſcourſe as a concluſion from the former divine and natural ſerving as principles thereunto. No man doubteth, but that for matters of action and practice in the affairs of God, for manner in divine ſervice, for order in Eccleſiaſtical proceedings about the regiment of the Church, there may be oftentimes cauſe very urgent to have laws made: but the reaſon is not ſo plain, wherefore human laws ſhould appoint men what to believe. Wherefore in this we muſt note two things. 1. That in matters of opinion, the law doth not make that to be truth which before was not, as in matter of action it cauſeth that to be a duty which was not before; but manifeſteth only and giveth men notice of that to be truth, the contrary whereunto they ought not before to have believed. 2. That opinions do cleave to the underſtanding and are in heart aſſented unto, it is not in the power of any human law to command them, becauſe to preſcribe what men ſhall think belongeth only unto God: *Corde creditur, ore fit confeſſio*, ſaith the Apoſtle. As opinions are either fit or inconvenient to be profeſſed, ſo man's laws have to determine of them. It may for public unity's ſake require men's profeſſed aſſent, or prohibit their contradiction to ſpecial articles, wherein, as there haply hath been controverſy what is true, ſo the ſame were like to continue ſtill, not without grievous detriment unto a number of ſouls, except Law, to remedy that evil, ſhould ſet down a certainty which no man afterwards

is

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is to gainſay. Wherefore, as in regard of divine laws which the Church receiveth from God, we may unto every man apply thoſe words of wiſdom in Solomon, *My ſon, keep thou thy father's precepts; Conſerva, fili mi, præcepta patris tui:* even ſo concerning the ſtatutes and ordinances which the Church itſelf makes, we may add thereunto the words that follow, *Et ne dimittas legem matris tuæ; And forſake thou not thy mother's law.*

Prov. vi. 20.

It is a thing even undoubtedly natural, that all free and independent ſocieties ſhould themſelves make their own laws, and that this power ſhould belong to the whole, not to any certain part of a politic body, though haply ſome one part may have greater ſway in that action than the reſt; which thing being generally fit and expedient in the making of all laws, we ſee no cauſe why to think otherwiſe in laws concerning the ſervice of God, which in all well ordered ſtates and commonwealths is the [a] firſt thing that law hath care to provide for. When we ſpeak of the right which naturally belongeth to a commonwealth, we ſpeak of that which muſt needs belong to the Church of God. For if the commonwealth be Chriſtian, if the people which are of it do publicly embrace the true religion, this very thing doth make it the Church, as hath been ſhewed. So that unleſs the verity and purity of religion do take from them which embrace it that power wherewith otherwiſe they are poſſeſſed, look what authority, as touching laws for religion, a

[a] Δεῖ τὸν νόμον τὰ περὶ Θεὺς καὶ δαίμονας, καὶ γονέας, καὶ ὅλως τὰ καλὰ ἢ τίμια πρῶτα τίθεσθαι· δεύτερον δὲ τὰ συμφέροντα· τὰ γὰρ μικρὰ τοῖς μείζοσιν ἀκολουθεῖν προσήκει. Archit. de leg. et inſtit. That is, It behoveth the law firſt to eſtabliſh or ſettle thoſe things which belong to the gods, and divine powers, and to our parents, and univerſally thoſe things which be virtuous and honourable: in the ſecond place, thoſe things that be convenient and profitable; for it is fit, that matters of the leſs weight ſhould come after the greater.

commonwealth

commonwealth hath ſimply, it muſt of neceſſity retain the ſame, being of the Chriſtian religion. BOOK VIII.

It will be therefore perhaps alleged, that a part of the verity of Chriſtian religion is to hold the power of making Eccleſiaſtical laws a thing appropriated unto the Clergy in their ſynods; and whatſoever is by their only voices agreed upon, it needeth no further approbation to give unto it the ſtrength of a law, as may plainly appear by the Canons of that firſt moſt venerable aſſembly: where, thoſe things the Apoſtles and James had concluded, were afterwards publiſhed and impoſed upon the Churches of the Gentiles abroad as laws, the records thereof remaining ſtill in the book of God for a teſtimony, that the power of making Eccleſiaſtical laws belongeth to the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles, the Biſhops and Prelates of the Church of God. Acts xv. 7, 13—23.

To this we anſwer, that the Council of Jeruſalem is no argument for the power of the Clergy to make laws. For firſt, there has not been ſithence any Council of like authority to that in Jeruſalem: ſecondly, the cauſe why that was of ſuch authority came by a ſpecial accident: thirdly, the reaſon why other Councils being not like unto that in nature, the Clergy in them ſhould have no power to make laws by themſelves alone, is in truth ſo forcible, that except ſome commandment of God to the contrary can be ſhewed, it ought notwithſtanding the aforeſaid example to prevail.

The Decrees of the Council of Jeruſalem were not as the Canons of other Eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies, human, but very divine ordinances: for which cauſe the Churches were far and wide commanded every where to ſee them kept, no otherwiſe than if Chriſt himſelf had perſonally on earth been the author of them. The cauſe why that Council was of ſo great authority and credit above all others which have been ſithence, is expreſſed in thoſe words of principal obſervation, *Unto the Holy Ghoſt and to us it hath* Acts xv. 28.

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hath ſeemed good: which form of ſpeech, though other Councils have likewiſe uſed, yet neither could they themſelves mean, nor may we ſo underſtand them, as if both were in equal ſort aſſiſted with the power of the Holy Ghoſt; but the latter had the favour of that general aſſiſtance and preſence which Chriſt doth promiſe unto all his, according to the quality of their ſeveral eſtates and callings; the former, the grace of ſpecial, miraculous, rare, and extraordinary illumination, in relation whereunto the Apoſtle comparing the Old Teſtament and the New together, termeth the one a Teſtament of the Letter, for that God delivered it written in ſtone; the other a Teſtament of the Spirit, becauſe God imprinted it in the hearts, and declared it by the tongues of his choſen Apoſtles through the power of the Holy Ghoſt, framing both their conceits and ſpeeches in moſt divine and incomprehenſible manner. Wherefore, inaſmuch as the Council of Jeruſalem did chance to conſiſt of men ſo enlightened, it had authority greater than were meet for any other Council beſides to challenge, wherein ſuch kind of perſons are, as now the ſtate of the Church doth ſtand; Kings being not then that which now they are, and the Clergy not now that which then they were. Till it be proved that ſome ſpecial Law of Chriſt hath for ever annexed unto the Clergy alone the power to make Eccleſiaſtical laws, we are to hold it a thing moſt conſonant with equity and reaſon, that no Eccleſiaſtical laws be made in a Chriſtian commonwealth, without conſent as well of the Laity as of the Clergy, but leaſt of all without conſent of the higheſt power.

Mat. xxviii. 20.

2 Cor. iii. 3, 6.

Cap. delicta de exceſſ. Prælator L. per fundum Ruſticor. præd. et ſect. Religioſum de rerum diviſ.

For of this thing no man doubteth, namely, that in all ſocieties, companies, and corporations, what ſeverally each ſhall be bound unto, it muſt be with all their aſſents ratified. Againſt all equity it were, that a man ſhould ſuffer detriment at the hands of men for not obſerving that which he never did either by himſelf or by others, mediately or immediately agree

agree unto; much more that a King ſhould conſtrain all others to the ſtrict obſervation of any ſuch human ordinance as paſſeth without his own approbation. In this caſe therefore eſpecially, that vulgar axiom is of force, *Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari et approbari debet.* Whereupon Pope Nicholas, although otherwiſe not admitting laypersons, no not emperors themſelves, to be preſent at ſynods, doth notwithſtanding ſeem to allow of their preſence, when matters of faith are determined whereunto all men muſt ſtand bound: *Ubinam legiſtis Imperatores anteceſſores veſtros, Synodalibus Conventibus interfuiſſe; niſi forſitan in quibus de fide tractatum eſt, quæ non ſolum ad Clericos, verum etiam ad Laicos et omnes pertinet Chriſtianos?* A law, be it Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, is a public obligation, wherein, ſeeing that the whole ſtandeth charged, no reaſon it ſhould paſs without his privity and will, whom principally the whole doth depend upon. *Sicut Laici juriſdictionem Clericorum perturbare, ita Clerici juriſdictionem Laicorum non debent minuere*; ſaith Innocentius, *Extra de judic. novit. As the Laity ſhould not hinder the Clergy's juriſdiction, ſo neither is it reaſon that the Laity's right ſhould be abridged by the Clergy*, ſaith Pope Innocent. But were it ſo that the Clergy alone might give laws unto all the reſt, foraſmuch as every eſtate doth deſire to enlarge the bounds of their own liberties, is it not eaſy to ſee how injurious this might prove to men of other conditions? Peace and juſtice are maintained by preſerving unto every order their right, and by keeping all eſtates, as it were, in an even balance. Which thing is no way better done, than if the King, their common parent, whoſe care is preſumed to extend moſt indifferently over all, do bear the chiefeſt ſway in making laws which all muſt be ordered by. Wherefore of them which in this point attribute moſt to the Clergy, I would demand, what evidence there is whereby it may clearly be ſhewed,

Gloſſ. dict. xcvi. c. ubinam.

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that in ancient kingdoms Chriſtian, any canon deviſed by the Clergy alone in their ſynods, whether provincial, national, or general, hath, by mere force of their agreement, taken place as a law, making all men conſtrainable to be obedient thereunto, without any other approbation from the King, before or afterwards required in that behalf? But what ſpeak we of ancient kingdoms, when at this day, even the Papacy itſelf, the very Tridental Council hath not every where as yet obtained to have in all points the ſtrength of Eccleſiaſtical laws. Did not Philip King of Spain, publiſhing that Council in the Low Countries, add thereunto an expreſs clauſe of ſpecial proviſion, that the ſame ſhould in no wiſe prejudice, hurt, or diminiſh any kind of privilege which the King or his vaſſals aforetime had enjoyed, touching either poſſeſſory judgments of Eccleſiaſtical livings, or concerning nominations thereunto, or belonging to whatſoever right they had elſe in ſuch affairs? If therefore the King's exception, taken againſt ſome part of the canons contained in that Council, were a ſufficient bar to make them of none effect within his territories; it follows that the like exception againſt any other part had been alſo of like efficacy; and ſo conſequently that no part thereof had obtained the ſtrength of a law, if he which excepted againſt a part had ſo done againſt the whole. As, what reaſon was there, but that the ſame authority which limited might quite and clean have refuſed that Council? Whoſo alloweth the ſaid act of the Catholic King's for good and lawful, muſt grant that the canons, even of General Councils, have but the face of wiſe men's opinions concerning that whereof they treat, till they be publicly aſſented unto, where they are to take place as laws; and that, in giving ſuch public aſſent as maketh a Chriſtian kingdom ſubject unto thoſe laws, the King's authority is the chiefeſt. That which an univerſity of men, a company, a corporation, doth without

Boet. Epon. heroic. quæſt. lib. i. ſect. 284.

without consent of their Rector, is as nothing. Except therefore we make the King's authority over the Clergy less in the greatest things, than the power of the meanest governor is in all things over the college or society which is under him; how should we think it a matter decent, that the Clergy should impose laws, the supreme Governor's assent not asked?

Yea, that which is more, the laws thus made, God himself doth in such sort authorize, that to despise them, is to despise in them, him. It is a loose and licentious opinion, which the Anabaptists have embraced, holding that a Christian man's liberty is lost, and the soul which Christ hath redeemed unto himself injuriously drawn into servitude under the yoke of human power, if any law be now imposed besides the Gospel of Christ; in obedience whereunto the Spirit of God, and not the constraint of men, is to lead us, according to that of the blessed Apostle, *Such as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God, and not such as live in thraldom* unto men. Their judgment is therefore, that the Church of Christ should admit of no lawmakers but the Evangelists, no courts but Presbyteries, no punishments but Ecclesiastical censures. Against this sort, we are to maintain the use of human laws, and the continual necessity of making them from time to time, as long as this present world doth last; so likewise the authority of laws so made doth need much more by us to be strengthened against another sort, who, although they do not utterly condemn the making of laws in the Church, yet make they a deal less account of them than they should do. There are which think simply of human laws, that they can in no sort touch the conscience, that to break and transgress them cannot make men in the sight of God culpable, as sin doth; only when we violate such laws, we do there-

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by make ourſelves obnoxious unto external puniſhment in this world, ſo that the magiſtrate may, in regard of ſuch offence committed, juſtly correct the offender, and cauſe him, without injury, to endure ſuch pains as law doth appoint, but further it reacheth not. For firſt, the conſcience is the proper court of God, the guiltineſs thereof is ſin, and the puniſhment eternal death; men are not able to make any law that ſhall command the heart, it is not in them to make inward conceit a crime, or to appoint for any crime other puniſhment than corporal; their laws therefore can have no power over the ſoul, neither can the heart of man be polluted by tranſgreſſing them. St. Auſtin rightly defineth ſin to be that which is ſpoken, done, or deſired, not againſt any laws, but againſt the laws of the living God. The Law of God is propoſed unto man, as a glaſs wherein to behold the ſtains and the ſpots of their ſinful ſouls: by it they are to judge themſelves, and when they feel themſelves to have tranſgreſſed againſt it, then to bewail their offences with David, *Againſt thee only, O Lord, have I ſinned, and done wickedly in thy ſight*; that ſo our preſent tears may extinguiſh the flames, which otherwiſe we are to feel, and which God in that day ſhall condemn the wicked unto, when they ſhall render account of the evil which they have done, not by violating ſtatute-laws and canons, but by diſobedience unto his Law and his Word.

For our better inſtruction therefore concerning this point, firſt we muſt note, that the Law of God itſelf doth require at our hands ſubjection. *Be ye ſubject*, ſaith St. Peter; and St. Paul, *Let every ſoul be ſubject; ſubject all unto ſuch powers as are ſet over us.* For if ſuch as are not ſet over us require our ſubjection, we by denying it are not diſobedient to the Law of God, or undutiful unto higher powers; becauſe, though they be ſuch in regard of them over whom

whom they have lawful dominion, yet having not ſo over us, unto us they are not ſuch [a]. Subjection therefore we owe, and that by the Law of God; we are in conſcience bound to yield it even unto every of them that hold the ſeats of authority and power in relation unto us. Howbeit, not all kinds of ſubjection unto every ſuch kind of power. Concerning Scribes and Phariſees, our Saviour's precept was, *Whatſoever they ſhall tell ye, do it:* was it his meaning, that if they ſhould at any time enjoin the people to levy an army, or to ſell their lands and goods for the furtherance of ſo great an enterprize; and, in a word, that ſimply whatſoever it were which they did command, they ought, without any exception, forthwith to be obeyed? No, but whatſoever they ſhall tell you, muſt be underſtood *in pertinentibus ad Cathedram*, it muſt be conſtrued with limitation, and reſtrained unto things of that kind which did belong to their place and power: for they had not power general, abſolutely given them to command all things. The reaſon why we are bound in conſcience to be ſubject unto all ſuch power is, becauſe *all powers are of God.*

They are of God either inſtituting or permitting them. Power is then of divine inſtitution, when either God himſelf doth deliver, or men by light of nature find out the kind thereof. So that the power of parents over children, and of huſbands over their wives, the power of all ſorts of ſuperiors, made by conſent of commonwealths within themſelves, or grown from agreement amongſt nations, ſuch power is of God's own inſtitution in reſpect of the kind thereof. Again, if reſpect be had unto

[a] Verum ac proprium civis a peregrino diſcrimen eſt, quod alter imperio ac poteſtate civili obligatur, alter juſſa principis alieni reſpuere poteſt. Illum princeps ab hoſtium æque ac civium injuria tueri tenetur, hunc non item niſi rogatus et humanitatis officiis impulſus; ſaith Bodin de Rep. lib. i. c. 6. non multum a fine p. 61. Edit. Lugd. B. in fol. 1586.

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those particular persons to whom the same is derived, if they either receive it immediately from God, as Moses and Aaron did; or from nature, as parents do; or from men by a natural and orderly course, as every governor appointed in any commonwealth, by the order thereof, doth; then is not the kind of their power only of God's instituting, but the derivation thereof also into their persons, is from him. He hath placed them in their rooms, and doth term them his ministers; subjection therefore is due unto all such powers, in as much as they are of God's own institution, even then when they are of man's creation, *Omni humanæ creaturæ:* which things the Heathens themselves do acknowledge:

Σκηπτοῦχ' βασιλεὺς, ᾧτε Ζεὺς κυδ' ἔδωκεν [a].

As for them that exercise power altogether against order, although the kind of power which they have may be of God, yet is their exercise thereof against God, and therefore not of God, otherwise than by permission, as all injustice is.

Touching such acts as are done by that power which is according to his institution, that God in like sort doth authorize them, and account them to be his; though it were not confessed, it might be proved undeniably. For if that be accounted our deed, which others do, whom we have appointed to be our agents, how should God but approve those deeds, even as his own, which are done by virtue of that commission and power which he hath given. *Take heed,* (saith Jehosaphat unto his judges,) *careful and circumspect what ye do: ye do not execute the judgments of man, but of the Lord.* The authority of Cæsar over the Jews, from whence was it? Had it any other ground than the law of nations, which maketh kingdoms, subdued by just war, to be sub-

2 Chron. xix. 6.

[a] Hom. Il. lib. i. 279. A sceptre-swaying king, to whom even Jupiter himself hath given honour and commandment.

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ject unto their conquerors? By this power Cæſar exacting tribute, our Saviour confeſſeth it to be his right, a right which could not be withheld without injury, yea, diſobedience herein unto him, and even rebellion againſt God. Uſurpers of power, whereby we do not mean them that by violence have aſpired unto places of higheſt authority, but them that uſe more authority than they did ever receive in form and manner before-mentioned; (for ſo they may do, whoſe title to the rooms of authority which they poſſeſs, no man can deny to be juſt and lawful: even as contrariwiſe ſome men's proceedings in government have been very orderly, who notwithſtanding did not attain to be made governors without great violence and diſorder;) ſuch uſurpers thereof, as in the exerciſe of their power do more than they have been authorized to do, cannot in conſcience bind any man unto obedience. BOOK VIII.

That ſubjection which we owe unto lawful powers doth not only import that we ſhould be under them by order of our ſtate, but that we ſhew all ſubmiſſion towards them both by honour and obedience. He that reſiſteth them, reſiſteth God: and reſiſted they be, if either the authority itſelf which they exercise be denied, as by Anabaptiſts all ſecular juriſdictions; or if reſiſtance be made but only ſo far forth as doth touch their perſons which are inveſted with power, (for they which ſaid, *Nolumus hunc regnare*, did not utterly exclude regiment; nor did they wiſh all kind of government clearly removed, which would not at the firſt have David to govern;) or if that which they do by virtue of their power, namely, their laws, edicts, ſervices, or other acts of juriſdiction, be not ſuffered to take effect, contrary to the bleſſed Apoſtle's moſt holy rule, *Obey them who have the overſight of you.* Or if they do take effect, yet is not the will of God thereby ſatisfied neither, as long as that which we do is contemptuouſly or repiningly done, becauſe we can do Heb. xiii. 17.

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no otherwiſe. In ſuch ſort the Iſraelites in the deſert obeyed Moſes, and were notwithſtanding deſervedly plagued for diſobedience. The Apoſtle's precept therefore is, *Be ſubject even for God's cauſe: be ſubject, not for fear, but of mere conſcience; knowing, that he which reſiſteth them, purchaſeth to himſelf condemnation.* Diſobedience therefore unto laws which are made by them, is not a thing of ſo ſmall account as ſome would make it.

Howbeit, too rigorous it were, that the breach of every human law ſhould be held a deadly ſin: a mean there is between theſe extremities, if ſo be we can find it out.

TO THE

READER.

THE pleaſures of thy ſpacious walks in Mr. Hooker's Temple-garden (not unfitly ſo called, both for the Temple whereof he was Maſter, and the ſubject, Eccleſiaſtical Polity) do promiſe acceptance to theſe flowers, planted and watered by the ſame hand, and, for thy ſake, compoſed into this poſy. Sufficiently are they commended by their fragrant ſmell, in the dogmatical truth; by their beautiful colours, in the accurate ſtyle; by their medicinable virtue, againſt ſome diſeaſes in our neighbour Churches, now proving epidemical, and threatening farther infection; by their ſtraight feature and ſpreading nature, growing from the root of faith, (which, as here is planted, can never be rooted up,) and extending the branches of charity to the covering of Noah's nakedneſs; opening the windows of hope to men's miſty conceits of their bemiſted forefathers. Thus, and more than thus, do the works commend themſelves: the workman needs a better workman to commend him; (Alexander's picture requires Apelles's pencil;) nay, he needs it not, *His own works commend him in the gates*; and, *being dead he yet ſpeaketh*; the ſyllables of that memorable name, Mr. Richard Hooker, proclaiming more, than if I ſhould here ſtyle him, a painful Student, a profound Scholar, a judicious Writer, with other due titles of his honour. Receive then this poſthume orphan for his own, yea, for thine own ſake; and if the printer hath with overmuch haſte, like Mephiboſheth's nurſe, lamed

the child with ſlips and falls, yet be thou of David's mind, *ſhew kindneſs to him for his father Jonathan's ſake.* God grant, that the reſt of his brethren be not more than lamed, and that as *Saul's three ſons died the ſame day with him*, ſo thoſe three promiſed to perfect his Polity, with other iſſues of that learned brain, be not buried in the grave with their renowned father. Farewell.

W. S.

The Contents of the Treatiſes following.

I. *A Supplication made to the Council by Maſter Walter Travers.*

II. *Maſter Hooker's Anſwer to the Supplication that Maſter Travers made to the Council.*

III. *A learned Diſcourſe of Juſtification, Works, and how the foundation of Faith is overthrown.*

IV. *A learned Sermon of the nature of Pride.*

V. *A Remedy againſt Sorrow and Fear, delivered in a Funeral Sermon.*

VI. *Of the Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith in the Elect: eſpecially the prophet Habakkuk's Faith.*

VII. *Two Sermons upon part of St. Jude's Epiſtle.*

VIII. *A Sermon upon Matth.* vii. 7.

A

SUPPLICATION

MADE TO THE

COUNCIL

BY

MASTER WALTER TRAVERS.

Right Honourable,

THE manifold benefits which all the ſubjects within this dominion do at this preſent, and have many years enjoyed, under her Majeſty's moſt happy and proſperous reign, by your godly wiſdom and careful watching over this eſtate night and day, I truly and unfeignedly acknowledge from the bottom of my heart, ought worthily to bind us all to pray continually to Almighty God for the continuance and increaſe of the life and good eſtate of your Honours, and to be ready, with all good duties, to ſatisfy and ſerve the ſame to our power. Beſides public benefits common unto all, I muſt needs, and do willingly confeſs myſelf to ſtand bound, by moſt ſpecial obligation, to ſerve and honour you more than any other, for the honourable favour it hath pleaſed you to vouchſafe both oftentimes heretofore, and alſo now of late, in a matter more dear unto me than my earthly commodity, that is, the upholding and furthering of my ſervice in the miniſtring

miniſtring of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. For which cauſe, as I have been always careful ſo to carry myſelf as I might by no means give occaſion to be thought unworthy of ſo great a benefit, ſo do I ſtill, next unto her Majeſty's gracious countenance, hold nothing more dear and precious to me, than that I may always remain in your Honours' favour, which hath oftentimes been helpful and comfortable unto me in my miniſtry, and to all ſuch as reaped any fruit of my ſimple and faithful labour. In which dutiful regard I humbly beſeech your Honours to vouchſafe to do me this grace, to conceive nothing of me otherwiſe than according to the duty wherein I ought to live, by any information againſt me, before your Honours have heard my anſwer, and being throughly informed of the matter. Which, although it be a thing that your wiſdoms, not in favour, but in juſtice, yield to all men, yet the ſtate of the calling into the miniſtry, whereunto it hath pleaſed God of his goodneſs to call me, though unworthieſt of all, is ſo ſubject to miſinformation, as, except we may find this favour with your Honours, we cannot look for any other, but that our unindifferent parties may eaſily procure us to be hardly eſteemed of; and that we ſhall be made like the poor fiſher-boats in the ſea, which every ſwelling wave and billow raketh and runneth over. Wherein my eſtate is yet harder than any others of my rank and calling, who are indeed to fight againſt fleſh and blood in what part ſoever of the Lord's hoſt and field they ſhall ſtand marſhalled to ſerve, yet many of them deal with it naked, and unfurniſhed of weapons: but my ſervice was in a place where I was to encounter with it, well appointed and armed with ſkill and with authority, whereof as I have always thus deſerved, and therefore have been careful by all good means to entertain ſtill your Honours' favourable reſpect of me, ſo have I ſpecial cauſe at this preſent, wherein miſinformation to the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other of the High Commiſſion, hath been able ſo far to prevail againſt

againſt me, that by their letter they have inhibited me to preach, or execute any act of miniſtry in the Temple or elſewhere, having never once called me before them to underſtand by mine anſwer the truth of ſuch things as had been informed againſt me. We have a ſtory in our books wherein the Phariſees' proceeding againſt our Saviour Chriſt, without having heard him, is reproved by an honourable counſellor, (as the Evangeliſt doth term him,) ſaying, *Doth our law judge a man before it hear him, and know what he hath done?* Which I do not mention, to the end that by an indirect and covert ſpeech I might ſo compare thoſe who have without ever hearing me pronounced a heavy ſentence againſt me; for notwithſtanding ſuch proceedings, I purpoſe by God's grace to carry myſelf towards them in all ſeeming duty, agreeable to their places: much leſs do I preſume to liken my cauſe to our Saviour Chriſt's, who hold it my chiefeſt honour and happineſs to ſerve him, though it be but among the hinds and hired ſervants that ſerve him in the baſeſt corners of his houſe: but my purpoſe in mentioning it is, to ſhew, by the judgment of a prince and great man in Iſrael, that ſuch proceeding ſtandeth not with the Law of God, and in a princely pattern to ſhew it to be a noble part of an honourable counſellor, not to allow of indirect dealings, but to love and affect ſuch a courſe in juſtice as is agreeable to the Law of God. We have alſo a plain rule in the Word of God, not to proceed any otherwiſe againſt any elder of the Church; much leſs againſt one that laboureth in the Word, and in teaching. Which rule is delivered with this moſt earneſt charge and obteſtation; *I beſeech and charge thee in the ſight of God, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the elect Angels, that thou keep thoſe* [*rules*] *without preferring one before another, doing nothing of partiality, or inclining to either part*; which Apoſtolical and moſt earneſt charge, I refer to your Honours' wiſdom how it hath been regarded in ſo heavy a judgment againſt me, without ever hearing

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my cauſe; and whether, as having God before their eyes, and the Lord Jeſus, by whom all former judgments ſhall be tried again; and, as in the preſence of the elect angels, witneſſes and obſervers of the regiment of the Church, they have proceeded thus to ſuch a ſentence. They allege indeed two reaſons in their letters whereupon they reſtrain my miniſtry; which, if they were as ſtrong againſt me as they are ſuppoſed, yet I refer to your Honours' wiſdoms, whether the quality of ſuch an offence as they charge me with, which is in effect but an indiſcretion, deſerve ſo grievous a puniſhment both to the Church and me, in taking away my miniſtry, and that poor little commodity which it yieldeth for the neceſſary maintenance of my life; if ſo unequal a balancing of faults and puniſhment ſhould have place in the commonwealth, ſurely we ſhould ſhortly have no actions upon the caſe, nor of treſpaſs, but all ſhould be pleas of the crown, nor any man amerced, or fined, but for every light offence put to his ranſom. I have credibly heard that ſome of the miniſtry have been committed for grievous tranſgreſſions of the laws of God and men, being of no ability to do other ſervice in the Church than to read; yet hath it been thought charitable, and ſtanding with Chriſtian moderation and temperancy, not to deprive ſuch of miniſtry and beneficency, but to inflict ſome more tolerable puniſhment. Which I write not becauſe ſuch, as I think, were to be favoured, but to ſhew how unlike their dealing is with me, being through the goodneſs of God not to be touched with any ſuch blame; and one, who, according to the meaſure of the gift of God, have laboured now ſome years painfully, in regard of the weak eſtate of my body, in preaching the Goſpel, and, as I hope, not altogether unprofitably in reſpect of the Church. But I beſeech your Honours to give me leave briefly to declare the particular reaſons of their letter, and what anſwer I have to make to it.

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The firſt is, that, as they ſay, *I am not lawfully called to the function of the miniſtry, nor allowed to preach according to the laws of the Church of England.*

For anſwer to this, I had need to divide the points. And firſt to make anſwer to the former, (wherein leaving to ſhew what by the holy Scriptures is required in a lawful calling, and that all this is to be found in mine, that I be not too long for your weighty affairs,) I reſt in this anſwer.

My calling to the miniſtry was ſuch as, in the calling of any thereunto, is appointed to be uſed by the orders agreed upon in the national ſynods of the Low Countries, for the direction and guidance of their Churches; which orders are the ſame with thoſe whereby the French and Scottiſh Churches are governed; whereof I have ſhewed ſuch ſufficient teſtimonial to my Lord the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as is requiſite in ſuch a matter: whereby it muſt needs fall out, if any man be lawfully called to the miniſtry in thoſe Churches, then is my calling, being the ſame with theirs, alſo lawful. But I ſuppoſe, notwithſtanding they uſe this general ſpeech, they mean only, my calling is not ſufficient to deal in the miniſtry within this land, becauſe I was not made miniſter according to that order which in this caſe is ordained by our laws. Whereunto I beſeech your Honours to conſider throughly of mine anſwer, becauſe exception now again is taken to my miniſtry, whereas, having been heretofore called in queſtion for it, I ſo anſwered the matter, as I continued in my miniſtry, and, for any thing I diſcerned, looked to hear that no more objected unto me. The communion of Saints (which every Chriſtian man profeſſeth to believe) is ſuch, as that the acts which are done in any true Church of Chriſt's according to his Word, are held as lawful, being done in one Church as in another. Which, as it holdeth in other acts of miniſtry, as baptiſm, marriage, and ſuch like, ſo doth it in the calling to the miniſtry; by reaſon whereof,

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all Churches do acknowledge and receive him for a miniſter of the Word, who hath been lawfully called thereunto in any Church of the ſame profeſſion. A Doctor created in any Univerſity of Chriſtendom is acknowledged ſufficiently qualified to teach in any country. The Church of Rome itſelf, and the canon law holdeth it, that being ordered in Spain, they may execute that that belongeth to their order, in Italy, or in any other place. And the Churches of the Goſpel never made any queſtion of it; which if they ſhall now begin to make doubt of, and deny ſuch to be lawfully called to the miniſtry, as are called by another order than our own; then may it well be looked for, that other Churches will do the like: and if a miniſter called in the Low Countries be not lawfully called in England, then may they ſay to our preachers which are there, that being made of another order than theirs, they cannot ſuffer them to execute any act of miniſtry amongſt them; which in the end muſt needs breed a ſchiſm, and dangerous diviſions in the Churches. Further, I have heard of thoſe that are learned in the laws of this land, that by expreſs ſtatute to that purpoſe, *anno* 13. of her Majeſty's reign, upon ſubſcription to the articles agreed upon, *anno* 1562. that they who pretend to have been ordered by another order than that which is now eſtabliſhed, are of like capacity to enjoy any place of miniſtry within the land, as they which have been ordered according to that which is now by law in this eſtabliſhed. Which comprehending manifeſtly all, even ſuch as were made prieſts according to the order of the Church of Rome, it muſt needs be, that the law of a Chriſtian land profeſſing the Goſpel ſhould be as favourable for a miniſter of the Word as for a Popiſh prieſt; which alſo was ſo found in Mr. Whittingham's caſe, who, notwithſtanding ſuch replies againſt him, enjoyed ſtill the benefit he had by his miniſtry, and might have done until this day, if God had ſpared him life ſo long; which, if it be underſtood ſo, and

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practiſed in others, why ſhould the change of the perſon alter the right which the law giveth to all others?

The place of miniſtry whereunto I was called was not preſentative: and if it had been ſo, ſurely they would never have preſented any man whom they never knew; and the order of this Church is agreeable herein to the Word of God, and the ancient and beſt canons, that no man ſhould be made a miniſter *ſine titulo*: therefore having none, I could not by the orders of this Church have entered into the miniſtry, before I had a charge to tend upon. When I was at Antwerp, and to take a place of miniſtry among the people of that nation, I ſee no cauſe why I ſhould have returned again over the ſeas for orders here; nor how I could have done it, without diſallowing the orders of the Churches provided in the country where I was to live. Whereby I hope it appeareth, that my calling to the miniſtry is lawful, and maketh me, by our law, of capacity to enjoy any benefit or commodity that any other by reaſon of his miniſtry may enjoy. But my cauſe is yet more eaſy, who reaped no benefit of my miniſtry by law, receiving only a benevolence and voluntary contribution; and the miniſtry I dealt with, being preaching only, which every Deacon here may do being licenſed, and certain that are neither Miniſters nor Deacons. Thus I anſwer the former of theſe two points, whereof if there be yet any doubt, I humbly deſire for a final end thereof, that ſome competent judges in law may determine of it; whereunto I refer and ſubmit myſelf with all reverence and duty.

The ſecond is, *That I preached without licence.* Whereunto, this is my anſwer; I have not preſumed, upon the calling I had to the miniſtry abroad, to preach or deal with any part of the miniſtry within this Church, without the conſent and allowance of ſuch as were to allow me unto it. My allowance was from the Biſhop of London, teſtified by his two ſeveral letters to the Inner Temple, who without ſuch teſti-

mony would by no means reſt ſatisfied in it: which letters being by me produced, I refer it to your Honours' wiſdom, whether I have taken upon me to preach, without being allowed (as they charge) according to the orders of the realm. Thus having anſwered the ſecond point alſo, I have done with the objection *of dealing without calling or licenſe.*

The other reaſon they allege is, concerning a late action, wherein I had to deal with Mr. Hooker, Maſter of the Temple. In the handling of which cauſe, they charge me with an indiſcretion, and want of duty, *in that I inveighed* (as they ſay) *againſt certain points of doctrine taught by him as erroneous, not conferring with him, nor complaining of it to them.* My anſwer hereunto ſtandeth, in declaring to your Honours the whole courſe and carriage of that cauſe, and the degrees of proceeding in it, which I will do as briefly as I can, and according to the truth, (God being my witneſs,) as near as my beſt memory, and notes of remembrance, may ſerve me thereunto. After that I have taken away that which ſeemed to have moved them to think me not charitably minded to Mr. Hooker; which is, becauſe he was brought into Mr. Alvey's place, wherein this Church deſired that I might have ſucceeded: which place, if I would have made ſuit to have obtained, or if I had ambitiouſly affected and ſought, I would not have refuſed to have ſatisfied, by ſubſcription, ſuch as the matter then ſeemed to depend upon: whereas contrariwiſe, notwithſtanding I would not hinder the Church to do that they thought to be moſt for their edification and comfort, yet did I neither by ſpeech nor letter make ſuit to any for the obtaining of it, following herein that reſolution, which I judge to be moſt agreeable to the word and will of God; that is, that labouring and ſuing for places and charges in the Church is not lawful. Further, whereas at the ſuit of the Church ſome of your Honours entertained the cauſe, and brought it to a near iſſue, that there ſeemed nothing

thing to remain, but the commendation of my Lord the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, when as he could not be ſatisfied, but by my ſubſcribing to his late articles; and that my anſwer (agreeing to ſubſcribe according to any law, and to the ſtatute provided in that caſe, but praying to be reſpited for ſubſcribing to any other, which I could not in conſcience do, either for the Temple, (which otherwiſe, he ſaid, he would not commend me to,) nor for any other place in the Church) did ſo little pleaſe my Lord Archbiſhop, as he reſolved that otherwiſe I ſhould not be commended to it; I had utterly here no cauſe of offence againſt Mr. Hooker, whom I did in no ſort eſteem to have prevented or undermined me, but that God diſpoſed of me as it pleaſed him, by ſuch means and occaſions as I have declared.

Moreover, as I have taken no cauſe of offence at Mr. Hooker for being preferred, ſo there were many witneſſes, that I was glad that the place was given him, hoping to live in all godly peace and comfort with him, both for acquaintance and good-will which hath been between us, and for ſome kind of affinity in the marriage of his neareſt kindred and mine. Since his coming, I have ſo carefully endeavoured to entertain all good correſpondence and agreement with him, as I think he himſelf will bear me witneſs of many earneſt diſputations and conferences with him about the matter; the rather, becauſe that, contrary to my expectation, he inclined from the beginning but finally thereunto, but joined rather with ſuch as had always oppoſed themſelves to any good order in this Church, and made themſelves to be thought indiſpoſed to this preſent ſtate and proceedings. For, both knowing that God's commandment charged me with ſuch duty, and diſcerning how much our peace might further the good ſervice of God and his Church, and the mutual comfort of us both, I had reſolved conſtantly to ſeek for peace; and though it ſhould fly from me, (as I ſaw it did by means of ſome, who

little deſired to ſee the good of our Church,) yet, according to the rule of God's Word, to follow after it. Which being ſo, (as hereof I take God to witneſs, who ſearcheth the heart and reins, and who by his Son will judge the world, both quick and dead,) I hope no charitable judgment can ſuppoſe me to have ſtood evil-affected towards him for his place, or deſirous to fall into any controverſy with him.

Which my reſolution I ſo purſued, that, whereas I diſcovered ſundry unſound matters in his doctrine, (as many of his ſermons taſted of ſome ſour leaven or other,) yet thus I carried myſelf towards him. Matters of ſmaller weight, and ſo covertly delivered, that no great offence to the Church was to be feared in them, I wholly paſſed by, as one that diſcerned nothing of them, or had been unfurniſhed of replies; for others of great moment, and ſo openly delivered, as there was juſt cauſe of fear leſt the truth and Church of God ſhould be prejudiced and perilled by it, and ſuch as the conſcience of my duty and calling would not ſuffer me altogether to paſs over, this was my courſe; to deliver, when I ſhould have juſt cauſe by my text, the truth of ſuch doctrine as he had otherwiſe taught, in general ſpeeches, without touch of his perſon in any ſort, and further at convenient opportunity to confer with him upon ſuch points.

According to which determination, whereas he had taught certain things concerning predeſtination otherwiſe than the Word of God doth, as it is underſtood by all Churches profeſſing the Goſpel, and not unlike that wherewith Coranus ſometime troubled this Church, I both delivered the truth of ſuch points in a general doctrine, without any touch of him in particular, and conferred with him alſo privately upon ſuch articles. In which conference, I remember, when I urged the conſent of all Churches and good writers againſt him that I knew; and deſired, if it were otherwiſe, to underſtand what authors he had followed in ſuch doctrine: he anſwered me, that his beſt author

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was his own reaſon; which I wiſhed him to take heed of, as a matter ſtanding more with Chriſtian modeſty and wiſdom in a doctrine not received by the Church, not to truſt to his own judgment ſo far as to publiſh it, before he had conferred with others of his profeſſion, labouring by daily prayer and ſtudy to know the will of God, as he did, to ſee how they underſtood ſuch doctrine. Notwithſtanding, he, with wavering, replied, that he would ſome other time deal more largely in the matter. I wiſhed him, and prayed him not ſo to do, for the peace of the Church, which, by ſuch means, might be hazarded; ſeeing he could not but think, that men, who make any conſcience of their miniſtry, will judge it a neceſſary duty in them to teach the truth, and to convince the contrary.

Another time, upon like occaſion of this doctrine of his, *That the aſſurance of that we believe by the Word, is not ſo certain, as of that we perceive by ſenſe*; I both taught the doctrine otherwiſe, namely, the aſſurance of faith to be greater, which aſſured both of things above, and contrary to all ſenſe and human underſtanding, and dealt with him alſo privately upon that point: according to which courſe of late, when as he had taught, *That the Church of Rome is a true Church of Chriſt, and a ſanctified Church by profeſſion of that truth, which God hath revealed unto us by his Son, though not a pure and perfect Church*; and further, *that he doubted not, but that thouſands of the Fathers, which lived and died in the ſuperſtitions of that Church, were ſaved, becauſe of their ignorance, which excuſed them*; miſalleging to that end a text of Scripture to prove it; the matter being of ſet purpoſe openly and at large handled by him, and of that moment, that might prejudice the faith of Chriſt, encourage the ill-affected to continue ſtill in their damnable ways, and others weak in faith to ſuffer themſelves eaſily to be ſeduced to the deſtruction of their ſouls; I thought it my moſt bounden duty to God and to his Church, whilſt I might have opportunity to ſpeak,

1 Tim. i. 13.

to teach the truth in a general ſpeech in ſuch points of doctrine.

At which time I taught, *That ſuch as die, or have died at any time in the Church of Rome, holding in their ignorance that faith which is taught in it, and namely, juſtification in part by works, could not be ſaid by the Scriptures to be ſaved.* In which matter, foreſeeing that if I waded not warily in it, I ſhould be in danger to be reported (as hath fallen out ſince notwithſtanding) to condemn all the Fathers, I ſaid directly and plainly to all men's underſtanding, *That it was not indeed to be doubted, but many of the Fathers were ſaved; but the means* (ſaid I) *was not their ignorance, which excuſeth no man with God, but their knowledge and faith of the truth, which, it appeareth, God vouchſafed them, by many notable monuments and records extant of it in all ages.* Which being the laſt point in all my ſermon, riſing ſo naturally from the text I then propounded, as would have occaſioned me to have delivered ſuch matter, notwithſtanding the former doctrine had been ſound; and being dealt in by a general ſpeech, without touch of his particular; I looked not that a matter of controverſy would have been made of it, no more than had been of my like dealing in former time. But, far otherwiſe than I looked for, Mr. Hooker ſhewing no grief or offence taken at my ſpeech all the week long, the next ſabbath, leaving to proceed upon his ordinary text, profeſſed to preach again that he had done the day before, for ſome queſtion that his doctrine was drawn into, which he deſired might be examined with all ſeverity.

So proceeding, he beſtowed his whole time, in that diſcourſe, concerning his former doctine, and anſwering the places of Scripture which I had alleged to prove that a man dying in the Church of Rome is not to be judged by the Scriptures to be ſaved. In which long ſpeech, and utterly impertinent to his text, under colour of anſwering for himſelf, he impugned

impugned directly and openly to all men's underſtanding, the true doctrine which I had delivered; and, adding to his former points ſome other like, (as willingly one error follows another,) that is, *That the Galatians joining, with faith in Chriſt, circumciſion, as neceſſary to ſalvation, might be ſaved; and that they of the Church of Rome may be ſaved by ſuch a faith of Chriſt as they had, with a general repentance of all their errors, notwithſtanding their opinion of juſtification in part by their works and merits:* I was neceſſarily, though not willingly, drawn to ſay ſomething to the points he objected againſt ſound doctrine; which I did in a ſhort ſpeech in the end of my ſermon, with proteſtation of ſo doing not of any ſiniſter affection to any man, but to bear witneſs to the truth according to my calling; and wiſhed, if the matter ſhould needs farther be dealt in, ſome other more convenient way might be taken for it. Wherein, I hope, my dealing was manifeſt, to the conſciences of all indifferent hearers of me that day, to have been according to peace, and without any uncharitableneſs, being duly conſidered.

For that I conferred not with him the firſt day, I have ſhewed that the cauſe requiring of me in duty, at the leaſt not to be altogether ſilent in it, being a matter of ſuch conſequence, the time alſo being ſhort wherein I was to preach after him, the hope of the fruit of our communication being ſmall upon experience of our former conferences, and my expectation being that the Church ſhould be no further troubled with it, upon the motion I made of taking ſome other courſe of dealing; I ſuppoſe my deferring to ſpeak with him till ſome fit opportunity, cannot in charity be judged uncharitable.

The ſecond day, his unlooked for oppoſition, with the former reaſons, made it to be a matter that required of neceſſity ſome public anſwer; which being ſo temperate as I have ſhewed, if notwithſtanding it be cenſured as uncharitable, and puniſhed ſo

grievouſly as it is, what ſhould have been my puniſhment, if (without all ſuch cautions and reſpects as qualified my ſpeech) I had before all, and in the underſtanding of all, ſo reproved him offending openly, that others might have feared to do the like? which yet, if I had done, might have been warranted by the rule and charge of the Apoſtle, *Them that offend openly, rebuke openly, that the reſt may alſo fear*; and by his example, who, when Peter in this very caſe which is now between us, had, not in preaching, but in a matter of converſation, not gone with a right foot, as was fit for the truth of the Goſpel, conferred not privately with him, but, as his own rule required, reproved him openly before all, that others might hear, and fear, and not dare to do the like. All which reaſons together weighed, I hope, will ſhew the manner of my dealing to have been charitable, and warrantable in every ſort.

The next ſabbath-day after this, Mr. Hooker kept the way he had entered into before, and beſtowed his whole hour and more only upon the queſtions he had moved and maintained; wherein he ſo ſet forth the agreement of the Church of Rome with us, and their diſagreement from us, as if we had conſented in the greateſt and weightieſt points, and differed only in certain ſmaller matters: which agreement noted by him in two chief points, is not ſuch as he would have made men believe. The one, in that he ſaid, *They acknowledge all men ſinners, even the bleſſed Virgin, though ſome of them freed her from ſin*; for the Council of Trent holdeth, that ſhe was free from ſin. Another, in that he ſaid, *They teach Chriſt's righteouſneſs to be the only meritorious cauſe of taking away ſin, and differ from us only in the applying of it*: for Thomas Aquinas their chief Schoolman, and Archbiſhop Catherinus teach, *That Chriſt took away only original ſin, and that the reſt are to be taken away by ourſelves*; yea, the Council of Trent teacheth, *That righteouſneſs whereby we are righteous in God's ſight,*

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is an inherent righteouſneſs; which muſt needs be of our own works, and cannot be underſtood of the righteouſneſs inherent only in Chriſt's perſon, and accounted unto us. Moreover he taught, the ſame time, *That neither the Galatians, nor the Church of Rome, did directly overthrow the foundation of juſtification by Chriſt alone, but only by conſequent, and therefore might well be ſaved*; *or elſe neither the Churches of the Lutherans, nor any which hold any manner of error, could be ſaved*; *becauſe* (ſaith he) *every error by conſequent overthroweth the foundation.* In which diſcourſes, and ſuch like, he beſtowed his whole time and more; which, if he had affected either the truth of God, or the peace of the Church, he would ſurely not have done.

Whoſe example could not draw me to leave the Scripture I took in hand, but ſtanding about an hour to deliver the doctrine of it, in the end, upon juſt occaſion of the text, leaving ſundry other his unſound ſpeeches, and keeping me ſtill to the principal, I confirmed the believing of the doctrine of juſtification by Chriſt only, to be neceſſary to the juſtification of all that ſhould be ſaved, and that the Church of Rome directly denieth, that a man is ſaved by Chriſt, or by faith alone, without the works of the Law. Which my anſwer, as it was moſt neceſſary for the ſervice of God, and the Church, ſo was it without any immodeſt or reproachful ſpeech to Mr. Hooker: whoſe unſound and wilful dealings in a cauſe of ſo great importance to the faith of Chriſt, and ſalvation of the Church, notwithſtanding I knew well what ſpeech it deſerved, and what ſome zealous earneſt men of the ſpirit of John and James, Mark iii. 17. ſurnamed Boanerges, ſons of thunder, would have ſaid in ſuch a caſe; yet I choſe rather to content myſelf in exhorting him to re-viſit his doctrine, as Nathan the prophet did the device, which, without 2 Sam. vii. 2, 3, 4, 5. conſulting with God, he had of himſelf given to David, concerning the building of the temple; and,

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Gal. ii. 11, 14. with Peter the Apoſtle, to endure to be withſtood in ſuch a caſe, not unlike unto this. This, in effect, was that which paſſed between us concerning this matter, and the invectives I made againſt him, wherewith I am charged. Which rehearſal, I hope, may clear me (with all that ſhall indifferently conſider it) of the blames laid upon me for want of duty to Mr. Hooker in not conferring with him, whereof I have ſpoken ſufficiently already; and to the High Commiſſion, in not revealing the matter to them, which yet now I am further to anſwer. My anſwer is, that I proteſt, no contempt nor wilful neglect of any lawful authority ſtayed me from complaining unto them, but theſe reaſons following:

Firſt, I was in ſome hope, that Mr. Hooker, notwithſtanding he had been over-carried, with a ſhew of charity, to prejudice the truth, yet when it ſhould be ſufficiently proved, would have acknowledged it, or at the leaſt induced with peace, that it might be offered, without any offence to him, to ſuch as would receive it; either of which would have taken away any cauſe of juſt complaint. When neither of theſe fell out according to my expectation and deſire, but that he replied to the truth, and objected againſt it, I thought he might have ſome doubts and ſcruples in himſelf; which yet, if they were cleared, he would either embrace ſound doctrine, or at leaſt ſuffer it to have its courſe: which hope of him I nouriſhed ſo long, as the matter was not bitterly and immodeſtly handled between us.

Another reaſon was the cauſe itſelf, which, according to the parable of the tares, (which are ſaid to be ſown among the wheat,) ſprung up firſt in his graſs: therefore, as the ſervants in that place are not ſaid to have come to complain to the lord, till the tares came to ſhew their fruits in their kinds; ſo I thinking it yet but a time of diſcovering of what it was, deſired not their ſickle to cut it down.

For further anſwer, it is to be conſidered that the

the conſcience of my duty to God, and to his Church, did bind me at the firſt, to deliver ſound doctrine in ſuch points as had been otherwiſe uttered in that place, where I had now ſome years taught the truth; otherwiſe the rebuke of the Prophet had fallen upon me, for not going up to the breach, and ſtanding in it, and the peril of anſwering for the blood of the city, in whoſe watch-tower I ſate; if it had been ſurpriſed by my default. Moreover, my public proteſtation, in being willing, that if any were not yet ſatisfied, ſome other more convenient way might be taken for it: and laſtly, that I had reſolved (which I uttered before to ſome, dealing with me about the matter) to have proteſted the next ſabbath-day, that I would no more anſwer, in that place, any objections to the doctrine taught by any means, but ſome other way ſatisfy ſuch as ſhould require it. Ezek. xxii. 30. Ezek. xxxiij. 6.

Theſe, I truſt, may make it appear that I failed not in duty to authority, notwithſtanding I did not complain, nor give over ſo ſoon dealing in the caſe. If I did, how is he clear, which can allege none of all theſe for himſelf? who leaving the expounding of the Scriptures, and his ordinary calling, voluntarily diſcourſed upon ſchool-points and queſtions, neither of edification, nor of truth? Who after all this, as promiſing to himſelf, and to untruth, a victory by my ſilence, added yet, the next ſabbath-day, to the maintenance of his former opinions, theſe which follow:

That no additament taketh away the foundation, except it be a privative; of which ſort, neither the works added to Chriſt by the Church of Rome, nor circumciſion by the Galatians were; as one denieth him not to be a man, that ſaith, he is a righteous man, but he that ſaith he is a dead man: whereby it might ſeem, that a man might, without hurt, add works to Chriſt, and pray alſo that God and St. Peter would ſave them.

That the Galatians' caſe is harder than the caſe of the

the Church of Rome, becauſe the Galatians joined circumciſion with Chriſt, which God had forbidden and aboliſhed; but that which the Church of Rome joined with Chriſt, were good works, which God had commanded. Wherein he committed a double fault, one, in expounding all the queſtions of the Galatians, and conſequently of the Romans, and other Epiſtles, of circumciſion only, and the ceremonies of the Law, (as they do, who anſwer for the Church of Rome in their writings,) contrary to the clear meaning of the Apoſtle, as may appear by many ſtrong and ſufficient reaſons: the other, in that he ſaid, *the addition of the Church of Rome was of works commanded of God.* Whereas the leaſt part of the works whereby they looked to merit, was of ſuch works; and moſt were works of ſupererogation, and works which God never commanded, but was highly diſpleaſed with, as of maſſes, pilgrimages, pardons, pains of purgatory, and ſuch like. Further, *That no one ſequel urged by the Apoſtle againſt the Galatians for joining circumciſion with Chriſt, but might be as well enforced againſt the Lutherans; that is, that for their ubiquity it may be as well ſaid to them, If ye hold the body of Chriſt to be in all places, you are fallen from grace, you are under the curſe of the Law, ſaying,* Curſed be he that fulfilleth not all things written in this book, with ſuch like. He addeth yet further, *That to a Biſhop of the Church of Rome, to a Cardinal, yea, to the Pope himſelf, acknowledging Chriſt to be the Saviour of the world, denying other errors, and being diſcomforted for want of works whereby he might be juſtified, he would not doubt to uſe this ſpeech; Thou holdeſt the foundation of Chriſtian faith, though it be but by a ſlender thread; thou holdeſt Chriſt, though but by the hem of his garment; why ſhouldeſt thou not hope that virtue may paſs from Chriſt to ſave thee? That which thou holdeſt of juſtification by thy works, overthroweth indeed by conſequent the foundation of Chriſtian faith; but be of good cheer, thou haſt not to do with a captious ſophiſter,*

ſophiſter, but with a merciful God, who will juſtify thee for that thou holdeſt, and not take the advantage of doubtful conſtruction to condemn thee. And if this, ſaid he, *be an error, I hold it willingly; for it is the greateſt comfort I have in the world, without which I would not wiſh either to ſpeak or live.* Thus far, being not to be anſwered in it any more, he was bold to proceed, the abſurdity of which ſpeech I need not to ſtand upon. I think the like to this, and other ſuch in this ſermon, and the reſt of this matter, hath not been heard in public places within this land ſince Queen Mary's days. What conſequence this doctrine may be of, if he be not by authority ordered to revoke it, I beſeech your Honours, as the truth of God and his Goſpel is dear and precious unto you, according to your godly wiſdom to conſider.

I have been bold to offer to your Honours a long and tedious diſcourſe of theſe matters; but ſpeech being like to tapeſtry, which if it be folded up, ſheweth but part of that which is wrought, and being unlapt and laid open, ſheweth plainly to the eye all the work that is in it; I thought it neceſſary to unfold this tapeſtry, and to hang up the whole chamber of it in your moſt honourable Senate, that ſo you may the more eaſily diſcern of all the pieces, and the ſundry works and matters contained in it. Wherein my hope is, your Honours may ſee I have not deſerved ſo great a puniſhment as is laid upon the Church for my ſake, and alſo upon myſelf, in taking from me the exerciſe of my miniſtry. Which puniſhment, how heavy it may ſeem to the Church, or fall out indeed to be, I refer it to them to judge, and ſpare to write what I fear, but to myſelf it is exceeding grievous, for that it taketh from me the exerciſe of my calling. Which I do not ſay is dear unto me, as the means of that little benefit whereby I live, (although this be a lawful conſideration, and to be regarded of me in due place, and of the authority

thority under whoſe protection I moſt willingly live, even by God's commandment both unto them, and unto me;) but, which ought to be more precious unto me than my life, for the love which I ſhould bear to the glory and honour of Almighty God, and to the edification and ſalvation of his Church, for that my life cannot any other way be of like ſervice to God, nor of ſuch uſe and profit to men by any means. For which cauſe, as I diſcern how dear my miniſtry ought to be unto me, ſo it is my hearty deſire, and moſt humble requeſt unto God, to your Honours, and to all the authority I live under, to whom any dealing herein belongeth, that I may ſpend my life (according to his example, who in a word of like ſound, but of fuller ſenſe, comparing by it the beſtowing of his life to the offering poured out) upon the ſacrifice of the faith of God's people, and eſpecially of this Church, whereupon I have already poured out a great part thereof in the ſame calling, from which I ſtand now reſtrained. And if your Honours ſhall find it ſo, that I have not deſerved ſo great a puniſhment, but rather performed the duty which a good and faithful ſervant ought, in ſuch caſe, to do to his Lord and the people he putteth him in truſt withal carefully to keep; I am a moſt humble ſuitor by theſe preſents to your Honours, that, by your godly wiſdom, ſome good courſe may be taken for the reſtoring of me to my miniſtry and place again. Which ſo great a favour ſhall bind me yet in a greater obligation of duty, (which is already ſo great, as it ſeemed nothing could be added unto it to make it greater,) to honour God daily for the continuance and increaſe of your good eſtate, and to be ready, with all the poor means God hath given me, to do your Honours that faithful ſervice I may poſſibly perform. But if, notwithſtanding my cauſe be never ſo good, your Honours can by no means pacify ſuch as are offended, nor reſtore me again, then am I to reſt in the good plea-

ſure,

ſure of God, and to commend to your Honours' protection, under her Majeſty's, my private life, while it ſhall be led in duty; and the Church to him, who hath redeemed to himſelf a people with his precious blood, and is making ready to come to judge both the quick and dead, to give to every one according as he hath done in this life, be it good or evil; to the wicked and unbelievers, juſtice unto death; but to the faithful, and ſuch as love his truth, mercy and grace to life everlaſting.

Your Honours' moſt bounden, and

moſt humble Supplicant,

WALTER TRAVERS,

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL.

MR. HOOKER'S

ANSWER

TO THE

SUPPLICATION

THAT

MR. TRAVERS

MADE TO THE

COUNCIL.

To my Lord of CANTERBURY *his Grace.*

MY duty in my moſt humble wiſe remembered, may it pleaſe your Grace to underſtand, that whereas there hath been a late controverſy raiſed in the Temple, and purſued by Mr. Travers, upon conceit taken at ſome words by me uttered, with a moſt ſimple and harmleſs meaning; in the heat of which purſuit, after three public invectives, ſilence being enjoined him by authority, he hath hereupon, for defence of his proceedings, both preſented the Right Honourable Lords, and others of her Majeſty's Privy Council, with a writing, and alſo cauſed or ſuffered the ſame to be copied out, and ſpread through the hands of ſo many, that well nigh all ſorts of men have it in their boſoms; the matters wherewith I am therein charged, being of ſuch quality as they are, and myſelf being better known to your Grace

than to any other of their Honours beſides, I have choſen to offer to your Grace's hands a plain declaration of my innocence in all thoſe things wherewith I am ſo hardly, and ſo heavily charged; leſt, if I ſtill remain ſilent, that which I do for quietneſs' ſake, be taken as an argument, that I lack what to ſpeak truly and juſtly in mine own defence.

2. Firſt, becauſe Mr. Travers thinketh it expedient to breed an opinion in men's minds, that the root of all inconvenient events which are now ſprung out, is the ſurly and unpeaceable diſpoſition of the man with whom he hath to do; therefore the firſt in the rank of accuſations laid againſt me, is *my inconformity, which have ſo little inclined to ſo many and ſo earneſt exhortations and conferences, as myſelf*, he ſaith, *can witneſs, to have been ſpent upon me, for my better faſhioning unto good correſpondence and agreement.*

3. Indeed, when at the firſt, by means of ſpecial well-willers, without any ſuit of mine, as they very well know, (although I do not think it had been a mortal ſin, in a reaſonable ſort, to have ſhewed a moderate deſire that way,) yet when by their endeavour without inſtigation of mine, ſome Reverend and Honourable, favourably affecting me, had procured her Majeſty's grant of the place; at the very point of my entering thereinto, the evening before I was firſt to preach, he came, and two other gentlemen joined with him: the effect of his conference then was, *That he thought it his duty to adviſe me, not to enter with a ſtrong hand, but to change my purpoſe of preaching there the next day, and to ſtay till he had given notice of me to the congregation, that ſo their allowance might ſeal my calling.* The effect of my anſwer was, *That, as in a place where ſuch order is, I would not break it; ſo here, where it never was, I might not, of my own head, take upon me to begin it:* but liking very well the motion, for the opinion which I had of his good meaning who made it, requeſted him not to miſlike my anſwer, though it were not correſpondent to his mind.

4. When this had ſo diſpleaſed ſome, that whatſoever was afterwards done or ſpoken by me, it only

fended their taſte, angry informations were daily ſent out, intelligence given far and wide, what a dangerous enemy was crept in; the worſt that jealouſy could imagine was ſpoken and written to ſo many, that at the length ſome knowing me well, and perceiving how injurious the reports were, which grew daily more and more unto my diſcredit, wrought means to bring Mr. Travers and me to a ſecond conference. Wherein, when a common friend unto us both had quietly requeſted him to utter thoſe things wherewith he found himſelf any way grieved, he firſt renewed the memory of my entering into this charge, by virtue only of an human creature, (for ſo the want of that formality [a] of popular allowance was then cenſured,) and unto this was annexed a catalogue, partly of cauſeleſs ſurmiſes, as, *That I had conſpired againſt him, and that I ſought ſuperiority over him*; and partly of faults, which to note, I ſhould have thought it a greater offence than to commit, if I did account them faults, and had heard them ſo curiouſly obſerved in any other than myſelf; they are ſuch ſilly things, as, *Praying in the entrance of my ſermon only, and not in the end, naming Biſhops in my prayer, kneeling when I pray, and kneeling when I receive the communion*, with ſuch like, which I would be as loth to recite, as I was ſorry to hear them objected, if the rehearſal thereof were not by him thus wreſted from me. Theſe are the conferences wherewith I have been wooed to entertain peace and good agreement.

5. As for the vehement exhortations he ſpeaketh of, I would gladly know ſome reaſon wherefore he thought them needful to be uſed. Was there any thing found in my ſpeeches or dealings that gave them occaſion, who are ſtudious of peace, to think that I diſpoſed myſelf to ſome unquiet kind of proceedings? Surely, the ſpecial providence of God I do now ſee it was, that the firſt words I ſpake in

[a] A mere formality it had been to me in that place; where, as no man had ever uſed it before me, ſo it could neither further me if I did uſe it, nor hinder me if I did not.

this place ſhould make the firſt thing whereof I am accuſed to appear not only untrue, but improbable, to as many as then heard me with indifferent ears; and do, I doubt not, in their conſciences, clear me of this ſuſpicion. Howbeit, I grant this were nothing, if it might be ſhewed, that my deeds following were not ſuitable to my words. If I had ſpoken of peace at the firſt, and afterwards ſought to moleſt and grieve him, by croſſing him in his function, by ſtorming, if my pleaſure were not aſked, and my will obeyed in the leaſt occurrences, by carping needleſsly ſometimes at the manner of his teaching, ſometimes at this, ſometimes at that point of his doctrine; I might then with ſome likelihood have been blamed, as one diſdaining a peaceable hand when it had been offered. But if I be able (as I am) to prove that myſelf hath now a full year together borne the continuance of ſuch dealings, not only without any manner of reſiſtance, but alſo without any ſuch complaint, as might let or hinder him in his courſe, I ſee no cauſe in the world why of this I ſhould be accuſed, unleſs it be, leſt I ſhould accuſe, which I mean not. If therefore I have given him occaſion to uſe conferences and exhortations to peace, if when they were beſtowed upon me I have deſpiſed them, it will not be hard to ſhew ſome one word or deed wherewith I have gone about to work diſturbance: one is not much, I require but one. Only, I require if any thing be ſhewed, it may be proved, and not objected only as this is, *That I have joined with ſuch as have always oppoſed themſelves to any good order in the Church, and made themſelves to be thought indiſpoſed to the preſent ſtate and proceedings.* The words have reference, as it ſeemeth, unto ſome ſuch things as being attempted before my coming to the Temple, went not ſo effectually forward (perhaps) as he that deviſed them would have wiſhed. An order, as I learn, there was tendered, that communicants ſhould neither kneel, as in moſt places of the realm, nor ſit, as in this place the cuſtom is; but walk to the,

one

one ſide of the table, and there ſtanding till they had received, paſs afterwards away round about by the other. Which being on a ſudden begun to be practiſed in the Church, ſome ſate wondering what it ſhould mean, others deliberating what to do, till ſuch time as at length by name one of them being called openly thereunto, requeſted that they might do as they had been accuſtomed, which was granted; and as Mr. Travers had miniſtered his way to the reſt, ſo a Curate was ſent to miniſter to them after their way. Which unproſperous beginning of a thing (ſaving only for the inconvenience of needleſs alteration, otherwiſe harmleſs) did ſo diſgrace that order, in their conceit who had to allow or diſallow it, that it took no place. For neither could they ever induce themſelves to think it good, and it ſo much offended Mr. Travers, who ſuppoſed it to be the beſt, that he, ſince that time, although contented to receive it as they do, at the hands of others, yet hath not thought it meet they ſhould ever receive it of his, which would not admit that order of receiving it, and therefore in my time hath been always preſent not to miniſter, but only to be miniſtered unto.

6. Another order there was likewiſe deviſed, but an order of much more weight and importance. This ſoil, in reſpect of certain immunities and other ſpecialties belonging unto it, ſeemed likely to bear that which in other places of the realm of England doth not take. For which cauſe, requeſt was made to ſome of her Majeſty's Privy Council, that whereas it is provided by a ſtatute there ſhould be Collectors and Sidemen in churches, which thing, or ſomewhat correſpondent unto it, this place did greatly want; it would pleaſe their Honours to motion ſuch a matter to the ancients of the Temple. And, according to their honourable manner of helping forward all motions ſo grounded, they wrote their letters, as I am informed, to that effect. Whereupon, although theſe houſes never had uſe of ſuch Col-

lectors and Sidemen as are appointed in other places, yet they both erected a box and received men's devotions for the poor, appointing the Treasurer of both houses to take care for bestowing it where need was; and granting farther, that if any could be entreated (as in the end some were) to undertake the labour of observing men's slackness in divine duties, they should be allowed, their complaints heard at all times, and the faults they complained of, if Mr. Alvey's [a] private admonition did not serve, then by some other means redressed; but according to the old received orders of both houses. Whereby the substance of their Honours' letters was indeed fully satisfied. Yet, because Mr. Travers intended not this, but, as it seemed, another thing; therefore, notwithstanding the orders which have been taken, and, for any thing I know, do stand still in as much force in this Church now as at any time heretofore, he complaineth much that the good orders which he doth mean have been withstood. Now it were hard, if as many as did any ways oppose unto these and the like orders, in his persuasion good, did thereby make themselves to be thought dislikers of the present state and proceedings. If they, whom he aimeth at, have any other ways made themselves to be thought such, it is likely he doth know wherein, and will, I hope, disclose to whom it appertaineth, both the persons whom he thinketh, and the causes why he thinketh them, so ill-affected. But whatsoever the men be, do their faults make me faulty? They do, if I join myself with them: I beseech him therefore to declare wherein I have joined with them. Other joining than this with any man here, I cannot imagine: it may be I have talked, or walked, or eaten, or interchangeably used the duties of common humanity with some such as he is hardly persuaded of. For I know no law of God or man, by force whereof they should be as Heathens and Publicans unto me, that are not gracious in the eyes of another

man, perhaps without cauſe, or if with cauſe, yet ſuch cauſe as he is privy unto, and not I. Could he or any reaſonable man think it a charitable courſe in me, to obſerve them that ſhewed by external courteſies a favourable inclination toward him, and if I ſpy out any one amongſt them of whom I think not well, hereupon to draw ſuch an accuſation as this againſt him, and to offer it where he hath given up his againſt me? which notwithſtanding I will acknowledge to be juſt and reaſonable, if he or any man living ſhall ſhew that I uſe as much as the bare familiar company but of one, who by word or deed hath ever given me cauſe to ſuſpect or conjecture him ſuch as here they are termed with whom complaint is made that I join myſelf. This being ſpoken therefore, and written without all poſſibility of proof, doth not Mr. Travers give me over-great cauſe to ſtand in ſome fear leſt he make too little conſcience how he uſeth his tongue or pen? Theſe things are not laid againſt me for nothing; they are to ſome purpoſe if they take place. For in a mind perſuaded that I am, as he decipheretth me, one who refuſeth to be at peace with ſuch as embrace the truth, and ſide myſelf with men ſiniſterly affected thereunto, any thing that ſhall be ſpoken concerning the unſoundneſs of my doctrine cannot chooſe but be favourably entertained. This preſuppoſed, it will have likelihood enough which afterwards followeth, *that many of my ſermons have taſted of ſome ſour leaven or other, that in them he hath diſcovered many unſound matters.* A thing much to be lamented, that ſuch a place as this, which might have been ſo well provided for, hath fallen into the hands of one no better inſtructed in the truth. But what if in the end it be found, that he judgeth my words, as they do colours which look upon them with green ſpectacles, and think that which they ſee is green, when indeed that is green whereby they ſee.

7. Touching the firſt point of his diſcovery, which is about the matter of Predeſtination, to ſet

down that I ſpake, (for I have it written,) to declare and confirm the ſeveral branches thereof, would be tedious now in this writing, where I have ſo many things to touch, that I can but touch them only. Neither is it herein ſo needful for me to juſtify my ſpeech, when the very place and preſence where I ſpake, doth itſelf ſpeak ſufficiently for my clearing. This matter was not broached in a blind alley, or uttered where none was to hear it that had ſkill with authority to control, or covertly inſinuated by ſome gliding ſentence.

8. That which I taught was at Paul's Croſs; it was not huddled in amongſt other matters, in ſuch ſort that it could paſs without noting; it was opened, it was proved, it was ſome reaſonable time ſtood upon. I ſee not which way my Lord of London, who was preſent and heard it, can excuſe ſo great a fault, as patiently, without rebuke or controlment afterwards, to hear any man there teach otherwiſe than *the Word of God doth*; not as it is underſtood by the private interpretation of ſome one or two men, or by a ſpecial conſtruction received in ſome few books; but, as it is underſtood *by all Churches profeſſing the Goſpel*; by them all, and therefore even by our own alſo amongſt others. A man that did mean to prove that he ſpeaketh, would ſurely take the meaſure of his words ſhorter.

9. The next thing diſcovered, is an opinion about the aſſurance of men's perſuaſions in matters of faith. I have taught, he ſaith, *That the aſſurance of things which we believe by the Word, is not ſo certain as of that we perceive by ſenſe.* And, is it as certain? Yea, I taught, as he himſelf, I truſt, will not deny, that the things which God doth promiſe in his Word are ſurer unto us than any thing which we touch, handle, or ſee. But are we ſo ſure and certain of them? if we be, why doth God ſo often prove his promiſes unto us, as he doth by argument taken from our ſenſible experience? We muſt be ſurer of the proof, than of the thing proved, otherwiſe it is

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no proof. How is it, that if ten men do all look upon the moon, every one of them knoweth it as certainly to be the moon as another; but many believing one and the ſame promiſe, all have not one and the ſame fulneſs of perſuaſion? How falleth it out, that men being aſſured of any thing by ſenſe, can be no ſurer of it than they are; whereas the ſtrongeſt in faith that liveth upon the earth, hath always need to labour and ſtrive, and pray, that his aſſurance concerning heavenly and ſpiritual things may grow, increaſe, and be augmented?

10. The ſermon wherein I have ſpoken ſomewhat largely of this point was, long before this late controverſy roſe between him and me, upon requeſt of ſome of my friends, ſeen and read by many, and amongſt many, ſome who are thought able to diſcern: and I never heard that any one of them hitherto hath condemned it as containing unſound matter. My caſe were very hard, if, as oft as any thing I ſpeak diſpleaſeth one man's taſte, my doctrine upon his only word ſhould be taken for four leaven.

11. The reſt of this diſcovery is all about the matter now in queſtion; wherein he hath two faults predominant which would tire out any that ſhould anſwer unto every point ſeverally; unapt ſpeaking of ſchool-controverſies, and of my words ſometime ſo untoward a reciting, that he which ſhould promiſe to draw a man's countenance, and did indeed expreſs the parts, at leaſtwiſe moſt of them, truly, but perverſely place them, could not repreſent a more offenſive viſage, than unto me my own ſpeech ſeemeth in ſome places, as he hath ordered it. For anſwer whereunto, that writing is ſufficient, wherein I have ſet down both my words and meaning in ſuch ſort, that where this accuſation doth deprave the one, and either miſinterpret, or without juſt cauſe miſlike the other, it will appear ſo plainly, that I may ſpare very well to take upon me a new needleſs labour here.

12. Only at one thing, which is there to be found, becauſe Mr. Travers doth here ſeem to take ſuch a

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ſpecial advantage, as if the matter were unanſwerable, he conſtraineth me either to detect his overſight, or to confeſs mine own in it. In ſetting down the queſtion between the Church of Rome and us, about Grace and Juſtification, leſt I ſhould give them an occaſion to ſay, as commonly they do, that when we cannot refute their opinions, we propoſe to ourſelves ſuch inſtead of theirs as we can refute; I took it for the beſt and moſt perſpicuous way of teaching, to declare firſt, how far we do agree, and then to ſhew our diſagreement: not generally, (as Mr. Travers his[a] words would carry it, for the eaſier faſtening that upon me wherewith, ſaving only by him, I was never in my life touched,) but about the matter only of Juſtification: for further I had no cauſe to meddle at this time. What was then my offence in this caſe? I did, as he ſaith, ſo ſet it out as if we had conſented in the greateſt and weightieſt points, and differed only in ſmaller matters. It will not be found, when it cometh to the balance, a light difference where we diſagree, as I did acknowledge that we do, about the very eſſence of the medicine whereby Chriſt cureth

[a] His words be theſe: The next ſabbath-day after this, Mr. Hooker kept the way he had entered into before, and beſtowed his whole hour and more only upon the queſtions he had moved and maintained. Wherein he ſo ſet forth the agreement of the Church of Rome with us, and their diſagreement from us, as if we had conſented in the greateſt and weightieſt points, and differed only in certain ſmaller matters. Which agreement noted by him in two chief points, is not ſuch as he would have made men believe; the one in that he ſaid, They acknowledge all men ſinners, even the bleſſed Virgin, though ſome of them freed her from ſin; for the Council of Trent holdeth, that ſhe was free from ſin: another, in that he ſaid, They teach Chriſt's righteouſneſs to be the only meritorious cauſe of taking away ſin, and differ from us only in the applying of it. For Thomas Aquinas, their chief Schoolman, and Archbiſhop Catharinus, teach, that Chriſt took away only original ſin, and that the reſt are to be taken away by ourſelves; yea, the Council of Trent teacheth, that the righteouſneſs whereby we are righteous in God's ſight, is an inherent righteouſneſs; which muſt needs be of our own works, and cannot be underſtood of the righteouſneſs inherent only in Chriſt's perſon, and accounted unto us.

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our diſeaſe. Did I go about to make a ſhew of agreement in the weightieſt points, and was I ſo fond as not to conceal our diſagreement about this? I do wiſh that ſome indifferency were uſed by them that have taken the weighing of my words.

13. Yea, but our agreement is not ſuch in two of the chiefeſt points, as I would have men believe it is: and what are they? The one is, I ſaid, *They acknowledge all men ſinners, even the bleſſed Virgin, though ſome of them free her from ſin.* Put the caſe I had affirmed, that only ſome of them free her from ſin, and had delivered it as the moſt current opinion amongſt them that ſhe was conceived in ſin: doth not Bonaventure ſay plainly, *Omnes fere*, in a manner all men do hold this? doth he not bring many reaſons wherefore all men ſhould hold it? were their voices ſince that time ever counted, and their number found ſmaller which hold it than theirs that hold the contrary? Let the queſtion then be, whether I might ſay, the moſt of them *acknowledged all men ſinners, even the bleſſed Virgin herſelf.* To ſhew, that their general received opinion is the contrary, the Tridentine Council is alleged, peradventure not altogether ſo conſiderately. For if that Council have by reſolute determination freed her, if it hold, as Mr. Travers ſaith it doth, that ſhe was free from ſin; then muſt the Church of Rome needs condemn them that hold the contrary. For what that Council holdeth, the ſame they all do and muſt hold. But in the Church of Rome, who knoweth not, that it is a thing indifferent to think and defend the one or the other: ſo that, this argument, the Council of Trent holdeth the Virgin free from ſin, *ergo*, it is plain that none of them may, and therefore untrue that moſt of them do acknowledge her a ſinner, were forcible to overthrow my ſuppoſed aſſertion, if it were true that the Council did hold this. But to the end it may clearly appear, how it neither holdeth this nor the contrary, I will open what myſelf do conceive of the Canon that concerneth this matter. The Fathers of Trent perceived that if they

they ſhould define of this matter, it would be dangerous howſoever it were determined. If they had freed her from her original ſin, the reaſons againſt them are unanſwerable, which Bonaventure and others do allege, but eſpecially Thomas, whoſe line, as much as may be, they follow. Again, if they did reſolve the other way, they ſhould control themſelves in another thing, which in no caſe might be altered. For they profeſs to keep no day holy in the honour of an unholy thing; and the Virgin's conception they honour with a [a] feaſt, which they could not abrogate without cancelling a Conſtitution of Xyſtus Quartus. And that which is worſe, the world might perhaps ſuſpect, that if the Church of Rome did amiſs before in this, it is not impoſſible for her to fail in other things. In the end, they did wiſely quote out their Canon by a middle thread, eſtabliſhing the feaſt of the Virgin's conception, and leaving the other queſtion doubtful as they found it; giving only a caveat, that no man ſhould take the decree which pronounceth all mankind originally ſinful for a definitive ſentence concerning the bleſſed Virgin. This in my ſight is plain by their own words, *Declarat hac ipſa ſancta Synodus, &c.* Wherefore our countrymen at Rhemes, mentioning this point, are marvellous wary how they ſpeak; they touch it as though it were a hot coal: *Many godly devout men judge that our bleſſed Lady was neither born nor conceived in ſin.* Is it their wont to ſpeak nicely of things definitively ſet down in that Council?

Annot. in Rom. v. ſect. 9.

[a] This doth much trouble Thomas, holding her conception ſtained with the natural blemiſh inherent in mortal ſeed. And therefore he putteth it off with two anſwers; the one, that the Church of Rome doth not allow, but tolerate the feaſt; which anſwer now will not ſerve: the other, that being ſure ſhe was ſanctified before birth, but unſure how long a while after her conception, therefore under the name of her conception day, they honour the time of her ſanctification. So that beſides this, they have now no ſoder to make the certain allowance of their feaſt, and their uncertain ſentence concerning her ſin, to cleave together, Tom. iii. part. 1. quæſt. 27. art. 2. ad 2 et 3.

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In like ſort, we find that the reſt, which have ſince the time of the Tridentine Synod written of original ſin, are in this point, for the moſt part, either ſilent, or very ſparing in ſpeech: and, when they ſpeak, either doubtful what to think, or, whatſoever they think themſelves, fearful to ſet down any certain determination. If I be thought to take the Canon of that Council otherwiſe than they themſelves do, let him expound it whoſe ſentence was neither laſt aſked, nor his pen leaſt occupied in ſetting it down; I mean Andradius, whom Gregory the Thirteenth hath allowed plainly to confeſs, that it is a matter which neither expreſs evidence of Scripture, nor the tradition of the Fathers, nor the ſentence of the Church hath determined; that they are too ſurly and ſelf-willed, which, defending either opinion, are diſpleaſed with them by whom the other is maintained: finally, that the Fathers of Trent have not ſet down any certainty about this queſtion, but left it doubtful and indifferent. Lib. v. def. fidei.

Now whereas my words, which I had ſet down in writing, before I uttered them, were indeed theſe, *Although they imagine, that the mother of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt were, for his honour, and by his ſpecial protection, preſerved clean from all ſin: yet concerning the reſt, they teach as we do, that all have ſinned.* Againſt my words they might, with more pretence, take exception, becauſe ſo many of them think ſhe had ſin: which exception notwithſtanding, the propoſition being indefinite and the matter contingent, they cannot take, becauſe they grant, that many whom they account grave and devout amongſt them, think that ſhe was clear from all ſin. But, whether Mr. Travers did note my words himſelf, or take them upon the credit of ſome other man's noting, the tables were faulty wherein it was noted, *All men ſinners, even the bleſſed Virgin:* when my ſpeech was rather, *All men except the bleſſed Virgin.* To leave this; another fault he findeth, that I ſaid, *They teach Chriſt's righteouſneſs to be the only meritorious cauſe of taking away ſin, and differ from us only in the applying of it.* I did ſay and do,

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They teach as we do, that although Chriſt be the only meritorious cauſe of our juſtice, yet as a medicine which is made for health, doth not heal by being made, but by being applied; ſo, by the merits of Chriſt, there can be no life nor juſtification, without the application of his merits: but about the manner of applying Chriſt, about the number and power of means whereby he is applied, we diſſent from them. This of our diſſenting from them is acknowledged.

14. Our agreement in the former is denied to be ſuch as I pretend. Let their own words therefore and mine concerning them be compared. Doth not Andradius plainly confeſs; *Our ſins do ſhut, and only the merits of Chriſt open the entering into bleſſedneſs?* And Soto, *It is put for a ground, that all, ſince the fall of Adam, obtain ſalvation only by the paſſion of Chriſt; howbeit, as no cauſe can be effectual without applying, ſo neither can any man be ſaved to whom the ſuffering of Chriſt is not applied.* In a word, who not? When the Council of Trent, reckoning up the cauſes of our firſt juſtification, doth name no end but God's glory and our felicity; no efficient but his mercy; no inſtrumental but baptiſm; no meritorious but Chriſt; whom to have merited the taking away of no ſin but original, is not their opinion: which himſelf will find, when he hath well examined his witneſſes, Catharinus and Thomas. Their Jeſuits are marvellous angry with the men out of whoſe gleanings Mr. Travers ſeemeth to have taken this; they openly diſclaim it; they ſay plainly, *Of all the Catholics there is not one that did ever ſo teach*; they make ſolemn proteſtation, *We believe and profeſs, that Chriſt upon the croſs hath altogether ſatisfied for all ſins, as well original as actual*[a]. Indeed they teach, that the merit of Chriſt doth not take away actual ſin in ſuch ſort as it doth original; wherein, if their doctrine had been under-

Orthod. lib. iii. In Sent. diſt. 1 quæſt. 4. art. 6.

[a] Bellarm. Judic. de lib. Concor. Mendac. 18. Nemo Catholicorum unquam ſic docuit; ſed credimus et profitemur, Chriſtum in cruce pro omnibus omnino peccatis ſatisfeciſſe, tam originalibus quam actualibus.

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ſtood, I for my ſpeech had never been accuſed. As for the Council of Trent, concerning inherent righteouſneſs, what doth it here? No man doubteth, but they make another formal cauſe of juſtification than we do. In reſpect whereof, I have ſhewed already, that we diſagree about the very eſſence of that which cureth our ſpiritual diſeaſe. Moſt true it is which the grand Philoſopher hath, *Every man judgeth well of that which he knoweth*; and therefore till we know the things throughly whereof we judge, it is a point of judgment to ſtay our judgment.

15. Thus much labour being ſpent in diſcovering the unſoundneſs of my doctrine, ſome pains he taketh further to open faults in the manner of my teaching, as that, *I beſtowed my whole hour and more, my time and more than my time, in diſcourſes utterly impertinent to my text.* Which, if I had done, it might have paſſed without complaining of to the Privy Council.

16. But I did worſe, as he ſaith, *I left the expounding of the Scriptures, and my ordinary calling, and diſcourſed upon ſchool-points and queſtions, neither of edification, nor of truth.* I read no lecture in the law, or in phyſic. And except the bounds of ordinary calling may be drawn like a purſe, how are they ſo much wider unto him than to me, that he within the limits of his ordinary calling ſhould reprove that in me, which he underſtood not; and I labouring that both he and others might underſtand, could not do this without forſaking my calling? The matter whereof I ſpake was ſuch, as being at firſt by me but lightly touched, he had in that place openly contradicted, and ſolemnly taken upon him to diſprove. If therefore it were a ſchool-queſtion, and unfit to be diſcourſed of there, that which was in me but a propoſition only at the firſt, wherefore made he a problem of it? Why took he firſt upon him to maintain the negative of that, which I had affirmatively ſpoken only to ſhew mine own opinion, little thinking that ever it would have been made a queſtion? Of what nature

ſoever the queſtion were, I could do no leſs than there explain myſelf to them, unto whom I was accuſed of unſound doctrine; wherein if to ſhew what had been through ambiguity miſtaken in my words, or miſapplied by him in this cauſe againſt me, I uſed the diſtinction and helps of ſchools, I truſt that herein I have committed no unlawful thing. Theſe ſchool implements are acknowledged by grave and wiſe men not unprofitable to have been invented. The moſt approved for learning and judgment do uſe them without blame; the uſe of them hath been well liked in ſome that have taught even in this very place before me: the quality of my hearers is ſuch, that I could not but think them of capacity very ſufficient, for the moſt part, to conceive harder ſentences than I uſed any; the cauſe I had in hand did in my judgment neceſſarily require them which were then uſed: when my words ſpoken generally without diſtinctions had been perverted, what other way was there for me, but by diſtinctions to lay them open in their right meaning, that it might appear to all whether they were conſonant to truth or no? And although Mr. Travers be ſo inured with the city, that he thinketh it unmeet to uſe any ſpeech which ſavoureth of the ſchool, yet his opinion is no canon; though unto him, his mind being troubled, my ſpeech did ſeem like fetters and manacles, yet there might be ſome more calmly affected which thought otherwiſe; his private judgment will hardly warrant his bold words, that the things which I ſpake *were neither of edification or truth*. They might edify ſome other, for any thing he knoweth, and be true for any thing he proveth to the contrary. For it is no proof to cry, *Abſurdities, the like whereunto have not been heard in public places within this land ſince Queen Mary's days!* If this came in earneſt from him, I am ſorry to ſee him ſo much offended without cauſe; more ſorry, that his fit ſhould be ſo extreme, to make him ſpeak he knoweth not what. That I neither *affected the truth of God, nor the peace of the Church, Mihi pro minimo eſt*, it doth not much move

Calv. Inſt. l. i c. 6. ſect. 9.

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me, when Mr. Travers doth ſay that, which, I truſt, a greater than Mr. Travers will gainſay.

17. Now let all this which hitherto he hath ſaid be granted him, let it be as he would have it, let my doctrine and manner of teaching be as much diſallowed by all men's judgments as by his, what is all this to his purpoſe? He allegeth this to be the cauſe why he bringeth it in; the High-Commiſſioners *charge him with an indiſcretion and want of duty in that he inveighed againſt certain points of doctrine taught by me, as erroneous, not conferring firſt with me, nor complaining of it to them.* Which faults, a ſea of ſuch matter as he hath hitherto waded in, will never be able to ſcour from him. For the avoiding of ſchiſm and diſturbance in the Church, which muſt needs grow, if all men might think what they liſt, and ſpeak openly what they think; therefore by a [a] decree agreed upon by the Biſhops, and confirmed by her Majeſty's authority, it was ordered that erroneous doctrine, if it were taught publicly, ſhould not be publicly refuted; but that notice thereof ſhould be given unto ſuch as are by her Highneſs appointed to hear and to determine ſuch cauſes. For breach of which order, when he is charged with lack of duty, all the faults that can be heaped upon me will make but a weak defence for him. As ſurely his defence is not much ſtronger, when he alleges for himſelf, that *he was in ſome hope that his ſpeech in proving the*

[a] In the advertiſements publiſhed in the ſeventh year of her Majeſty's reign; "If any Preacher, or Parſon, Vicar, or Curate ſo licenſed, ſhall fortune to preach any matter tending to diſſenſion, or to derogation of the religion and doctrine received, that the hearers denounce the ſame to the Ordinary, or to the next Biſhop of the ſame place, but not openly to contrary, or to impugn the ſame ſpeech ſo diſorderly uttered whereby may grow offence, and diſquiet of the people, but ſhall be convinced and reproved by the Ordinary, after ſuch agreeable order as ſhall be ſeen to him, according to the gravity of the offence: and that it be preſented within one month after the words ſpoken."

truth, and clearing thoſe ſcruples which I had in myſelf, might cauſe me either to embrace ſound doctrine, or ſuffer it to be embraced of others; which if I did, he ſhould not need to complain: that *it was meet he ſhould diſcover firſt what I had ſown, and make it manifeſt to be tares, and then deſire their ſcythe to cut it down:* that *conſcience did bind him to do otherwiſe, than the foreſaid order requireth;* that *he was unwilling to deal in that public manner, and wiſhed a more convenient way were taken for it:* that *he had reſolved to have proteſted the next ſabbath-day, that he would ſome other way ſatisfy ſuch as ſhould require it, and not deal more in that place.* Be it imagined (let me not be taken as if I did compare the offenders, whom I do not, but their anſwers only) that a libeller did make this apology for himſelf; I am not ignorant that if I have juſt matter againſt any man, the law is open, there are judges to hear it, and courts where it ought to be complained of; I have taken another courſe againſt ſuch or ſuch a man, yet without breach of duty; foraſmuch as I am able to yield a reaſon of my doing, I conceive ſome hope that a little diſcredit amongſt men would make him aſhamed of himſelf, and that his ſhame would work his amendment; which if it did, other accuſation there ſhould not need: could this anſwer be thought ſufficient, could it in the judgment of diſcreet men free him from all blame? No more can the hope Mr. Travers conceived to reclaim me by public ſpeech, juſtify his fault againſt the eſtabliſhed order of the Church.

18. His thinking it meet, *he ſhould firſt openly diſcover to the people the tares that had been ſown amongſt them, and then require the hand of authority to mow them down*; doth only make it a queſtion, whether his opinion that this was meet, may be a privilege or protection againſt the lawful conſtitution which had before determined of it as of a thing unmeet? Which queſtion I leave for them to diſcuſs whom it moſt concerneth. If the order be ſuch, that it cannot be kept without hazarding a thing ſo precious as a good conſcience,

ſcience, the peril whereof could be no greater to him, than it needs muſt be to all others whom it toucheth in like cauſes; when this is evident, it will be an effectual motive, not only for England, but alſo for other reformed Churches, even Geneva itſelf, (for they have the like,) to change or take that away which cannot but with great inconvenience be obſerved. In the mean while the breach of it may, in ſuch conſideration, be pardoned, (which truly I wiſh, howſoever it be,) yet hardly defended as long as it ſtandeth in force uncancelled.

19. Now, whereas he confeſſeth that another *way had been more convenient*, and that he found in himſelf ſecret unwillingneſs to do that which he did, doth he not ſay plainly, in effect, that the light of his own underſtanding proved the way that he took perverſe and crooked? Reaſon was ſo plain and pregnant againſt it, that his mind was alienated, his will averted to another courſe, yet ſomewhat there was that ſo far over-ruled, that it muſt needs be done even againſt the very ſtream: what doth this bewray? Finally, his purpoſed proteſtation, whereby he meant openly to make it known, that he did not allow this kind of proceeding, and therefore would ſatisfy men otherwiſe, *and deal no more in this place*, ſheweth his good mind in this, that he meant to ſtay himſelf from further offending; but it ſerveth not his turn. He is blamed becauſe the thing he hath done was amiſs, and his anſwer is, that which I would have done afterwards had been well, if ſo be I had done it.

20. But as in this he ſtandeth perſuaded, that he hath done nothing beſides duty, ſo he taketh it hardly, that the High-Commiſſioners ſhould charge him with indiſcretion. Wherefore, as if he could ſo waſh his hands, he maketh a long and a large declaration concerning the carriage of himſelf; how he waded in *matters of ſmaller weight*, and how in things of *greater moment*; how warily he dealt; how *naturally he took things riſing from the text*; how *cloſely he kept himſelf*

to the Scriptures he took in hand; how *much pains he took to confirm the neceſſity of believing juſtification by Chriſt only*, and to ſhew how *the Church of Rome denieth that a man is ſaved by faith alone, without works of the law*; what *the ſons of thunder would have done*, if they had been in his caſe; that his *anſwer was very temperate, without immodeſt or reproachful ſpeech*; that when he might *before all have reproved me*, he did not, *but contented himſelf with exhorting me* before all, *to follow Nathan's example, and reviſit my doctrine*; when he might have followed St. Paul's example in *reproving* Peter, he did not, but exhorted me, with Peter, *to endure to be withſtood*. This teſtimony of his diſcreet carrying himſelf in the handling of his matter, being more agreeably framed and given him by another than by himſelf, might make ſomewhat for the praiſe of his perſon; but for defence of his action, unto them by whom he is thought undiſcreet for not conferring privately before he ſpake, will it ſerve to anſwer, that when he ſpake, he did it conſiderately? He perceiveth it will not, and therefore addeth reaſons, ſuch as they are; as, namely, how he purpoſed at the firſt to take another courſe, and that was this, *Publicly to deliver the truth of ſuch doctrine as I had otherwiſe taught, and at convenient opportunity to confer with me upon ſuch points*. Is this the rule of Chriſt? If thy brother offend openly in his ſpeech, control it firſt with contrary ſpeech openly, and confer with him afterwards upon it, when convenient opportunity ſerveth? Is there any law of God or man, whereupon to ground ſuch a reſolution? any Church extant in the world, where teachers are allowed thus to do, or to be done unto? He cannot but ſee how weak an allegation it is, when he bringeth in his following this courſe, firſt in one matter, and ſo afterwards in another, to approve himſelf now following it again. For if the purpoſe of doing of a thing ſo uncharitable be a fault, the deed is a greater fault; and doth the doing

doing of it twice, make it the third time fit and allowable to be done? The weight of the cauſe, which is his third defence, relieveth him as little. The weightier it was, the more it required conſiderate advice and conſultation, the more it ſtood him upon to take good heed, that nothing were raſhly done or ſpoken in it. But he meaneth weighty, in regard of the wonderful danger, except he had preſently withſtood me without expecting a time of conference. *This cauſe being of ſuch moment that might prejudice the faith of Chriſt, encourage the ill-affected to continue ſtill in their damnable ways, and others weak in faith to ſuffer themſelves to be ſeduced, to the deſtruction of their ſouls, he thought it his bounden duty to ſpeak before he talked with me.* A man that ſhould read this, and not know what I had ſpoken, might imagine that I had at the leaſt denied the divinity of Chriſt. But they which were preſent at my ſpeech, and can teſtify that nothing paſſed my lips more than is contained in their writings, whom for ſoundneſs of doctrine, learning, and judgment, Mr. Travers himſelf doth, I dare ſay, not only allow, but honour; they which heard, and do know, that the doctrine here ſignified in ſo fearful a manner, the doctrine that was ſo dangerous to the faith of Chriſt, that was ſo likely to *encourage ill-affected men to continue ſtill in their damnable ways*; that gave ſo great cauſe to tremble for fear of the preſent *deſtruction of ſouls*, was only this; *I doubt not but God was merciful to ſave thouſands of our fathers, living heretofore in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, inaſmuch as they ſinned ignorantly*; and this ſpoken in a ſermon, the greateſt part whereof was againſt Popery; they will hardly be able to diſcern how *CHRISTIANITY* ſhould herewith be ſo grievouſly ſhaken.

21. Whereby his fourth excuſe is alſo taken from him. For what doth it boot him to ſay, *The time was ſhort wherein he was to preach after me*; when his preaching of this matter perhaps ought, ſurely might

have been either very well omitted, or at leaſt more conveniently for a while deferred; even by their judgments that caſt the moſt favourable aſpect towards theſe his haſty proceedings. The poiſon which men had taken at my hands was not ſo quick and ſtrong in operation, as in eight days to make them paſt cure; by eight days' delay, there was no likelihood that the force and power of his ſpeech could die, longer meditation might bring better and ſtronger proofs to mind, than extemporal dexterity could furniſh him with. And, who doth know whether time, the only mother of ſound judgment and diſcreet dealing, might have given that action of his ſome better ripeneſs, which by ſo great feſtination hath, as a thing born out of time, brought ſmall joy unto him that begat it? Doth he think it had not been better, that neither my ſpeech had ſeemed in his eyes as an arrow ſticking in a thigh of fleſh; nor his own as a child whereof he muſt needs be delivered by an hour? His laſt way of diſburdening himſelf is, by caſting his load upon my back, as if I had brought him by former conferences out of hope, that any fruit ſhould ever come of conferring with me. Loth I am to rip up thoſe conferences, whereof he maketh but a ſlippery and looſe relation. In one of them, the queſtion between us was, whether the perſuaſion of faith concerning remiſſion of ſins, eternal life, and whatſoever God doth promiſe unto man, be as free from doubting, as the perſuaſion which we have by ſenſe concerning things taſted, felt, and ſeen? For the negative, I mentioned their example, whoſe faith in Scripture is moſt commended, and the experience which all faithful men have continually had of themſelves. For proof of the affirmative, which he held, I deſiring to have ſome reaſon, heard nothing but *all good writers* oftentimes inculcated. At the length, upon requeſt to ſee ſome one of them, Peter Martyr's common places were brought, where the leaves were turned

turned down, at a place ſounding to this effect; *That the Goſpel doth make Chriſtians more virtuous than moral philoſophy doth make Heathens:* which came not near the queſtion by many miles.

22. In the other conference he queſtioned about the matter of reprobation, miſliking firſt, that I had termed God a permiſſive, and no poſitive cauſe of the evil which the Schoolmen do call *Malum culpæ:* ſecondly, that to their objection, who ſay, *If I be elected, do what I will, I ſhall be ſaved*, I had anſwered, that the will of God in this thing is not abſolute, but conditional, to ſave his elect believing, fearing, and obediently ſerving him: thirdly, that to ſtop the mouths of ſuch as grudge and repine againſt God for rejecting caſt-aways, I had taught that they are not rejected, no not in the purpoſe and counſel of God, without a foreſeen worthineſs of rejection going, though not in time, yet in order, before. For, if God's electing do in order (as needs it muſt) preſuppoſe the foreſight of their being that are elected, though they be elected before they be; nor only the poſitive foreſight of their being, but alſo the permiſſive of their being miſerable, becauſe election is through mercy, and mercy doth always preſuppoſe miſery: it followeth, that the very choſen of God acknowledge, to the praiſe of the riches of his exceeding free compaſſion, that when he in his ſecret determination ſet it down, *Thoſe ſhall live and not die*, they lay as ugly ſpectacles before him, as lepers covered with dung and mire, as ulcers putrefied in their fathers' loins, miſerable, worthy to be had in deteſtation; and ſhall any forſaken creature be able to ſay unto God, Thou didſt plunge me into the depth, and aſſign me unto endleſs torments, only to ſatisfy thine own will, finding nothing in me for which I could ſeem in thy ſight ſo well worthy to feel everlaſting flames?

23. When I ſaw that Mr. Travers carped at theſe things, only becauſe they lay not open, I promiſed

at ſome convenient time to make them clear as light, both to him and all others. Which, if they that reprove me will not grant me leave to do, they muſt think that they are for ſome cauſe or other more deſirous to have me reputed an unſound man, than willing that my ſincere meaning ſhould appear and be approved. When I was further aſked what my grounds were? I anſwered, that St. Paul's words concerning this cauſe were my grounds. His next demand, what author I did follow in expounding St. Paul, and gathering the doctrine out of his words, againſt the judgment (he ſaith) *of all Churches and all good writers?* I was well aſſured, that to control this over-reaching ſpeech, the ſentences which I might have cited out of Church confeſſions, together with the beſt learned monuments of former times, and not the meaneſt of our own, were more in number than perhaps he would willingly have heard of: but what had this booted me? For, although he himſelf in generality do much uſe thoſe formal ſpeeches, *All Churches*, and *all good writers*, yet as he holdeth it in the pulpit lawful to ſay in general, the Paynims think this, or the Heathens that, but utterly unlawful to cite any ſentence of theirs that ſay it; ſo he gave me at that time great cauſe to think, that my particular alleging of other men's words, to ſhew their agreement with mine, would as much have diſpleaſed his mind, as the thing itſelf for which it had been alleged; for he knoweth how often he hath in public place bitten me for this, although I did never in any ſermon uſe many of the ſentences of other writers, and do make moſt without any; having always thought it meeteſt, neither to affect nor contemn the uſe of them.

24. He is not ignorant, that in the very entrance to the talk which we had privately at that time, to prove it unlawful altogether in preaching, either for confirmation, declaration, or otherwiſe, to cite any thing but mere canonical Scripture, he brought in,

The

The Scripture is given by inſpiration, and is profitable to teach, improve, &c. urging much the vigour of theſe two clauſes, *the man of God* and *every good work.* If therefore the work were good which he required at my hands, if privately to ſhew why I thought the doctrine I had delivered to be according to St. Paul's meaning, were a good work, can they which take the place before alleged for a law, condemning every man of God, who in doing the work of preaching any way uſeth human authority, like it in me, if in the work of ſtrengthening that which I had preached, I ſhould bring forth the teſtimonies and the ſayings of mortal men? I alleged therefore that which might under no pretence in the world be diſallowed, namely, reaſons; not meaning thereby mine own reaſon, as now it is reported, but true, ſound, divine reaſon; reaſon whereby thoſe concluſions might be out of St. Paul demonſtrated, and not probably diſcourſed of only; reaſon, proper to that ſcience whereby the things of God are known; theological reaſon, which out of principles in Scripture that are plain, ſoundly deduceth more doubtful inferences, in ſuch ſort, that being heard they cannot be denied, nor any thing repugnant unto them received; but whatſoever was before otherwiſe by miſcollecting gathered out of dark places is thereby forced to yield itſelf, and the true conſonant meaning of ſentences not underſtood is brought to light. This is the reaſon which I intended. If it were poſſible for me to eſcape the ferula in any thing I do or ſpeak, I had undoubtedly eſcaped in this. In this I did that which by ſome is enjoined as the only allowable, but granted by all as the moſt ſure and ſafe way, whereby to reſolve things doubted of in matters appertaining to faith and Chriſtian religion. So that Mr. Travers had here ſmall cauſe given him to be weary of conferring, unleſs it was in other reſpects than that poor one which is here pretended, that is to ſay, the little hope he had of doing me any good by conference.

25. Yet

25. Yet behold his firſt reaſon of not complaining to the High-Commiſſion is, *That ſith I offended only through an over-charitable inclination, he conceived good hope, when I ſhould ſee the truth cleared, and ſome ſcruples which were in my mind removed by his diligence, I would yield.* But what experience ſoever he had of former conferences, how ſmall ſoever his hope was that fruit would come of it, if he ſhould have conferred, will any man judge this a cauſe ſufficient, why to open his mouth in public, without any one word privately ſpoken? He might have conſidered that men do ſometimes reap, where they ſow but with ſmall hope; he might have conſidered, that although unto me, (whereof he was not certain neither,) but if to me his labour ſhould be as water ſpilt or poured into a torn diſh, yet to him it could not be fruitleſs to do that which order in Chriſtian Churches, that which charity amongſt Chriſtian men, that which, at many men's hands, even common humanity itſelf, at his, many other things beſides, did require. What fruit could there come of his open contradicting in ſo great haſte, with ſo ſmall advice, but ſuch as muſt needs be unpleaſant, and mingled with much acerbity? Surely, he which will take upon him to defend, that in this there was no overſight, muſt beware, leſt by ſuch defences he leave an opinion dwelling in the minds of men, that he is more ſtiff to maintain what he hath done, than careful to do nothing but that which may juſtly be maintained.

26. Thus have I, as near as I could, ſeriouſly anſwered things of weight: with ſmaller I have dealt as I thought their quality did require. I take no joy in ſtriving, I have not been nuzzled or trained up in it. I would to Chriſt they which have at this preſent enforced me hereunto, had ſo ruled their hands in any reaſonable time, that I might never have been conſtrained to ſtrike ſo much as in mine own defence. Wherefore to proſecute this long and tedious contention no further, I ſhall wiſh that your Grace, and

their

their Honours, (unto whoſe intelligence the dutiful regard which I have of their judgments maketh me deſirous, that as accuſations have been brought againſt me, ſo that this my anſwer thereunto may likewiſe come,) did both with the one and the other, as Conſtantine with books containing querelous matter. Whether this be convenient to be wiſhed or no, I cannot tell; but ſith there can come nothing of contention, but the mutual waſte of the parties contending, till a common enemy dance in the aſhes of them both, I do wiſh heartily that the grave advice which Conſtantine gave for re-uniting of his Clergy ſo many times, upon ſome ſmall occaſions, in ſo lamentable ſort divided, or rather the ſtrict commandment of Chriſt unto his, that they ſhould not be divided at all, may at the length, if it be his bleſſed will, prevail ſo far, at leaſt in this corner of the Chriſtian world, to the burying and quite forgetting of ſtrife, together with the cauſes that have either bred it, or brought it up, that things of ſmall moment never diſjoin them, whom one God, one Lord, one Faith, one Spirit, one Baptiſm, bands of ſo great force, have linked; that a reſpective eye towards things wherewith we ſhould not be diſquieted, make us not, as through infirmity the very Patriarchs themſelves ſometimes were, full gorged, unable to ſpeak peaceably to their own brother: finally, that no ſtrife may ever be heard of again but this, who ſhall hate ſtrife moſt, who ſhall purſue peace and unity with ſwifteſt paces.

TO THE

CHRISTIAN READER.

WHEREAS many deſirous of reſolution in ſome points handled in this learned Diſcourſe, were earneſt to have it copied out; to eaſe ſo many labours, it hath been thought moſt worthy and very neceſſary to be printed: that not only they might be ſatisfied, but the whole Church alſo hereby edified. The rather, becauſe it will free the Author from the ſuſpicion of ſome errors, which he hath been thought to have favoured. Who might well have anſwered with Cremutius in Tacitus, Verba mea arguuntur; adeo factorum innocens ſum. *Certainly the event of that time wherein he lived, ſhewed that to be true, which the ſame Author ſpake of a worſe,* Cui deerat inimicus, per amicos oppreſſus; *and that there is not* minus periculum ex magna fama, quam ex mala. *But he hath ſo quit himſelf, that all may ſee how, as it was ſaid of Agricola,* Simul ſuis virtutibus, ſimul vitiis aliorum, in ipſam gloriam præceps agebatur. *Touching whom I will ſay no more, but that which my author ſaid of the ſame man,* Integritatem, &c. in tanto viro referre, injuria virtutum fuerit. *But as of all other his writings, ſo of this I will add that which Velleius ſpake in commendation of* Piſo, Nemo fuit, qui magis quæ agenda erant curaret, ſine ulla oſtentatione agendi. *So not doubting, good Chriſtian Reader, of thy aſſent herein, but wiſhing thy favourable acceptance of this work, (which will be an inducement to ſet forth others of his learned labours,) I take my leave, from Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford, the ſixth of July,* 1612.

Lib. iv. Annal. cap. 34.

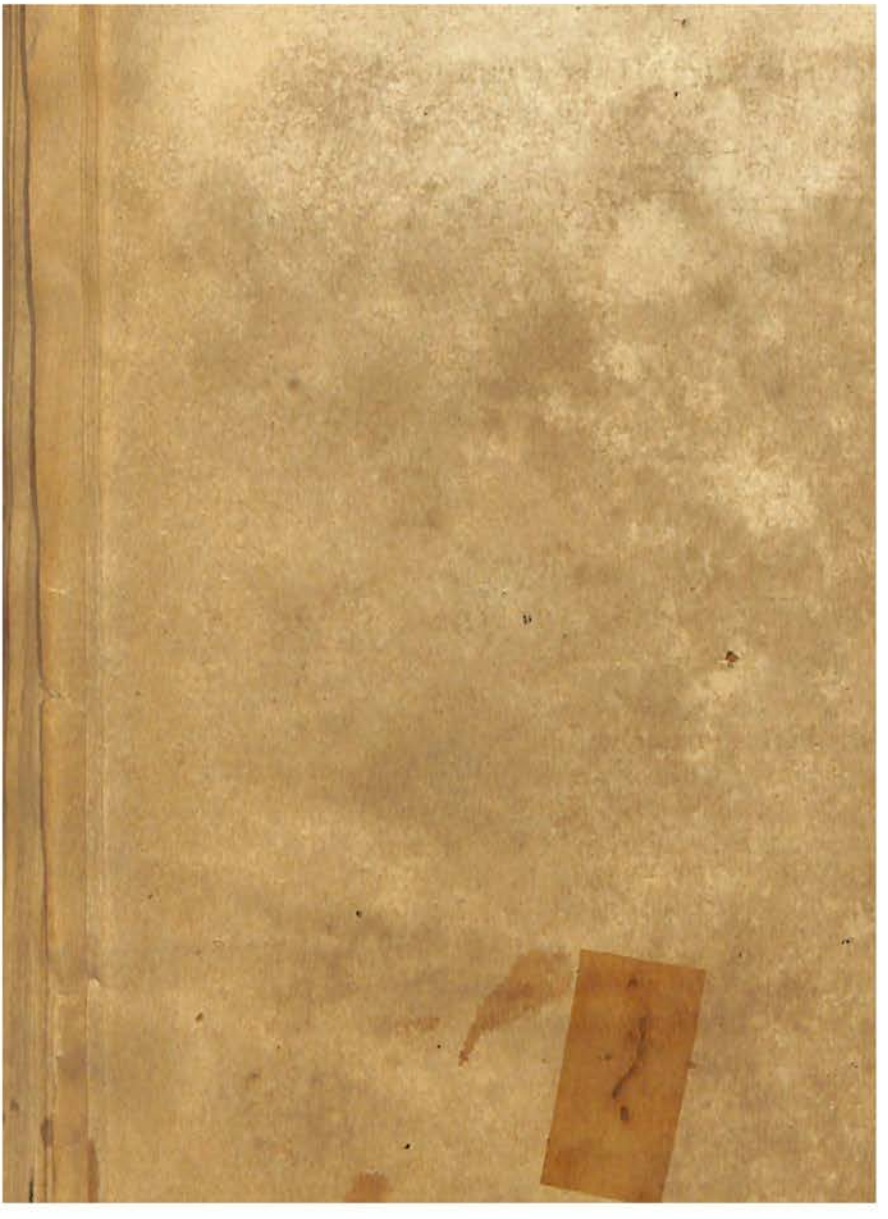
Lib. i. Hiſt. cap. 2.

In vita Agricolæ.

Lib. ii.

Thine in Chriſt Jeſus,

HENRY JACKSON.



A

LEARNED DISCOURSE

OF

JUSTIFICATION, WORKS,

AND HOW THE

FOUNDATION OF FAITH IS OVERTHROWN.

HABAK. i. 4.

The wicked doth compaſs about the righteous: therefore perverſe judgment doth proceed.

FOR the better manifeſtation of the Prophet's meaning in this place, we are firſt to conſider the wicked, of whom he ſaith, that *they compaſs about the righteous*; ſecondly, the righteous that are compaſſed about by them: and thirdly, that which is inferred; *therefore perverſe judgment proceedeth.* Touching the firſt, there are two kinds of wicked men, of whom in the fifth of the former to the Corinthians, the bleſſed Apoſtle ſpeaketh thus: *Do ye not judge them that are within? but God judgeth them that are without.* 1 Cor. v. 12, 13. There are wicked therefore whom the Church may judge, and there are wicked whom God only judgeth: wicked within, and wicked without the walls of the Church. If within the Church, particular perſons be apparently ſuch as cannot otherwiſe be reformed, the rule of the Apoſtolical

2 Cor. vi. 14—18.

ſtolical judgment is this, *Separate them from among you:* if whole aſſemblies, this; *Separate yourſelves from among them: for what ſociety hath light with darkneſs?* But the wicked, whom the Prophet meaneth, were Babylonians, and therefore without. For which cauſe we have heard at large heretofore in what ſort he urgeth God to judge them.

2. Now concerning the righteous, there neither is, nor ever was, any mere natural man abſolutely righteous in himſelf, that is to ſay, void of all unrighteouſneſs, of all ſin. We dare not except, no not the bleſſed Virgin herſelf, of whom, although we ſay with St. Auguſtine, for the honour-ſake which we owe to our Lord and Saviour Chriſt, we are not willing, in this cauſe, to move any queſtion of his mother; yet foraſmuch as the ſchools of Rome have made it a queſtion, we may anſwer with [a] Euſebius Emiſſenus, who ſpeaketh of her, and to her in this effect: *Thou didſt by ſpecial prerogative nine months together entertain within the cloſet of thy fleſh the hope of all the ends of the earth, the honour of the world, the common joy of men. He, from whom all things had their beginning, had his beginning from thee; of thy body he took the blood, which was to be ſhed for the life of the world, of thee he took that which even for thee he paid. A peccati enim veteris nexu, per ſe* [b] *non eſt immunis ipſa genetrix Redemptoris:* the mother of the Redeemer himſelf is not otherwiſe looſed from the bond of ancient ſin, than by redemption. If Chriſt have paid a ranſom for all, even for her, it followeth, that all, without exception, were captives. If one have died for all, then all were dead

[a] Or whoſoever it be, that was the author of thoſe Homilies, that go under his name.

[b] Knowing how the Schoolmen hold this queſtion, ſome critical wits may perhaps half ſuſpect that theſe two words, *per ſe*, are inmates. But if the place which they have be their own, their ſenſe can be none other than that which I have given them by a paraphraſtical interpretation.

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in ſin; all ſinful therefore, none abſolutely righteous in themſelves; but we are abſolutely righteous in Chriſt. The world then muſt ſhew a righteous man, otherwiſe it is not able to ſhew a man that is perfectly righteous: *Chriſt is made to us wiſdom, juſtice, ſanctification, and redemption:* wiſdom, becauſe he hath revealed his Father's will; juſtice, becauſe he hath offered up himſelf a ſacrifice for ſin; ſanctification, becauſe he hath given us his Spirit; redemption, becauſe he hath appointed a day to vindicate his children out of the bands of corruption into liberty which is glorious. How Chriſt is made wiſdom, and how redemption, it may be declared when occaſion ſerveth; but how Chriſt is made the righteouſneſs of men, we are now to declare.

3. There is a glorifying righteouſneſs of men in the world to come: as there is a juſtifying and ſanctifying righteouſneſs here. The righteouſneſs, wherewith we ſhall be clothed in the world to come, is both perfect and inherent. That whereby here we are juſtified is perfect, but not inherent. That whereby we are ſanctified is inherent, but not perfect. This openeth a way to the underſtanding of that grand queſtion, which hangeth yet in controverſy between us and the Church of Rome, about the matter of juſtifying righteouſneſs.

4. Firſt, although they imagine that the mother of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt were for his honour, and by his ſpecial protection, preſerved clean from all ſin; yet touching the reſt, they teach as we do, that infants that never did actually offend, have their natures defiled, deſtitute of juſtice, averted from God, that in making man righteous, none do efficiently work with God, but God [a]. They teach

[a] They teach as we do, that God doth juſtify the ſoul of man alone, without any co-effective cauſe of juſtice. Deus ſine medio co-effectivo animam juſtificat. Caſal. de quadripart. juſt. lib. vi. Idem. lib. iii. c. 9.

as we do, that unto juſtice no man ever attained, but by the merits of Jeſus Chriſt. They teach as we do, that although Chriſt as God be the efficient, as man the meritorious cauſe of our juſtice; yet in us alſo there is ſomething required. God is the cauſe of our natural life; in him we live: but he quickeneth not the body without the ſoul in the body. Chriſt hath merited to make us juſt: but as a medicine which is made for health, doth not heal by being made, but by being applied; ſo, by the merits of Chriſt there can be no juſtification, without the application of his merit. Thus far we join hands with the Church of Rome.

The difference between the Papiſts and us about Juſtification.

5. Wherein then do we diſagree? We diſagree about the nature and eſſence of the medicine whereby Chriſt cureth our diſeaſe; about the manner of applying it; about the number and the power of means, which God requireth in us for the effectual applying thereof to our ſoul's comfort. When they are required to ſhew what the righteouſneſs is whereby a Chriſtian man is juſtified, they[a] anſwer, that it is a divine ſpiritual quality; which quality received into the ſoul, doth firſt make it to be one of them who are born of God: and, ſecondly, endue it with power to bring forth ſuch works, as they do that are born of him; even as the ſoul of man being joined to his body, doth firſt make him to be of the number of reaſonable creatures; and, ſecondly, enable him to perform the natural functions which are proper to his kind; that it maketh

[a] Tho. Aquin. 1, 2. queſt. 109. Gratia gratum faciens, id eſt, juſtificans, eſt in anima quiddam reale et poſitivum, qualitas quædam (art. ii. concl.) ſupernaturalis, non eadem cum virtute infuſa, ut magiſter; ſed aliquid (art. ii.) præter virtutes infuſas, fidem, ſpem, charitatem, habitudo quædam (art. iii. ad 3.) quæ præſupponitur in virtutibus iſtis ſicut earum principium et radix; eſſentiam animæ tanquam ſubjectum occupat, non potentias, ſed ab ipſa (art. iv. ad 1.) effluunt virtutes in potentias animæ, per quas potentiæ moventur ad actus. Plur. vid. quæſt. 113. de Juſtificatione.

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the ſoul amiable and gracious in the ſight of God, in regard whereof it is termed Grace; that it purgeth, purifieth, and waſheth out all the ſtains and pollutions of ſins; that by it, through the merit of Chriſt we are delivered as from ſin, ſo from eternal death and condemnation, the reward of ſin. This Grace they will have to be applied by infuſion; to the end, that as the body is warm by the heat which is in the body, ſo the ſoul might be righteous by inherent Grace: which Grace they make capable of increaſe; as the body may be more and more warm, ſo the ſoul more and more juſtified, according as Grace ſhould be augmented; the augmentation whereof is merited by good works, as good works are made meritorious by it. Wherefore the firſt receipt of Grace in their divinity is the firſt Juſtification: the increaſe thereof, the ſecond Juſtification. As Grace may be increaſed by the merit of good works; ſo it may be diminiſhed by the demerit of ſins venial; it may be loſt by mortal ſin. Inaſmuch therefore as it is needful in the one caſe to repair, in the other to recover the loſs which is made; the infuſion of Grace hath her ſundry after-meals; for the which cauſe they make many ways to apply the infuſion of Grace. It is applied to infants through Baptiſm without either Faith or Works, and in them really it taketh away Original ſin, and the puniſhment due unto it; it is applied to Infidels and wicked men in the firſt Juſtification, through Baptiſm without Works, yet not without Faith; and it taketh away both ſins Actual and Original together, withal whatſoever puniſhment, eternal or temporal, thereby deſerved. Unto ſuch as have attained the firſt Juſtification, that is to ſay, the firſt receipt of Grace, it is applied farther by good works to the increaſe of former Grace, which is the ſecond Juſtification. If they work more and more, Grace doth more increaſe, and they are more and more juſtified. To ſuch as diminiſh it by venial ſins, it is applied

by holy-water, *Ave Maria's*, croſſings, Papal ſalutations, and ſuch like, which ſerve for reparations of Grace decayed. To ſuch as have loſt it through mortal ſin, it is applied by the ſacrament (as they term it) of Penance; which ſacrament hath force to confer Grace anew, yet in ſuch ſort, that being ſo conferred, it hath not altogether ſo much power, as at the firſt. For it only cleanſeth out the ſtain or guilt of ſin committed, and changeth the puniſhment eternal into a temporal ſatisfactory puniſhment here, if time do ſerve; if not, hereafter to be endured, except it be lightened by maſſes, works of charity, pilgrimages, faſts, and ſuch like; or elſe ſhortened by pardon for term, or by plenary pardon quite removed and taken away. This is the myſtery of the Man of ſin. This maze the Church of Rome doth cauſe her followers to tread, when they aſk her the way to Juſtification. I cannot ſtand now to unrip this building, and ſift it piece by piece; only I will paſs it by in few words, that that may befall Babylon, in the preſence of that which God hath builded, as happened unto Dagon before the ark.

Phil. iii. 8, 9. 6. Doubtleſs, ſaith the Apoſtle, *I have counted all things loſs, and judge them to be dung, that I may win Chriſt; and to be found in him, not having my own righteouſneſs, but that which is through the Faith of Chriſt, the righteouſneſs which is of God through Faith.* Whether they ſpeak of the firſt or ſecond Juſtification, they make it the eſſence of a divine quality inherent, they make it righteouſneſs which is in us. If it be in us, then is it ours, as our ſouls are ours though we have them from God, and can hold them no longer than pleaſeth him; for if he withdraw the breath of our noſtrils, we fall to duſt: but the righteouſneſs wherein we muſt be found, if we will be juſtified, is not our own; therefore we cannot be juſtified by any inherent quality. Chriſt hath merited righteouſneſs for as many as are found in him.

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In him God findeth us, if we be faithful; for by Faith we are incorporated into Chriſt. Then, although in ourſelves we be altogether ſinful and unrighteous, yet even the man which is impious in himſelf, full of iniquity, full of ſin; him being found in Chriſt through Faith, and having his ſin remitted through Repentance; him God beholdeth with a gracious eye, putteth away his ſin by not imputing it, taketh quite away the puniſhment due thereunto by pardoning it, and accepteth him in Jeſus Chriſt, as perfectly righteous, as if he had fulfilled all that was commanded him in the Law; ſhall I ſay more perfectly righteous than if himſelf had fulfilled the whole Law? I muſt take heed what I ſay: but the Apoſtle ſaith, *God made him to be ſin for us, who knew* 2 Cor. v. 21. *no ſin; that we might be made the righteouſneſs of God in him.* Such we are in the ſight of God the Father, as is the very Son of God himſelf. Let it be counted folly or frenzy, or fury, whatſoever, it is our comfort, and our wiſdom; we care for no knowledge in the world but this, that man hath ſinned, and God hath ſuffered; that God hath made himſelf the Son of man, and that men are made the righteouſneſs of God. You ſee therefore that the Church of Rome, in teaching Juſtification by inherent Grace, doth pervert the truth of Chriſt; and that by the hands of the Apoſtles we have received otherwiſe than ſhe teacheth. Now concerning the righteouſneſs of ſanctification, we deny it not to be inherent; we grant, that unleſs we work, we have it not; only we diſtinguiſh it as a thing different in nature from the righteouſneſs of Juſtification: we are righteous the one way, by the Faith of Abraham; the other way, except we do the works of Abraham, we are not righteous. Of the one, St. Paul, *To him that work-* Rom. iv. 5. *eth not, but believeth, Faith is counted for righteouſneſs:* of the other, St. John, *Qui facit juſtitiam, juſtus eſt*; He is righteous which worketh righteouſneſs. Of the one, St. Paul doth prove by Abraham's ex-

ample, that we have it of Faith without Works: of the other, St. James by Abraham's example, that by Works we have it, and not only by Faith. St. Paul doth plainly ſever theſe two parts of Chriſtian righteouſneſs one from the other. For in the ſixth to the Romans thus he writeth, *Being freed from ſin, and made ſervants to God, ye have your fruit in holineſs, and the end everlaſting life. Ye are made free from ſin, and made ſervants unto God*; this is the righteouſneſs of Juſtification; *Ye have your fruit in holineſs*; this is the righteouſneſs of Sanctification. By the one we are intereſted in the right of inheriting; by the other we are brought to the actual poſſeſſion of eternal bliſs, and ſo the end of both is everlaſting life.

Rom. vi. 22.

7. The prophet Habakkuk doth here term the Jews *righteous men*, not only becauſe being juſtified by Faith they were free from ſin; but alſo becauſe they had their meaſure of fruits in holineſs. According to whoſe example of charitable judgment, which leaveth it to God to diſcern what we are, and ſpeaketh of them according to that which they do profeſs themſelves to be, although they be not holy men whom men do think, but whom God doth know indeed to be ſuch; yet let every Chriſtian man know, that in Chriſtian equity, he ſtandeth bound for to think and ſpeak of his brethren, as of men that have a meaſure in the fruit of holineſs, and a right unto the titles wherewith God, in token of ſpecial favour and mercy, vouchſafed to honour his choſen ſervants. So we ſee the Apoſtles of our Saviour Chriſt do uſe every where the name of *ſaints*; ſo the Prophet the name of *righteous*. But let us all be ſuch as we deſire to be termed: *Reatus impii eſt pium nomen*, ſaith Salvianus; godly names do not juſtify godleſs men. We are but upbraided, when we are honoured with names and titles whereunto our lives and manners are not ſuitable. If indeed we have our fruit in holineſs, notwithſtanding we muſt note, that

that the more we abound therein, the more need we have to crave that we may be ſtrengthened and ſupported. Our very virtues may be ſnares unto us. The enemy that waiteth for all occaſions to work our ruin, hath found it harder to overthrow an humble ſinner, than a proud ſaint. There is no man's caſe ſo dangerous as his whom Satan hath perſuaded that his own righteouſneſs ſhall preſent him pure and blameleſs in the ſight of God. If we could ſay, we were not guilty of any thing at all in our conſciences, (we know ourſelves far from this innocency, we cannot ſay, we know nothing by ourſelves; but if we could,) ſhould we therefore plead not guilty before the preſence of our Judge, that ſees further into our hearts than we ourſelves can do? If our hands did never offer violence to our brethren, a bloody thought doth prove us murderers before him: if we had never opened our mouth to utter any ſcandalous, offenſive, or hurtful word, the cry of our ſecret cogitations is heard in the ears of God. If we did not commit the ſins, which daily and hourly either in deed, word, or thoughts we do commit; yet in the good things which we do, how many defects are there intermingled! God, in that which is done, reſpecteth the mind and intention of the doer. Cut off then all thoſe things wherein we have regarded our own glory, thoſe things which men do to pleaſe men, and to ſatisfy our own liking, thoſe things which we do for any by-reſpect, not ſincerely and purely for the love of God, and a ſmall ſcore will ſerve for the number of our righteous deeds. Let the holieſt and beſt things which we do be conſidered. We are never better affected unto God than when we pray; yet when we pray, how are our affections many times diſtracted! How little reverence do we ſhew unto the grand majeſty of God, unto whom we ſpeak! How little remorſe of our own miſeries! How little taſte of the ſweet influence of his tender mercies do we feel! Are we not as un-

willing many times to begin, and as glad to make an end; as if in ſaying, *Call upon me*, he had ſet us a very burdenſome taſk? It may ſeem ſomewhat extreme, which I will ſpeak; therefore let every one judge of it, even as his own heart ſhall tell him, and no otherwiſe; I will but only make a demand: If God ſhould yield unto us, not as unto Abraham, if fifty, forty, thirty, twenty, yea, or if ten good perſons could be found in a city, for their ſakes this city ſhould not be deſtroyed, but, and if he ſhould make us an offer thus large; ſearch all the generations of men, ſithence the fall of our father Adam, find one man, that hath done one action, which hath paſſed from him pure, without any ſtain or blemiſh at all; and for that one man's only action, neither man nor angel ſhall feel the torments which are prepared for both. Do you think that this ranſom, to deliver men and angels, could be found to be among the ſons of men? The beſt things which we do, have ſomewhat in them to be pardoned. How then can we do any thing meritorious, or worthy to be rewarded? Indeed, God doth liberally promiſe whatſoever appertaineth to a bleſſed life to as many as ſincerely keep his Law, though they be not exactly able to keep it. Wherefore we acknowledge a dutiful neceſſity of doing well, but the meritorious dignity of doing well we utterly renounce. We ſee how far we are from the perfect righteouſneſs of the Law; the little fruit which we have in holineſs, it is, God knoweth, corrupt and unſound: we put no confidence at all in it, we challenge nothing in the world for it, we dare not call God to reckoning, as if we had him in our debt-books: our continual ſuit to him is, and muſt be, to bear with our infirmities, and pardon our offences.

8. But the people of whom the Prophet ſpeaketh, were they all, or were the moſt part of them ſuch as had care to walk uprightly? did they thirſt after righteouſneſs? did they wiſh, did they long with the righteous

righteous Prophet, *Oh that our ways were ſo direct that we might keep thy ſtatutes?* Did they lament with the righteous Apoſtle, *Oh miſerable men, the good which we wiſh and purpoſe, and ſtrive to do, we cannot?* No, the words of the other Prophet concerning this people do ſhew the contrary. How grievouſly hath Eſay mourned over them! *Oh ſinful nation, laden with iniquity, wicked ſeed, corrupt children!* All which notwithſtanding, ſo wide are the bowels of his compaſſion enlarged, that he denieth us not, no, not when we were laden with iniquity, leave to commune familiarly with him, liberty to crave and entreat, that what plagues ſoever we have deſerved, we may not be in worſe caſe than unbelievers, that we may not be hemmed in by Pagans and Infidels. Jeruſalem is a ſinful polluted city: but Jeruſalem, compared with Babylon, is righteous. And ſhall the righteous be overborne? ſhall they be compaſſed about by the wicked? But the Prophet doth not only complain; Lord, how cometh it to paſs, that thou handleſt us ſo hardly, of whom thy name is called, and beareſt with the Heathen nations, that deſpiſe thee? no, he breaketh out through extremity of grief, and inferreth violently; This *proceeding is perverſe*, the righteous are thus handled; *therefore perverſe judgment doth proceed.*

Rom. vii. 19.

Cap. i. ver. 4.

9. Which illation containeth many things, whereof it were better much both for you to hear, and me to ſpeak, if neceſſity did not draw me to another taſk. Paul and Barnabas being requeſted to preach the ſame things again which once they had preached, thought it their duties to ſatisfy the godly deſires of men, ſincerely affected to the truth. Nor may it ſeem burdenous for me, nor for you unprofitable, that I follow their example, the like occaſion unto theirs being offered me. When we had laſt the Epiſtle of St. Paul to the Hebrews in hand, and of that Epiſtle theſe words; *In theſe laſt days he hath ſpoken*

Acts xiii. 41—44.

Heb. i. 2.

ſpoken unto us by his Son: after we had thence collected the nature of the viſible Church of Chriſt; and had defined it to be a community of men ſanctified through the profeſſion of the truth [a], which God hath taught the world by his Son; and had declared, that the ſcope of Chriſtian doctrine is the comfort of them whoſe hearts are overcharged with the burden of ſin; and had proved that the doctrine profeſſed in the Church of Rome doth bereave men of comfort both in their lives and in their deaths: the concluſion in the end whereunto we came was this; the Church of Rome being in faith ſo corrupted, as ſhe is, and refuſing to be reformed, as ſhe doth, we are to ſever ourſelves from her; the example of our Fathers may not retain us in communion with that Church, under hope that we ſo continuing may be ſaved as well as they. God, I doubt not, was merciful to ſave thouſands of them, though they lived in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, inaſmuch as they ſinned ignorantly: but the truth is now laid before our eyes. The former part of this laſt ſentence, namely theſe words; *I doubt not, but God was merciful to ſave thouſands of our Fathers living in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, inaſmuch as they ſinned ignorantly:* this ſentence I beſeech you to mark, and to ſift it with the ſeverity of auſtere judgment, that if it be found to be gold, it may be ſuitable to the precious foundation whereon it was then laid; for I proteſt, that if it be hay or ſtubble, my own hand ſhall ſet fire on it. Two queſtions have riſen by reaſon of this ſpeech before alleged: the one, *Whether our Fathers, infected with Popiſh errors and ſuperſtitions, may be ſaved?* the other, *Whether their ignorance be a reaſonable inducement to make us think they might?* We are then to examine, firſt, what poſſibility;

[a] By ſanctification, I mean a ſeparation from others not profeſſing as they do. For true holineſs conſiſteth not in profeſſing, but in obeying the truth of Chriſt.

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then what probability there is that God might be merciful unto ſo many of our Fathers.

10. So many of our Fathers living in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, yet by the mercy of God be ſaved? No; this could not be: God hath ſpoken by his Angel from heaven, unto his people concerning Babylon; (by Babylon we underſtand the Church of Rome;) *Go out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her plagues.* For anſwer whereunto, firſt, I do not take the words to be meant only of temporal plagues, of the corporal death, ſorrow, famine, and fire, whereunto God in his wrath hath condemned Babylon; and that to ſave his choſen people from theſe plagues, he ſaith, *Go out*; with like intent, as in the Goſpel, ſpeaking of Jeruſalem's deſolation, he ſaith, *Let them that are in Judea fly unto the mountains, and them that are in the midſt thereof depart out*; or, as in former times to Lot, *Ariſe, take thy wife and thy daughters which are here, leſt thou be deſtroyed in the puniſhment of the city:* but foraſmuch as here it is ſaid, *Go out of Babylon*; we doubt, their everlaſting deſtruction, which are partakers therein, is either principally meant, or neceſſarily implied in this ſentence. How then was it poſſible for ſo many of your Fathers to be ſaved, ſith they were ſo far from departing out of Babylon, that they took her for their mother, and in her boſom yielded up the ghoſt?

Apoc. xviii. 4.

Mat. xxiv. 16.

Gen. xix. 15.

11. Firſt, for the plagues being threatened unto them that are partakers in the ſins of Babylon, we can define nothing concerning our Fathers, out of this ſentence; unleſs we knew what the ſins of Babylon be, and what they be which are ſuch partakers of them, that their everlaſting plagues are inevitable. The ſins which may be common both to them of the Church of Rome, and to others departed thence, muſt be ſevered from this queſtion. He which ſaith, *Depart out of Babylon, leſt ye be partakers of her ſins*, ſheweth plainly, that he meaneth ſuch ſins, as, except we ſeparate ourſelves, we have no power in the

world

world to avoid; ſuch impieties, as by their law they have eſtabliſhed, and whereunto all that are among them, either do indeed aſſent, or elſe are by powerable means forced in ſhew and appearance to ſubject themſelves. As for example, in the Church of Rome it is maintained, that the ſame credit and reverence that we give to the Scriptures of God, ought alſo to be given to unwritten verities; that the Pope is ſupreme head miniſterial over the univerſal Church militant; that the bread in the Euchariſt is tranſubſtantiated into Chriſt; that it is to be adored, and to be offered up unto God, as a ſacrifice propitiatory for quick and dead; that images are to be worſhipped; ſaints to be called upon as interceſſors, and ſuch like. Now, becauſe ſome hereſies do concern things only believed, as the tranſubſtantiation of the ſacramental elements in the Euchariſt; ſome concern things which are practiſed and put in ure, as the adoration of the elements tranſubſtantiated: we muſt note, that erroneouſly, the practice of that is ſometime received, whereof the doctrine, that teacheth it, is not heretically maintained. They are all partakers of the maintenance of hereſies, who by word or deed allow them, knowing them, although not knowing them to be hereſies; as alſo they, and that moſt dangerouſly of all others, who knowing hereſy to be hereſy, do, notwithſtanding, in worldly reſpects, make ſemblance of allowing that, which in heart and judgment they condemn: but hereſy is heretically maintained, by ſuch as obſtinately hold it, after wholeſome admonition. Of the laſt ſort, as of the next before, I make no doubt, but that their condemnation without an actual repentance is inevitable. Leſt any man therefore ſhould think, that in ſpeaking of our Fathers, I ſhould ſpeak indifferently of them all, let my words, I beſeech you, be well marked; *I doubt not, but God was merciful to ſave thouſands of our Fathers*: which thing I will now, by God's aſſiſtance, ſet more plainly before your eyes.

12. Many

12. Many are partakers of the error which are not of the hereſy of the Church of Rome. The people following the conduct of their guides, and obſerving as they did, exactly, that which was preſcribed, thought they did God good ſervice, when indeed they did diſhonour him. This was their error: but the hereſy of the Church of Rome, their dogmatical poſitions oppoſite unto Chriſtian truth, what one man amongſt ten thouſand did ever underſtand? Of them, which underſtand Roman hereſies, and allow them, all are not alike partakers in the action of allowing. Some allow them as the firſt founders and eſtabliſhers of them; which crime toucheth none but their Popes and Councils: the people are clear and free from this. Of them which maintain Popiſh hereſies, not as authors, but receivers of them from others, all maintain them not as maſters. In this are not the people partakers neither, but only the Predicants and Schoolmen. Of them which have been partakers in this ſin of teaching Popiſh hereſy, there is alſo a difference; for they have not all been teachers of all Popiſh hereſy. *Put a difference*, ſaith St. Jude; *have compaſſion upon ſome.* Shall we lap up all in one condition? ſhall we caſt them all headlong, ſhall we plunge them all into that infernal and everlaſting flaming lake? them that have been partakers of the errors of Babylon, together with them which are in the hereſy? them which have been the authors of hereſy, with them that by terror and violence have been forced to receive it? them who have taught it, with them whoſe ſimplicity hath, by ſleights and conveyances of falſe teachers, been ſeduced to believe it? them which have been partakers in one, with them which have been partakers in many? them which in many, with them which in all? ver. 22.

13. Notwithſtanding I grant, that although the condemnation of them be more tolerable than of theſe;

theſe; yet from the man that laboureth at the plough, to him that ſitteth in the Vatican; to all partakers in the ſins of Babylon; to our Fathers, though they did but erroneouſly practiſe that which the guide heretically taught; to all, without exception, plagues were due. The pit is ordinarily the end, as well of the guide, as of the guided in blindneſs. But woe worth the hour wherein we were born, except we might promiſe ourſelves better things; things which accompany man's ſalvation, even where we know that worſe and ſuch as accompany condemnation are due. Then muſt we ſhew ſome way how poſſibly they might eſcape. What way is there that ſinners can find to eſcape the judgment of God, but only by appealing to the ſeat of his ſaving mercy? which mercy, with Origen, we do not extend to devils and damned ſpirits. God hath mercy upon thouſands, but there be thouſands alſo which he hardeneth. Chriſt hath therefore ſet the bounds, he hath fixed the limits of his ſaving mercy within the compaſs of theſe terms: *God ſent not his own Son to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be ſaved.* In the third of St. John's Goſpel mercy is reſtrained to believers: *He that believeth ſhall not be condemned; he that believeth not, is condemned already, becauſe he believeth not in the Son of God.* In the ſecond of the Revelation, mercy is reſtrained to the penitent. For of Jezebel and her ſectaries thus he ſpeaketh: *I gave her ſpace to repent, and ſhe repented not. Behold, I will caſt her into a bed, and them that commit fornication with her into great affliction, except they repent them of their works, and I will kill her children with death.* Our hope therefore of the Fathers is, if they were not altogether faithleſs and impenitent, that they are ſaved.

John iii. 18.

Apoc. ii. 20—23.

14. They are not all faithleſs that are weak in aſſenting to the truth, or ſtiff in maintaining things oppoſite to the truth of Chriſtian doctrine. But as many as hold the foundation which is precious, though

though they hold it but weakly, and as it were with a ſlender thread, although they frame many baſe and unſuitable things upon it, things that cannot abide the trial of the fire; yet ſhall they paſs the fiery trial and be ſaved, which indeed have builded themſelves upon the rock, which is the foundation of the Church. If then our Fathers did not hold the foundation of faith, there is no doubt but they were faithleſs. If many of them held it, then is therein no impediment, but many of them might be ſaved. Then let us ſee what the foundation of faith is, and whether we may think that thouſands of our Fathers being in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, did notwithſtanding hold the foundation.

15. If the foundation of faith do import the general ground, whereupon we reſt when we do believe, the writings of the Evangeliſts and the Apoſtles are the foundation of the Chriſtian faith: *Credimus quia legimus*, (ſaith St. Jerome.) Oh that the Church of Rome did as [a] ſoundly interpret theſe fundamental writings whereupon we build our faith, as ſhe doth willingly hold and embrace them.

16. But if the name of Foundation do note the principal thing which is believed, then is that the foundation of our faith which St. Paul hath to Timothy; *God manifeſted in the fleſh, juſtified in the Spirit, &c.* that of Nathaniel, *Thou art the Son of the living God, thou art the King of Iſrael:* that of the inhabitants of Samaria, *This is Chriſt the Saviour of the world:* he that directly denieth this, doth utterly raze the very foundation of our faith. I have proved heretofore, that although the Church of Rome hath played the harlot worſe than ever did Iſrael, yet are they not, as now the Synagogue of the Jews, which

1 Tim. iii. 16. John i. 49. John iv. 42.

[a] They miſinterpret, not only by making falſe and corrupt gloſſes upon the Scripture, but alſo by forcing the old vulgar tranſlation as the only authentical: howbeit, they refuſe no book which is canonical, though they admit ſundry which are not.

plainly

plainly deny Chriſt Jeſus, quite and clean excluded from the new Covenant. But as Samaria compared with Jeruſalem is termed Aholath, a Church or Tabernacle of her own; contrariwiſe, Jeruſalem Aholibath, the reſting place of the Lord: ſo, whatſoever we term the Church of Rome, when we compare her with reformed Churches, ſtill we put a difference, as then between Babylon and Samaria, ſo now between Rome and the Heatheniſh aſſemblies. Which opinion I muſt and will recall; I muſt grant and will, that the Church of Rome, together with all her children, is clean excluded; there is no difference in the world between our Fathers and Saracens, Turks, and Painims, if they did directly deny Chriſt crucified for the ſalvation of the world.

17. But how many millions of them were known ſo to have ended their lives, that the drawing of their breath hath ceaſed with the uttering of this faith, *Chriſt my Saviour, my Redeemer Jeſus?* Anſwer is made, that this they might unfeignedly confeſs, and yet be far enough from ſalvation. For behold, Gal. v. 2. ſaith the Apoſtle, *I, Paul, ſay unto you, that if ye be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing.* Chriſt in the work of man's ſalvation is alone; the Galatians were caſt away by joining circumciſion, and the other rites of the Law, with Chriſt: the Church of Rome doth teach her children to join other things likewiſe with him; therefore their faith, their belief doth not profit them any thing at all. It is true that they do indeed join other things with Chriſt; but how? not in the work of redemption itſelf, which they grant, that Chriſt alone hath performed ſufficiently for the ſalvation of the whole world; but in the application of this ineſtimable treaſure, that it may be effectual to their ſalvation: how demurely ſoever they confeſs, that they ſeek remiſſion of ſins no otherwiſe than by the blood of Chriſt, uſing humbly the means appointed by him to apply the benefit of his holy blood; they teach, indeed, ſo many things

pernicious

pernicious in Chriſtian Faith, in ſetting down the means whereof they ſpeak, that the very foundation of Faith which they hold, is thereby [a] plainly overthrown, and the force of the blood of Jeſus Chriſt extinguiſhed. We may therefore, diſputing with them, urge them even with as dangerous ſequels, as the Apoſtle doth the Galatians. But I demand, if ſome of thoſe Galatians heartily embracing the Goſpel of Chriſt, ſincere and ſound in Faith, (this one only error excepted,) had ended their lives before they were ever taught how perilous an opinion they held; ſhall we think that the danger of this error did ſo overweigh the benefit of their Faith, that the mercy of God might not ſave them? I grant they overthrew the foundation of Faith by conſequent: doth not that ſo likewiſe which the [b] Lutheran Churches do at this day ſo ſtiffly and ſo firmly maintain? For mine own part I dare not here deny the poſſibility of their ſalvation which have been the chiefeſt inſtruments of ours, albeit they carried to their grave a perſuaſion ſo greatly repugnant to the truth. Foraſmuch therefore as it may be ſaid of the Church of Rome, ſhe hath yet a little ſtrength; ſhe doth not directly deny the foundation of Chriſtianity: I may, I truſt without offence, perſuade myſelf, that thouſands of our Fathers in former times, living and

[a] Plainly in all men's ſight whoſe eyes God hath enlightened to behold his truth. For they which are in error are in darkneſs, and ſee not that which in light is plain. In that which they teach concerning the natures of Chriſt, they hold the ſame with Neſtorius fully, the ſame with Eutyches about the proprieties of his nature.

[b] The opinion of the Lutherans, though it be no direct denial of the foundation, may notwithſtanding be damnable unto ſome; and I do not think but that in many reſpects it is leſs damnable, as at this day ſome maintain it, than it was in them which held it at firſt; as Luther and others whom I had an eye unto in this ſpeech. The queſtion is not whether an error with ſuch and ſuch circumſtances; but ſimply, whether an error overthrowing the foundation, do exclude all poſſibility of ſalvation, if it be not recanted, and expreſsly repented of.

dying within her walls, have found mercy at the hands of God.

18. What although they repented not of their errors? God forbid that I ſhould open my mouth to gainſay that which Chriſt himſelf hath ſpoken; *Except ye repent, ye ſhall all periſh.* And if they did not repent, they periſhed. But withal note, that we have the benefit of a double repentance: the leaſt ſin which we commit in deed, thought, or word, is death, without repentance. Yet how many things do eſcape us in every of theſe, which we do not know? how many, which we do not obſerve to be ſins? and without the knowledge, without the obſervation of ſin, there is no actual repentance. It cannot then be choſen, but that for as many as hold the foundation, and have all holden ſins and errors in hatred, the bleſſing of repentance for unknown ſins and errors is obtained at the hands of God, through the gracious mediation of Jeſus Chriſt, for ſuch ſuitors as cry with the prophet David, *Purge me, O Lord, from my ſecret ſins.*

19. But we waſh a wall of loam; we labour in vain; all this is nothing; it doth not prove, it cannot juſtify, that which we go about to maintain. Infidels and Heathen men are not ſo godleſs, but that they may, no doubt, cry God mercy, and deſire in general to have their ſins forgiven them. To ſuch as deny the foundation of Faith there can be no ſalvation, (according to the ordinary courſe which God doth uſe in ſaving men,) without a particular repentance of that error. The Galatians thinking, that unleſs they were circumciſed, they could not be ſaved, overthrew the foundation of Faith directly: therefore if any of them did die ſo perſuaded, whether before or after they were told of their errors, their end is dreadful; there is no way with them but one, death and condemnation. For the Apoſtle ſpeaketh nothing of men departed, but
Gal. v. 2, 4. faith generally of all, *If you be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing. You are aboliſhed from Chriſt, whoſoever*

whoſoever are juſtified by the Law; ye are fallen from grace. Of them in the Church of Rome the reaſon is the ſame. For whom Antichriſt hath ſeduced, concerning them did not St. Paul ſpeak long before, They received not the word of truth, that they might be ſaved, therefore God would *ſend them ſtrong deluſions to believe lies, that all they might be damned which believe not the truth, but had pleaſure in unrighteouſneſs?* and St. John, *All that dwell upon the earth ſhall worſhip him, whoſe names are not written in the book of life?* Indeed many in former times, as their books and writings do yet ſhew, held the foundation, to wit, ſalvation by Chriſt alone, and therefore might be ſaved. God hath always had a Church amongſt them, which firmly kept his ſaving truth. As for ſuch as hold with the Church of Rome, that we cannot be ſaved by Chriſt alone without works; they do not only by a circle of conſequence, but directly deny the foundation of Faith; they hold it not, no not ſo much as by a thread.

2 Theſſ. ii. 11.

Apoc. xiii. 8.

20. This, to my remembrance, being all that hath been oppoſed with any countenance or ſhew of reaſon, I hope, if this be anſwered, the cauſe in queſtion is at an end. Concerning general repentance therefore: what? a murderer, a blaſphemer, an unclean perſon, a Turk, a Jew, any ſinner to eſcape the wrath of God by a general repentance, *God forgive me?* Truly it never came within my heart, that a general repentance doth ſerve for all ſins: it ſerveth only for the common overſights of our ſinful life, and for the faults which either we do not mark, or do not know that they are faults. Our Fathers were actually penitent for ſins, wherein they knew they diſpleaſed God; or elſe they fall not within the compaſs of my firſt ſpeech. Again, that otherwiſe they could not be ſaved, than holding the foundation of Chriſtian Faith, we have not only affirmed, but proved. Why is it not then confeſſed, that thouſands of our Fathers which lived in Popiſh ſuperſtitions,

ſtitions, might yet by the mercy of God be ſaved? Firſt, if they had directly denied the very foundations of Chriſtianity, without repenting them particularly of that ſin, he which ſaith there could be no ſalvation for them, according to the ordinary courſe which God doth uſe in ſaving men, granteth plainly, or at the leaſt cloſely inſinuateth, that an extraordinary privilege of mercy might deliver their ſouls from hell, which is more than I required. Secondly, if the foundation be denied, it is denied for fear of ſome hereſy which the Church of Rome maintaineth. But how many were there amongſt our Fathers, who being ſeduced by the common error of that Church, never knew the meaning of her hereſies? So that although all Popiſh Heretics did periſh; thouſands of them which lived in Popiſh ſuperſtitions might be ſaved. Thirdly, ſeeing all that held Popiſh hereſies, did not hold all the hereſies of the Pope; why might not thouſands which were infected with other leaven, live and die unſoured with this, and ſo be ſaved? Fourthly, if they all held this hereſy, many there were that held it, no doubt, but only in a general form of words, which a favourable interpretation might expound in a ſenſe differing far enough from the poiſoned conceit of hereſy. As for example; did they hold that we cannot be ſaved by Chriſt without good works[a]? We ourſelves do, I think, all ſay as much, with this conſtruction, ſalvation being taken as in that ſentence, *Corde creditur ad juſtitiam, ore fit confeſſio ad ſalutem*; except infants, and men cut off upon the point of their converſion, of the reſt none ſhall ſee God, but ſuch as ſeek peace and holineſs, though not as a cauſe of their ſalvation, yet as a way which

[a] For this is the only thing alleged to prove the impoſſibility of their ſalvation: the Church of Rome joineth works with Chriſt, which is a denial of the foundation, and unleſs we hold the foundation, we cannot be ſaved.

they

they muſt walk which will be ſaved. Did they hold, that without works we are not juſtified? Take juſtification ſo as it may alſo imply ſanctification, and St. James doth ſay as much. For except there be an ambiguity in the ſame term, St. Paul and St. James do contradict each the other: which cannot be. Now there is no ambiguity in the name either of Faith, or of Works, being meant by them both in one and the ſame ſenſe. Finding therefore, that juſtification is ſpoken of by St. Paul without implying ſanctification, when he proveth that a man is juſtified by Faith without Works; finding likewiſe that juſtification doth ſometime imply ſanctification alſo with it; I ſuppoſe nothing to be more ſound, than ſo to interpret St. James, ſpeaking not in that ſenſe, but in this.

21. We have already ſhewed, that there be two kinds of Chriſtian righteouſneſs: the one without us, which we have by imputation; the other in us, which conſiſteth of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and other Chriſtian virtues: and St. James doth prove that Abraham had not only the one becauſe the thing believed was imputed unto him for righteouſneſs; but alſo the other, becauſe he offered up his ſon. God giveth us both the one juſtice and the other; the one by accepting us for righteous in Chriſt; the other by working Chriſtian righteouſneſs in us. The proper and moſt immediate efficient cauſe in us of this latter is the Spirit of Adoption we have received into our hearts. That whereof it conſiſteth, whereof it is really and formally made, are thoſe infuſed virtues proper and peculiar unto ſaints; which the Spirit in the very moment when firſt it is given of God bringeth with it: the effects whereof are ſuch actions as the Apoſtle doth call the fruits of works, the operations of the Spirit; the difference of the which operation from the root whereof they ſpring maketh it needful to put two kinds likewiſe of ſanctifying righteouſneſs, habitual and actual. Habitual, that

holineſs, wherewith our ſouls are inwardly endued, the ſame inſtant when firſt we begin to be the temples of the Holy Ghoſt; actual, that holineſs which afterwards beautifieth all the parts and actions of our life, the holineſs for which Enoch, Job, Zachary, Elizabeth, and other ſaints, are in the Scriptures ſo highly commended. If here it be demanded, which of theſe we do firſt receive; I anſwer, that the Spirit, the virtue of the Spirit, the habitual juſtice, which is ingrafted, the external juſtice of Jeſus Chriſt, which is imputed, theſe we receive all at one and the ſame time; whenſoever we have any of theſe, we have all; they go together: yet ſith no man is juſtified except he believe, and no man believeth except he has Faith, and no man except he hath received the Spirit of Adoption, hath Faith, foraſmuch as they do neceſſarily infer juſtification, and juſtification doth of neceſſity preſuppoſe them; we muſt needs hold that imputed righteouſneſs, in dignity being the chiefeſt, is notwithſtanding in order to the laſt of all theſe, but actual righteouſneſs, which is the righteouſneſs of good works, ſucceedeth all, followeth after all, both in order and time. Which being attentively marked, ſheweth plainly how the faith of true believers cannot be divorced from hope and love; how faith is a part of ſanctification, and yet unto juſtification neceſſary; how faith is perfected by good works, and not works of ours without faith: finally, how our Fathers might hold that we are juſtified by faith alone, and yet hold truly that without works we are not juſtified. Did they think that men do merit rewards in heaven by the works they perform on earth? The ancients uſe meriting for obtaining, and in that ſenſe they of Wittenberg have in their Confeſſion; *We teach that good works commanded of God are neceſſarily to be done, and by the free kindneſs of God they merit their certain rewards.* Therefore ſpeaking as our Fathers did, and we taking their ſpeech in a ſound meaning, as

we

we may take our Fathers, and might, foraſmuch as their meaning is doubtful, and charity doth always interpret doubtful things favourably; what ſhould induce us to think that rather the damage of the worſt conſtruction did light upon them all, than that the bleſſing of the better was granted unto thouſands? Fifthly, if in the worſt conſtruction that may be made, they had generally all embraced it living, might not many of them dying utterly renounce it? Howſoever men, when they ſit at eaſe, do vainly tickle their hearts with the vain conceit of I know not what proportionable correſpondence between their merits and their rewards, which in the trance of their high ſpeculations they dream that God hath meaſured, weighed, and laid up, as it were in bundle for them; notwithſtanding we ſee by daily experience, in a number even of them, that when the hour of death approacheth, when they ſecretly hear themſelves ſummoned forthwith to appear, and ſtand at the bar of that Judge, whoſe brightneſs cauſeth the eyes of the angels themſelves to dazzle, all theſe idle imaginations do then begin to hide their faces; to name merits then, is to lay their ſouls upon the rack, the memory of their own deeds is loathſome unto them, they forſake all things wherein they have put any truſt or confidence; no ſtaff to lean upon, no eaſe, no reſt, no comfort then, but only in Jeſus Chriſt.

22. Wherefore if this propoſition were true: *To hold in ſuch wiſe, as the Church of Rome doth, that we cannot be ſaved by Chriſt alone without works, is directly to deny the foundation of Faith*; I ſay, that if this propoſition were true; nevertheleſs ſo many ways I have ſhewed, whereby we may hope that thouſands of our Fathers which lived in Popiſh ſuperſtition might be ſaved [a]. But what if it be not true? What

[a] They may ceaſe to put any confidence in works, and yet never think, living in Popiſh ſuperſtition, they did amiſs. Pighius died Popiſh, and yet denied Popery in the article of juſtification by works long before his death.

if neither that of the Galatians, concerning circumciſion; nor this of the Church of Rome by works be any direct denial of the foundation, as it is affirmed that both are? I need not wade ſo far as to diſcuſs this controverſy, the matter which firſt was brought into queſtion being ſo clear, as I hope it is. Howbeit, becauſe I deſire that the truth even in that alſo ſhould receive light, I will do mine endeavour to ſet down ſomewhat more plainly; firſt, the foundation of Faith, what it is: ſecondly, what it is directly to deny the foundation: thirdly, whether they whom God hath choſen to be heirs of life, may fall ſo far as directly to deny it: fourthly, whether the Galatians did ſo by admitting the error about Circumciſion and the Law: laſt of all, whether the Church of Rome, for this one opinion of Works, may be thought to do the like, and thereupon to be no more a Chriſtian Church, than are the aſſemblies of Turks and Jews.

What the foundation of Faith is.

23. This word Foundation being figuratively uſed, hath always reference to ſomewhat which reſembleth a material building, as both that doctrine of laws and the community of Chriſtians do. By the maſters of civil policy nothing is ſo much inculcated, as that commonwealths are founded upon laws; for that a multitude cannot be compacted into one body otherwiſe than by a common acception of laws, whereby they are to be kept in order[a]. The ground of all civil laws is this; *No man ought to be hurt or injured by another*; take away this perſuaſion, and ye take away all the laws; take away laws, and what ſhall become of commonweals? So it is in our ſpiritual Chriſtian community: I do not mean that body myſtical, whereof Chriſt is only the head, that building undiſcernible by mortal eyes, wherein

Ephef. i. 23. and iv. 15.

[a] Vocata ad concionem multitudine, quæ coaleſcere in populi unius corpus nulla re præterquam legibus poterat. Liv. de Rom. lib. i. cap. 8.

Chriſt

Chriſt is the chief corner-ſtone; but I ſpeak of the viſible Church; the foundation whereof is the doctrine which the Prophets and the Apoſtles profeſſed. The mark whereunto their doctrine tendeth is pointed at in theſe words of Peter unto Chriſt, *Thou haſt the words of eternal life:* in thoſe words of Paul to Timothy, *The holy Scriptures are able to make thee wiſe unto ſalvation.* It is the demand of nature itſelf, *What ſhall we do to have eternal life?* The deſire of immortality and the knowledge of that, whereby it may be obtained, is ſo natural unto all men, that even they who are not perſuaded that they ſhall, do notwithſtanding wiſh that they might know a way how to ſee no end of life. And becauſe natural means are not able ſtill to reſiſt the force of death, there is no people in the earth ſo ſavage, which hath not deviſed ſome ſupernatural help or other, to fly to for aid and ſuccour in extremities, againſt the enemies of the laws. A longing therefore to be ſaved, without underſtanding the true way how, hath been the cauſe of all the ſuperſtitions in the world. Oh that the miſerable ſtate of others, which wander in darkneſs, and wot not whither they go, could give us underſtanding hearts, worthily to eſteem the riches of the mercy of God towards us, before whoſe eyes the doors of the kingdom of Heaven are ſet wide open! ſhould we offer violence unto it? it offereth violence unto us, and we gather ſtrength to withſtand it. But I am beſides my purpoſe when I fall to bewail the cold affection which we bear towards that whereby we ſhould be ſaved; my purpoſe being only to ſet down what the ground of ſalvation is. The doctrine of the Goſpel propoſeth ſalvation as the end: and doth it not teach the way of attaining thereunto? Yea, the damſel poſſeſſed with a ſpirit of divination ſpake the truth: *Theſe men are the ſervants of the moſt high God, which ſhew unto us the way of ſalvation: A new and living way which Chriſt hath prepared for us, through the vail, that is, his fleſh;*

Ephes. ii. 20. John vi. 68. 2 Tim. iii. 15. Acts xvi. 17. Heb. x. 20.

ſalvation

ſalvation purchaſed by the death of Chriſt. By this foundation the children of God, before the written Law, were diſtinguiſhed from the ſons of men; the
Gen. xlix. reverend Patriarchs both poſſeſſed it living, and ſpake expreſsly of it at the hour of their death. It
Job xix. 25—27. comforted Job in the midſt of grief; as it was afterwards the anchor-hold of all the righteous in Iſrael, from the writing of the Law, to the time of Grace, every prophet making mention of it. It was famouſly ſpoken of about the time, when the coming of Chriſt to accompliſh the promiſes, which were made long before it, drew near, that the ſound thereof was heard even amongſt the Gentiles. When he was come, as many as were his, acknowledged that he was their ſalvation; he, that long expected hope of Iſrael; he, that *ſeed, in whom all the nations of the earth ſhall be bleſſed.* So that now he is a name of ruin, a name of death and condemnation, unto ſuch as dream of a new Meſſias, to as many as look for
Acts iv. 12. ſalvation by any other but by him: *For amongſt men there is given no other name under heaven whereby we muſt be ſaved.* Thus much St. Mark doth intimate by that which he doth put in the front of his book, making his entrance with theſe words: *The beginning of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God.* His doctrine he termeth the Goſpel, becauſe it teacheth ſalvation; the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God, becauſe it teacheth ſalvation by him. This is then the foundation, whereupon the frame
Luke ii. 28. of the Goſpel is erected; that very Jeſus whom the Virgin conceived of the Holy Ghoſt, whom Simeon embraced in his arms, whom Pilate condemned, whom the Jews crucified, whom the Apoſtles preached, he is Chriſt, the Lord, the only Saviour of the
1 Cor. iii. 11. world: *Other foundation can no man lay.* Thus I have briefly opened that principle in Chriſtianity, which we call the foundation of our Faith. It followeth now that I declare unto you, what it is directly to overthrow it. This will be better opened, if we underſtand,

underſtand, what it is to hold the foundation of Faith.

24. There are which defend, that many of the Gentiles, who never heard the name of Chriſt, held the foundation of Chriſtianity: and why? they acknowledged many of them the providence of God, his infinite wiſdom, ſtrength, power; his goodneſs, and his mercy towards the children of men; that God hath judgment in ſtore for the wicked, but for the righteous which ſerve him rewards, &c. In this which they confeſſed, that lieth covered which we believe; in the rudiments of their knowledge concerning God, the foundation of our Faith concerning Chriſt lieth ſecretly wrapt up, and is virtually contained: therefore they held the foundation of Faith, though they never had it. Might we not with as good a colour of reaſon defend, that every ploughman hath all the ſciences, wherein philoſophers have excelled? For no man is ignorant of their firſt principles, which do virtually contain whatſoever by natural means is or can be known. Yea, might we not with as great reaſon affirm, that a man might put three mighty oaks whereſoever three acorns may be put? For virtually an acorn is an oak. To avoid ſuch paradoxes, we teach plainly, that to hold the foundation is, in expreſs terms, to acknowledge it.

25. Now, becauſe the foundation is an affirmative poſition, they all overthrow it, who deny it; they directly overthrow it, who deny it directly; and they overthrow it by conſequent, or indirectly, which hold any one aſſertion whatſoever, whereupon the direct denial thereof may be neceſſarily concluded. What is the queſtion between the Gentiles and us, but this, Whether ſalvation be by Chriſt? What between the Jews and us, but this, Whether by this Jeſus, whom we call Chriſt, yea, or no? This to be the main point whereupon Chriſtianity ſtandeth, it is clear, by that one ſentence of Feſtus concerning Paul's accuſers: *They brought no crime of ſuch*

ſuch things as I ſuppoſed, but had certain queſtions againſt him of their ſuperſtitions, and of one Jeſus which was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive. Where we ſee that Jeſus, dead and raiſed for the ſalvation of the world, is by Jews denied, deſpiſed by a Gentile, by a Chriſtian Apoſtle maintained. The Fathers therefore in the primitive Church, when they wrote; Tertullian, the book which he called Apologeticus; Minutius Fœlix, the book which he entitled Octavius; Arnobius, the ſeven books againſt the Gentiles; Chryſoſtom, his orations againſt the Jews; Euſebius, his ten books of Evangelical Demonſtration: they ſtand in defence of Chriſtianity againſt them, by whom the foundation thereof was directly denied. But the writings of the Fathers againſt Novatians, Pelagians, and other Heretics of the like note, refel poſitions, whereby the foundation of Chriſtian Faith was overthrown by conſequent only. In the former ſort of writings the foundation is proved; in the latter, it is alleged as a proof, which to men that had been known directly to deny it, muſt needs have ſeemed a very beggarly kind of diſputing. All Infidels therefore deny the foundation of Faith directly: by conſequent, many a Chriſtian man, yea whole Chriſtian Churches denied it, and do deny it at this preſent day. Chriſtian Churches, the foundation of Chriſtianity? not directly, for then they ceaſe to be Chriſtian Churches; but by conſequent, in reſpect whereof we condemn them as erroneous, although for holding the foundation we do and muſt hold them Chriſtians.

26. We ſee what it is to hold the foundation; what directly, and what by conſequent to deny it. The next thing which followeth is, whether they whom God hath choſen to obtain the glory of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, may, once effectually called, and through Faith juſtified truly, afterwards fall ſo far, as directly to deny the foundation which their hearts have before embraced with joy and comfort in the Holy

Holy Ghoſt; for ſuch is the faith, which indeed doth juſtify. Devils know the ſame things which we believe, and the minds of the moſt ungodly may be fully perſuaded of the truth; which knowledge in the one and in the other is ſometimes termed Faith, but equivocally, being indeed no ſuch faith as that whereby a Chriſtian man is juſtified. It is the Spirit of Adoption which worketh faith in us, in them not: the things which we believe are by us apprehended, not only as true, but alſo as good, and that to us: as good, they are not by them apprehended; as true, they are. Whereupon followeth the third difference; the Chriſtian man the more he increaſeth in faith, the more his joy and comfort aboundeth: but they, the more ſure they are of the truth, the more they quake and tremble at it. This begetteth another effect, where the hearts of the one ſort have a different diſpoſition from the other. *Non ignoro pleroſque conſcientia meritorum, nihil ſe eſſe poſt mortem magis optare quam credere; malunt enim extingui penitus, quam ad ſupplicia reparari.* I am not ignorant, ſaith Minutius, that there be many, who, being conſcious what they are to look for, do rather wiſh that they might, than think that they ſhall ceaſe, when they ceaſe to live; becauſe they hold it better that death ſhould conſume them unto nothing, than God revive them unto puniſhment. So it is in other articles of faith, whereof wicked men think, no doubt, many times they are too true: on the contrary ſide, to the other, there is no grief or torment greater, than to feel their perſuaſion weak in things, whereof, when they are perſuaded, they reap ſuch comfort and joy of ſpirit: ſuch is the faith whereby we are juſtified; ſuch, I mean, in reſpect of the quality. For touching the principal object of faith, longer than it holdeth the foundation whereof we have ſpoken, it neither juſtifieth, nor is; but ceaſeth to be faith when it ceaſeth to believe, that Jeſus Chriſt is the only Saviour of the world. The cauſe of life ſpiritual in us, is Chriſt, not carnally or corporally inhabiting,

inhabiting, but dwelling in the ſoul of man, as a thing which (when the mind apprehendeth it) is ſaid to inhabit or poſſeſs the mind. The mind conceiveth Chriſt by hearing the doctrine of Chriſtianity, as the light of nature doth cauſe the mind to apprehend thoſe truths which are merely rational; ſo that ſaving truth, which is far above the reach of human reaſon, cannot otherwiſe, than by the Spirit of the Almighty, be conceived. All theſe are implied, whereſoever any of them is mentioned as the cauſe of the ſpiritual life. Wherefore if we have read, that *The Spirit is our life*; or, *The Word our life*; or, *Chriſt our life*; we are in every of theſe to underſtand, that our life is Chriſt, by the hearing of the Goſpel apprehended as a Saviour, and aſſented unto through the power of the Holy Ghoſt. The firſt intellectual conceit and comprehenſion of Chriſt ſo embraced, St. Peter calleth *the ſeed whereof we be new born:* our firſt embracing of Chriſt, is our firſt reviving from the ſtate of death and condemnation. *He that hath the Son hath life*, ſaith St. John, *and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life.* If therefore he which once hath the Son may ceaſe to have the Son, though it be for a moment, he ceaſeth for that moment to have life. But the life of them which have the Son of God, is everlaſting, in the world to come. But becauſe as Chriſt being raiſed from the dead died no more, death hath no more power over him; ſo juſtified man being allied to God in Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, doth as neceſſarily from that time forward always live, as Chriſt by whom he hath life, liveth always. I might, if I had not otherwhere largely done it already, ſhew by many and ſundry manifeſt and clear proofs, how the motions and operations of life are ſometime ſo indiſcernible, and ſo ſecret, that they ſeem ſtone-dead, who notwithſtanding are ſtill alive unto God in Chriſt.

Rom. viii. 10. Phil. ii. 16. Col. iii. 4.

1 Pet. i. 23. Epheſ. ii. 5.

1 John v. 12.

1 John v. 13.

Perpetuity of faith. Rom. vi. 10.

John xiv. 19.

For as long as that abideth in us, which animateth, quickeneth, and giveth life, ſo long we live, and

and we know that the cauſe of our faith abideth in us for ever. If Chriſt, the fountain of life, may flit and leave the habitation, where once he dwelleth, what ſhall become of his promiſe, *I am with you to the world's end?* If the ſeed of God, which containeth Chriſt, may be firſt conceived and then caſt out; how doth St. Peter term it immortal? how doth St. John affirm *it abideth?* If the Spirit, which is given to cheriſh and preſerve the ſeed of life, may be given and taken away, how is it the earneſt of our inheritance until redemption? how doth it continue with us for ever? If therefore the man which is once juſt by Faith, ſhall live by Faith, and live for ever, it followeth, that he which once doth believe the foundation, muſt needs believe the foundation for ever. If he believe it for ever, how can he ever directly deny it? Faith holding the direct affirmation; the direct negation, ſo long as Faith continueth, is excluded.

1 Pet. i. 23. 1 John iii. 9. Epheſ. i. 14. John xiv. 14.

Object. But you will ſay, *That as he that is to-day holy may to-morrow forſake his holineſs, and become impure; as a friend may change his mind, and be made an enemy; as hope may wither; ſo Faith may die in the heart of man, the Spirit may be quenched, Grace may be extinguiſhed, they which believe may be quite turned away from the truth.*

Sol. The caſe is clear, long experience hath made this manifeſt, it needs no proof. I grant we are apt, prone, and ready to forſake God; but is God as ready to forſake us? Our minds are changeable; is his ſo likewiſe? Whom God hath juſtified, hath not Chriſt aſſured, that it is *his Father's will to give them a kingdom?* Notwithſtanding it ſhall not be otherwiſe given them, than if they continue grounded and ſtabliſhed in the Faith, and be not moved away from the hope of the Goſpel; *if they abide in love and holineſs.* Our Saviour therefore, when he ſpake of the ſheep effectually called, and truly gathered into his fold, *I give unto them eternal life, and they*

Col. i. 23. 1 Tim. ii. 15. John x. 28.

ſhall

ſhall never periſh, neither ſhall any pluck them out of my hands; in promiſing to ſave them, he promiſed, no doubt, to preſerve them in that, without which there can be no ſalvation, as alſo from that whereby it is irrecoverably loſt. Every error in things appertaining unto God is repugnant unto faith; every fearful cogitation, unto hope; unto love every ſtraggling inordinate deſire; unto holineſs every blemiſh wherewith either the inward thoughts of our minds, or the outward actions of our lives are ſtained. But hereſy, ſuch as that of Ebion, Cerinthus, and others, againſt whom the Apoſtles were forced to bend themſelves, both by word, and alſo by writing; that repining diſcouragement of heart, which tempteth God, whereof we have Iſrael in the deſert for a pattern; coldneſs, ſuch as that in the Angels of Epheſus; foul ſins, known to be expreſsly againſt the firſt or ſecond table of the Law, ſuch as Noah, Manaſſes, David, Solomon, and Peter committed: theſe are each in their kind ſo oppoſite to the former virtues, that they leave no place for ſalvation without an actual repentance. But infidelity, extreme deſpair, hatred of God and all goodneſs, obduration in ſin cannot ſtand where there is but the leaſt ſpark of faith, hope, love, and ſanctity; even as cold in the loweſt degree cannot be, where heat in the higheſt degree is found. Whereupon I conclude, that although in the firſt kind, no man liveth, which ſinneth not; and in the ſecond, as perfect as any do live, may ſin: yet ſith the man which is born of God hath a promiſe, that in him *the ſeed of God ſhall abide*, which ſeed is a ſure preſervative againſt the ſins that are of the third ſuit; greater and clearer aſſurance we cannot have of any thing, than of this, that from ſuch ſins God ſhall preſerve the righteous, as the apple of his eye, for ever. Directly to deny the foundation of faith is plain infidelity; where faith is entered, there infidelity is for ever excluded: therefore by him which

1 John iii. 9.

hath

hath once ſincerely believed in Chriſt, the foundation of Chriſtian faith can never be directly denied. Did not Peter? did not Marcellinus? did not others both directly deny Chriſt after that they had believed, and again believe, after they had denied? No doubt, as they confeſs in words, whoſe condemnation is nevertheleſs their not believing, (for example we have Judas:) ſo likewiſe they may believe in heart, whoſe condemnation, without repentance, is their not confeſſing. Although, therefore, Peter and the reſt, for whoſe faith Chriſt hath prayed that it might not fail, did not by denial ſin the ſin of infidelity, which is an inward abnegation of Chriſt, (for if they had done this, their faith had clearly failed:) yet becauſe they ſinned notoriouſly and grievouſly, committing that which they knew to be expreſsly forbidden by the Law, which ſaith, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve*; neceſſary it was, that he which purpoſed to ſave their ſouls, ſhould, as he did, touch their hearts with true unfeigned repentance, that his mercy might reſtore them again to life, whom ſin had made the children of death and condemnation. Touching the point therefore, I hope I may ſafely ſet down, that if the juſtified err, as he may, and never come to underſtand his error, God doth ſave him through general repentance: but if he fall into hereſy, he calleth him at one time or other by actual repentance; but from infidelity, which is an inward direct denial of the foundation, he preſerveth him by ſpecial providence for ever. Whereby we may eaſily know, what to think of thoſe Galatians whoſe hearts were ſo poſſeſſed with the love of the truth, that if it had been poſſible, they would have plucked out their eyes to beſtow upon their teachers. It is true, that they were greatly [a] changed,

[a] Howſoever men be changed, (for changed they may be, even the beſt amongſt men,) if they that have received, as it ſeemeth

both in perſuaſion and affection; ſo that the Galatians, when St. Paul wrote unto them, were not now the Galatians which they had been in former time, for that through error they wandered, although they were his ſheep. I do not deny, but that I ſhould deny, that they were his ſheep, if I ſhould grant, that through error they periſhed. It was a perilous opinion that they held; perilous, even in them that held it only as an error, becauſe it overthroweth the foundation by conſequent. But in them which obſtinately maintain it, I cannot think it leſs than a damnable hereſy. We muſt therefore put a difference between them which err of ignorance, retaining nevertheleſs a mind deſirous to be inſtructed in truth, and them, which, after the truth is laid open, perſiſt in the ſtubborn defence of their blindneſs. Heretical defenders, froward and ſtiff-necked teachers of circumciſion, the bleſſed Apoſtle calls dogs: ſilly men, who were ſeduced to think they taught the truth, he pitieth, he taketh up in his arms, he lovingly embraceth, he kiſſeth, and with more than fatherly tenderneſs doth ſo temper, qualify, and correct the ſpeech he uſeth toward them, that a man cannot eaſily diſcern, whether did moſt abound, the love which he bare to their godly affection, or the grief which the danger of their opinion bred in him. Their opinion was dangerous; was not theirs alſo, who thought the kingdom of Chriſt ſhould be earthly? was not theirs, which thought the Goſpel only ſhould be preached to the Jews? What more oppoſite to prophetical doctrine,

ſome of the Galatians, which fell into error, had received, the gifts and graces of God, which are called, ἀμεταμέλητα, ſuch as faith, hope, and charity are, which God doth never take away from him, to whom they are given, as if it repented him to have given them; if ſuch might be ſo far changed by error, as that the very root of faith ſhould be quite extinguiſhed in them, and ſo their ſalvation utterly loſt, it would ſhake the hearts of the ſtrongeſt and ſtouteſt of us all. See the contrary in Beza his obſervations upon the harmony of confeſſions.

concerning

concerning the coming of Chriſt, than the one? concerning the Catholic Church, than the other? Yet they which had theſe fancies, even when they had them, were not the worſt men in the world. The hereſy of free-will was a mill-ſtone about the Pelagians' neck; ſhall we therefore give ſentence of death inevitable againſt all thoſe Fathers in the Greek Church, which being miſperſuaded, died in the error of free-will? Of theſe Galatians therefore, which firſt were juſtified, and then deceived, as I can ſee no cauſe, why as many as died before admonition might not by mercy be received, even in error; ſo I make no doubt, but as many as lived till they were admoniſhed, found the mercy of God effectual in converting them from their [a] error, leſt any one that is Chriſt's ſhould periſh. Of this, I take it, there is no controverſy; only againſt the ſalvation of them that died, though before admonition, yet in error, it is objected, that their opinion was a very plain direct denial of the foundation. If Paul and Barnabas had been ſo perſuaded, they would haply have uſed the terms otherwiſe, ſpeaking of the maſters themſelves, who did firſt ſet that error abroach, *certain of the ſect of the Phariſees which believe!.* What difference was there between theſe Phariſees, and other Phariſees, from whom by a ſpecial deſcription they are diſtinguiſhed, but this? Theſe which came to Antioch, teaching the neceſſity of Circumciſion, were Chriſtians; the other enemies of Chriſtianity. Why then ſhould theſe be termed ſo diſtinctly believers, if they did directly deny the foundation of our belief; beſides which, there was no other thing, that made the reſt to be no believers? We need go no farther than St. Paul's very reaſoning againſt them, for proof of this matter; Acts xv. 5.

[a] Error convicted, and afterwards maintained, is more than error: for although opinion be the ſame it was, in which reſpect I ſtill call it error, yet they are not now the ſame they were when they are taught what the truth is, and plainly taught.

Gal. iv. 9. *Seeing you know God, or rather are known of God,*
ver. 24. *how turn you again to impotent rudiments? The Law engendereth ſervants, her children are in bondage: they*
ver. 31. *which are begotten by the Goſpel are free. Brethren, we are not children of the ſervant, but of the free-woman, and will ye yet be under the Law?* That they thought it unto ſalvation neceſſary, for the
ver. 10. Church of Chriſt to obſerve days, and months, and times, and years, to keep the ceremonies and ſacraments of the Law, this was their error. Yet he which condemneth their error, confeſſeth, that notwithſtanding they knew God, and were known of him; he taketh not the honour from them to be termed Sons begotten of the immortal ſeed of the Goſpel. Let the heavieſt words which he uſeth be weighed; conſider the drift of thoſe dreadful concluſions: *If ye be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing: as many as are juſtified by the Law, are fallen from Grace.* It had been to no purpoſe in the world ſo to urge them, had not the Apoſtle been perſuaded, that at the hearing of ſuch ſequels, *No benefit by Chriſt, a defection from Grace*, their hearts would tremble and quake within them: and why? becauſe that they knew, that in Chriſt, and in Grace, their ſalvation lay, which is a plain direct acknowledgment of the foundation. Leſt I ſhould herein ſeem to hold that which no one learned or godly hath done, let theſe words be conſidered, which import as much as I affirm. Surely thoſe
Bucer. de Unit. Eccleſ. ſervanda. brethren which, in St. Paul's time, thought that God did lay a neceſſity upon them to make choice of days and meats, ſpake as they believed, and could not but in words condemn the liberty, which they ſuppoſed to be brought in againſt the authority of divine Scripture. Otherwiſe it had been needleſs for St. Paul to admoniſh them, not to condemn ſuch as eat, without ſcrupuloſity, whatſoever was ſet before them. This error, if you weigh what it is of itſelf, did at once overthrow all Scriptures, whereby we are taught

ſalvation

ſalvation by faith in Chriſt, all that ever the Prophets did foretell, all that ever the Apoſtles did preach of Chriſt; it drew with it the denial of Chriſt utterly: inſomuch, that St. Paul complaineth, that his labour was loſt upon the Galatians, unto whom this error was obtruded, affirming that Chriſt, if ſo be they were circumciſed, ſhould not profit them any thing at all. Yet ſo far was St. Paul from ſtriking their names out of Chriſt's book, that he commandeth others to entertain them, to accept with ſingular humanity, to uſe them like brethren; he knew man's imbecility, he had a feeling of our blindneſs which are mortal men, how great it is, and being ſure that they are the ſons of God whoſoever be endued with his fear, would not have them counted enemies of that whereunto they could not as yet frame themſelves to be friends, but did ever, upon a very religious affection to the truth, willingly reject the truth. They acknowledged Chriſt to be their only and perfect Saviour, but ſaw not how repugnant their believing the neceſſity of Moſaical Ceremonies was to their faith in Jeſus Chriſt. Hereupon a reply is made, that if they had not directly denied the foundation, they might have been ſaved; but ſaved they could not be, therefore their opinion was not only by conſequent, but directly a denial of the foundation. When the queſtion was about the poſſibility of their ſalvation, their denying of the foundation was brought to prove, that they could not be ſaved: now that the queſtion is about their denial of the foundation, the impoſſibility of their ſalvation is alleged to prove they denied the foundation. Is there nothing which excludeth men from ſalvation, but only the foundation of faith denied? I ſhould have thought, that beſides this, many other things are death unto as many as, underſtanding that to cleave thereunto was to fall from Chriſt, did notwithſtanding cleave unto them. But of this enough. Wherefore I come to the laſt queſtion, *Whether that the doctrine of*

the Church of Rome, concerning the neceſſity of Works unto ſalvation, be a direct denial of our Faith?

27. I ſeek not to obtrude unto you any private opinion of mine own; the beſt learned in our profeſſion are of this judgment, that all the corruptions of the Church of Rome do not prove her to deny the foundation directly; if they did, they ſhould grant her ſimply to be no Chriſtian Church. *But I ſuppoſe,* ſaith one, *that in the Papacy ſome Church remaineth, a Church crazed, or, if you will, broken quite in pieces, forlorn, miſhapen, yet ſome Church:* his reaſon is this, *Antichriſt muſt ſit in the Temple of God.* Leſt any man ſhould think ſuch ſentences as theſe to be true, only in regard of them whom that Church is ſuppoſed to have kept by the ſpecial providence of God, as it were, in the ſecret corners of his boſom, free from infection, and as ſound in the Faith, as we truſt, by his mercy, we ourſelves are; I permit it to your wiſe conſiderations, whether it be more likely, that as frenzy, though it take away the uſe of reaſon, doth notwithſtanding prove them reaſonable creatures which have it, becauſe none can be frantic but they: ſo Antichriſtianity being the bane and plain overthrow of Chriſtianity, may nevertheleſs argue, the Church where Antichriſt ſitteth, to be Chriſtian. Neither have I ever hitherto heard or read any one word alleged of force to warrant, that God doth otherwiſe than ſo as in the two next queſtions before hath been declared, bind himſelf to keep his elect from worſhipping the Beaſt, and from receiving his mark in their foreheads; but he hath preſerved, and will preſerve them from receiving any deadly wound at the hands of the Man of Sin, whoſe deceit hath prevailed over none unto death, but only unto ſuch as never loved the truth, ſuch as took pleaſure in unrighteouſneſs: they in all ages, whoſe hearts have delighted in the principal truth, and whoſe ſouls have thirſted after righteouſneſs, if they received the mark of error, the mercy of God, even erring, and dangerouſly

Calv. Ep. 104.

ouſly erring, might ſave them; if they received the mark of hereſy, the ſame mercy did, I doubt not, convert them. How far Romiſh hereſies may prevail over God's elect, how many God hath kept from falling into them, how many have been converted from them, is not the queſtion now in hand: for if heaven had not received any one of that coat for theſe thouſand years, it may ſtill be true, that the doctrine which this day they do profeſs, doth not directly deny the foundation, and ſo prove them ſimply to be no Chriſtian Church. One I have alleged, whoſe words, in my ears, ſound that way: ſhall I add another, whoſe ſpeech is plain: *I deny her not the name of a Church*, ſaith another, *no more than to a man the name of a man, as long as he liveth, what ſickneſs ſoever he hath.* His reaſon is this; *Salvation in Jeſus Chriſt, which is the mark which joineth the head with the body, Jeſus Chriſt with the Church, is ſo cut off by many merits, by the merits of Saints, by the Pope's pardons, and ſuch other wickedneſs, that the life of the Church holdeth by a very thread*, yet ſtill the life of the Church holdeth. A third hath theſe words: *I acknowledge the Church of Rome, even at this preſent day, for a Church of Chriſt, ſuch a Church as Iſrael did Jeroboam, yet a Church.* His reaſon is this, *Every man ſeeth, except he willingly hoodwink himſelf, that as always, ſo now, the Church of Rome holdeth firmly and ſtedfaſtly the doctrine of truth concerning Chriſt, and baptizeth in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt; confeſſeth and avoucheth Chriſt for the only Redeemer of the world, and the Judge that ſhall ſit upon quick and dead, receiving true believers into endleſs joy, faithleſs and godleſs men being caſt with Satan and his angels into flames unquenchable.*

Mom. de Eccleſ.

Zanch. præfat. de Relig.

28. I may, and will, rein the queſtion ſhorter than they do. Let the Pope take down his top, and captivate no more men's ſouls by his Papal juriſdiction; let him no longer count himſelf Lord Paramount over the Princes of the world, no longer hold Kings as his ſervants *paravaile*; let his ſtately

Senate ſubmit their necks to the yoke of Chriſt, and ceaſe to dye their garments, like Edom, in blood; let them, from the higheſt to the loweſt, hate and forſake their idolatry, abjure all their errors and hereſies, wherewith they have any way perverted the truth; let them ſtrip their Church, till they leave no polluted rag, but only this one about her, *By Chriſt alone, without works, we cannot be ſaved:* it is enough for me, if I ſhew, that the holding of this one thing doth not prove the foundation of faith directly denied in the Church of Rome.

29. Works are an addition: be it ſo, what then? the foundation is not ſubverted by every kind of addition: ſimply to add unto thoſe fundamental words, is not to mingle wine with water, heaven and earth, things polluted with the ſanctified blood of Chriſt: of which crime indict them, which attribute thoſe operations in whole or in part to any creature, which in the work of our ſalvation wholly are peculiar to Chriſt; and if I open my mouth to ſpeak in their defence, if I hold my peace, and plead not againſt them as long as breath is within my body, let me be guilty of all the diſhonour that ever hath been done to the Son of God. But the more dreadful a thing it is to deny ſalvation by Chriſt alone, the more ſlow and fearful I am, except it be too manifeſt, to lay a thing ſo grievous to any man's charge. Let us beware, leſt if we make too many ways of denying Chriſt, we ſcarce leave any way for ourſelves truly and ſoundly to confeſs him. Salvation only by Chriſt is the true foundation, whereupon indeed Chriſtianity ſtandeth. But what if I ſay you cannot be ſaved only by Chriſt, without this addition, Chriſt believed in heart, confeſſed with mouth, obeyed in life and converſation? Becauſe I add, do I therefore deny that which I did directly affirm? There may be an additament of explication, which overthroweth not, but proveth and concludeth the propoſition, whereunto it is annexed. He which ſaith, Peter was a chief Apoſtle, doth prove that Peter was an Apoſtle:

Apoſtle: he which ſaith, Our ſalvation is of the Lord, through ſanctification of the Spirit, and faith of the truth, proveth, that our ſalvation is of the Lord. But if that which is added be ſuch a privation as taketh away the very eſſence of that whereunto it is added, then by the ſequel it overthroweth. He which ſaith, Judas is a dead man, though in word he granteth Judas to be a man, yet in effect he proveth him by that very ſpeech no man, becauſe death depriveth him of being. In like ſort, he that ſhould ſay, our election is of grace for our works' ſake, ſhould grant in ſound of words, but indeed by conſequent deny that our election is of Grace; for the Grace which electeth us is no grace, if it elect us for our works' ſake. 2 Theſſ. ii. 13. Rom. xi. 6.

30. Now whereas the Church of Rome addeth Works, we muſt note further, that the adding of [a] Works is not like the adding of Circumciſion unto Chriſt. Chriſt came not to abrogate and put away good Works: he did, to change Circumciſion; for which ſee that, in place thereof, he hath ſubſtituted holy Baptiſm. To ſay, ye cannot be ſaved by Chriſt except ye be circumciſed, is to add a thing excluded, a thing not only not neceſſary to be kept, but neceſſary not to be kept by them that will be ſaved. On the other ſide, to ſay, ye cannot be ſaved by Chriſt without works, is to add things, not only not excluded, but commanded, as being in their place, and in their kind neceſſary, and therefore ſubordinated unto Chriſt, by Chriſt himſelf, by whom the

[a] I deny not but that the Church of Rome requireth ſome kinds of works which ſhe ought not to require at men's hands. But our queſtion is general about the adding of good works, not whether ſuch or ſuch works be good. In this compariſon it is enough to touch ſo much on the matter in queſtion between St. Paul and the Galatians, as inferreth thoſe concluſions. *Ye are fallen from Grace*; *Chriſt can profit you nothing*: which concluſions will follow Circumciſion and rites of the Law Ceremonial, if they be required as things neceſſary to ſalvation. This only was alleged againſt me; and need I touch more than was alleged?

web

Mat. v. 20. web of ſalvation is ſpun: *Except your righteouſneſs exceed the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, ye ſhall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.* They were Luke xi. 39. rigorous exacters of things not utterly to be neglected and left undone, waſhing and tything, &c. As they were in theſe, ſo muſt we be in judgment and the love of God. Chriſt in works ceremonial Mat. v. 21, 22. giveth more liberty, in moral much leſs, than they did. Works of righteouſneſs therefore are added in the one propoſition; as in the other, Circumciſion is.

31. But we ſay, our ſalvation is by Chriſt alone; therefore howſoever, or whatſoever we add unto Chriſt in the matter of ſalvation, we overthrow Chriſt. Our caſe were very hard, if this argument, ſo univerſally meant as it is propoſed, were ſound and good. We ourſelves do not teach Chriſt alone, excluding our own Faith, unto juſtification; Chriſt alone, excluding our own Works, unto ſanctification; Chriſt alone, excluding the one or the other unneceſſary unto ſalvation. It is a childiſh cavil wherewith in the matter of Juſtification our adverſaries do ſo greatly pleaſe themſelves, exclaiming, that we tread all Chriſtian virtues under our feet, and require nothing in Chriſtians but Faith; becauſe we teach that Faith alone juſtifieth: whereas by this ſpeech we never meant to exclude either Hope or Charity from being always joined as inſeparable mates with Faith in the man that is juſtified; or Works from being added as neceſſary duties, required at the hands of every juſtified man: but to ſhew that Faith is the only hand which putteth on Chriſt unto Juſtification; and Chriſt the only garment, which being ſo put on, covereth the ſhame of our defiled natures, hideth the imperfection of our works, preſerveth us blameleſs in the ſight of God, before whom otherwiſe the weakneſs of our Faith were cauſe ſufficient to make us culpable, yea, to ſhut us from the kingdom of heaven, where nothing that is not abſolute can enter. That our dealing with

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them be not as childiſh as theirs with us; when we hear of ſalvation by Chriſt alone, conſidering that *alone*, as an excluſive particle, we are to note what it doth exclude, and where. If I ſay, *Such a judge only ought to determine ſuch a caſe*, all things incident to the determination thereof, beſides the perſon of the judge, as laws, depoſitions, evidences, &c. are not hereby excluded; perſons are not excluded from witneſſing herein, or aſſiſting, but only from determining and giving ſentence. How then is our ſalvation wrought by Chriſt alone? is it our meaning, that nothing is requiſite to man's ſalvation, but Chriſt to ſave, and he to be ſaved quietly without any more ado? No, we acknowledge no ſuch foundation. As we have received, ſo we teach, that beſides the bare and naked work, wherein Chriſt, without any other aſſociate, finiſhed all the parts of our redemption, and purchaſed ſalvation himſelf alone; for conveyance of this eminent bleſſing unto us, many things are of neceſſity required, as, to be known and choſen of God before the foundation of the world; in the world to be called, juſtified, ſanctified; after we have left the world, to be received unto glory; Chriſt in every of theſe hath ſomewhat which he worketh alone. Through him, according to the eternal purpoſe of God before the foundation of the world, born, crucified, buried, raiſed, &c. we were in a gracious acceptation known unto God long before we were ſeen of men: God knew us, loved us, was kind to us in Jeſus Chriſt, in him we were elected to be heirs of life. Thus far God through Chriſt hath wrought in ſuch ſort alone, that ourſelves are mere patients, working no more than dead and ſenſeleſs matter, wood, ſtone, or iron, doth in the artificer's hands; no more than clay, when the potter appointeth it to be framed for an honourable uſe; nay, not ſo much. For the matter whereupon the craftſman worketh he chooſeth, being moved by the fitneſs which is in it to ſerve his

Eph. i. 11.

his turn; in us no ſuch thing. Touching the reſt which is laid for the foundation of our Faith, it importeth farther, that by him we are called, that we have redemption, remiſſion of ſins through his blood, health by his ſtripes; juſtice by him; that he doth ſanctify his Church, and make it glorious to himſelf, that entrance into joy ſhall be given us by him; yea, all things by him alone. Howbeit, not ſo by him alone, as if in us, to our Vocation, the hearing of the Goſpel; to our Juſtification, Faith; to our Sanctification, the fruits of the Spirit; to our entrance into reſt, perſeverance in hope, in faith, in holineſs, were not neceſſary.

32. Then what is the fault of the Church of Rome? Not that ſhe requireth works at their hands which will be ſaved: but that ſhe attributeth unto works a power of ſatisfying God for ſin; yea, a virtue to merit both grace here, and in Heaven glory. That this overthroweth the foundation of Faith, I grant willingly; that it is a direct denial thereof, I utterly deny. What it is to hold, and what directly to deny the foundation of Faith, I have already opened. Apply it particularly to this cauſe, and there needs no more ado. The thing which is handled, if the form under which it is handled be added thereunto, it ſheweth the foundation of any doctrine whatſoever. Chriſt is the matter whereof the doctrine of the Goſpel treateth; and it treateth of Chriſt as of a Saviour. Salvation therefore by Chriſt is the foundation of Chriſtianity: as for works, they are a thing ſubordinate, no otherwiſe than becauſe our ſanctification cannot be accompliſhed without them. The doctrine concerning them is a thing builded upon the foundation; therefore the doctrine which addeth unto them the power of ſatisfying, or of meriting, addeth unto a thing ſubordinated, builded upon the foundation, not to the very foundation itſelf; yet is the foundation by this addition conſequently overthrown, foraſmuch as

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out of this addition it may be negatively concluded, he which maketh any work good and acceptable in the ſight of God, to proceed from the natural freedom of our will; he which giveth unto any good Works of ours the force of ſatisfying the wrath of God for ſin, the power of meriting either earthly or heavenly rewards; he which holdeth works going before our vocation, in congruity to merit our vocation; works following our firſt, to merit our ſecond juſtification, and by condignity our laſt reward in the kingdom of Heaven, pulleth up the doctrine of Faith by the roots; for out of every of theſe the plain direct denial thereof may be neceſſarily concluded. Not this only, but what other hereſy is there that doth not raze the very foundation of Faith by conſequent? Howbeit, we make a difference of hereſies; accounting them in the next degree to infidelity, which directly deny any one thing to be, which is expreſsly acknowledged in the Articles of our Belief; for out of any one article ſo denied, the denial of the very foundation itſelf is ſtraightway inferred[a]. As for example; if a man ſhould ſay, *There is no Catholic Church*, it followeth immediately thereupon, that this Jeſus, whom we call the Saviour, is not the Saviour of the world; becauſe all the Prophets bear witneſs that the true Meſſias ſhould *ſhew light unto the Gentiles*; that is to ſay, gather ſuch a Church as is Catholic, not reſtrained any longer unto one circumciſed nation. In the ſecond rank we place them, out of whoſe poſitions the denial of any the foreſaid articles may be with like facility concluded; ſuch as are they which have denied, with Hebion, or with Marcion, his

Acts xxvi. 23.

[a] Hæc ratio Eccleſiaſtici Sacramenti et Catholicæ Fidei eſt, ut qui partem divini Sacramenti negat, divini partem non valeat confiteri. Ita enim ſibi connexa et concorporata ſunt omnia, ut aliud ſine alio ſtare non poſſit, et qui unum ex omnibus denegaverit, alia ei omnia credidiſſe non proſit. Caſſian. lib. vi. de incarnat. Dom. cap. 17.

humanity:

Lib. vi. de incar. Dom. cap. xvii. pag. 1067. edit. Atrebat.

humanity: an example whereof may be that of Caſſianus defending the Incarnation of the Son of God againſt Neſtorius Biſhop of Antioch, which held, that the Virgin, when ſhe brought forth Chriſt, did not bring forth the Son of God, but a ſole and mere man. Out of which hereſy the denial of the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith he deduceth thus: *If thou doſt deny our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in denying the Son, thou canſt not chooſe but deny the Father; for, according to the voice of the Father himſelf,* He that hath not the Son, hath not the Father. *Wherefore denying him which is begotten, thou denieſt him which doth beget. Again, denying the Son of God to have been born in the fleſh, how canſt thou believe him to have ſuffered? believing not his paſſion, what remaineth, but that thou deny his reſurrection? For we believe him not raiſed, except we firſt believe him dead: neither can the reaſon of his riſing from the dead ſtand, without the faith of his death going before. The denial of his death and paſſion inferreth the denial of his riſing from the depth: whereupon it followeth, that thou alſo deny his aſcenſion into Heaven. The Apoſtle affirmeth,* That he which aſcended, did firſt deſcend; *ſo that, as much as lieth in thee, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath neither riſen from the depth, nor is aſcended into Heaven, nor ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father, neither ſhall he come at the day of the final account, which is looked for, nor ſhall judge the quick and dead. And dareſt thou yet ſet foot in the Church? Canſt thou think thyſelf a Biſhop, when thou haſt denied all thoſe things whereby thou doſt obtain a biſhoply calling?* Neſtorius confeſſed all the articles of the Creed, but his opinion did imply the denial of every part of his confeſſion. Hereſies there are of the third ſort, ſuch as the Church of Rome maintaineth, which be removed by a greater diſtance from the foundation, although indeed they overthrow it. Yet becauſe of that weakneſs, which the Philoſopher noteth in men's capacities when he ſaith, that the common

common ſort cannot ſee things which follow in reaſon, when they follow, as it were, afar off by many deductions; therefore the repugnancy of ſuch hereſy and the foundation is not ſo quickly or ſo eaſily found, but that an Heretic of this, ſooner than of the former kind, may directly grant, and conſequently nevertheleſs deny the foundation of Faith.

33. If reaſon be ſuſpected, trial will ſhew that the Church of Rome doth no otherwiſe, by teaching the doctrine ſhe doth teach concerning good works. Offer them the very fundamental words, and what man is there that will refuſe to ſubſcribe unto them? Can they directly grant, and directly deny, one and the very ſelf-ſame thing? Our own proceedings in diſputing againſt their works ſatisfactory and meritorious do ſhew, not only that they hold, but that we acknowledge them to hold the foundation, notwithſtanding their opinion. For are not theſe our arguments againſt them? *Chriſt alone hath ſatisfied and appeaſed his Father's wrath: Chriſt hath merited ſalvation alone.* We ſhould do fondly to uſe ſuch diſputes, neither could we think to prevail by them, if that whereupon we ground, were a thing which we know they do not hold, which we are aſſured they will not grant. Their very anſwers to all ſuch reaſons, as are in this controverſy brought againſt them, will not permit us to doubt whether they hold the foundation or no. Can any man, that hath read their books concerning this matter, be ignorant how they draw all their anſwers unto theſe heads? *That the remiſſion of all our ſins, the pardon of all whatſoever puniſhments thereby deſerved, the rewards which God hath laid up in Heaven, are by the blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt purchaſed, and obtained ſufficiently for all men: but for no man effectually for his benefit in particular, except the blood of Chriſt be applied particularly to him by ſuch means as God hath appointed that to work by. That thoſe means of themſelves, being but dead things, only the blood of Chriſt is that which put-*

teth

teth life, force, and efficacy in them to work, and to be available, each in his kind, to our ſalvation. Finally, that Grace being purchaſed for us by the blood of Chriſt, and freely without any merit or deſert at the firſt beſtowed upon us, the good things which we do, after Grace received, be thereby made ſatisfactory and meritorious. Some of their ſentences to this effect I muſt allege for mine own warrant. If we deſire to hear foreign judgments, we find in one this confeſſion; *He that could reckon how many the virtues and merits of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt hath been, might likewiſe underſtand how many the benefits have been that are to come to us by him, for ſo much as men are made partakers of them all by means of his paſſion: by him is given unto us remiſſion of our ſins, grace, glory, liberty, praiſe, ſalvation, redemption, juſtification, juſtice, ſatisfaction, ſacraments, merits, and all other things which we had, and were behoveful for our ſalvation.* In another we have theſe oppoſitions, and anſwers made unto them: *All grace is given by Chriſt Jeſus. True; but not except Chriſt Jeſus be applied. He is the propitiation for our ſin; by his ſtripes we are healed, he hath offered himſelf up for us: all this is true, but apply it. We put all ſatisfaction in the blood of Jeſus Chriſt; but we hold that the means which Chriſt hath appointed for us in the caſe to apply it, are our penal works.* Our countrymen in Rhemes make the like anſwer, that they ſeek ſalvation no other way than by the blood of Chriſt; and that humbly they do uſe prayers, faſtings, alms, faith, charity, ſacrifice, ſacraments, prieſts, only as the means appointed by Chriſt, to apply the benefit of his holy blood unto them: touching our good works, that in their own natures they are not meritorious, nor anſwerable to the joys of Heaven; it cometh by the grace of Chriſt, and not of the work itſelf, that we have by well-doing a right to Heaven, and deſerve it worthily. If any man think that I ſeek to varniſh their opinions, to ſet the better foot of a lame cauſe foremoſt,

Lewis of Granada Med. cap. laſt. 3.

Paulgarola, let. 11.

Annot. in 1 John i.

moſt, let him know, that ſince I began throughly to underſtand their meaning, I have found their halting greater than perhaps it ſeemeth to them which know not the deepneſs of Satan, as the bleſſed Divine ſpeaketh. For, although this be proof ſufficient, that they do not directly deny the foundation of Faith; yet if there were no other leaven in the lump of their doctrine but this, this were ſufficient to prove, that their doctrine is not agreeable to the foundation of Chriſtian Faith. The Pelagians being over-great friends unto nature made themſelves enemies unto grace, for all their confeſſing, that men have their ſouls, and all the faculties thereof, their wills, and all the ability of their wills from God. And is not the Church of Rome ſtill an adverſary to Chriſt's merits, becauſe of her acknowledging, that we have received the power of meriting by the blood of Chriſt? Sir Thomas More ſetteth down the odds between us and the Church of Rome in the matter of Works thus. *Like as we grant them, that no good work of man is rewardable in Heaven of its own nature, but through the mere goodneſs of God, that liſts to ſet ſo high a price upon ſo poor a thing; and that this price God ſetteth through Chriſt's paſſion, and for that alſo they be his own works with us; for good works to God-ward worketh no man, without God work in him: and as we grant them alſo, that no man may be proud of his works, for his imperfect working, and for that in all that man may do, he can do God no good, but is a ſervant unprofitable, and doth but his bare duty: as we, I ſay, grant unto them theſe things, ſo this one thing or twain do they grant us again, that men are bound to work good works, if they have time and power; and that whoſo worketh in true Faith moſt, ſhall be moſt rewarded; but then ſet they thereto, that all his rewards ſhall be given him for his Faith alone, and nothing for his works at all, becauſe his Faith is the thing, they ſay, that forceth him to work well.* I ſee by this of Sir Thomas More, how eaſy it is for men of the

In his Book of Conſolation.

greateſt capacity to miſtake things written or ſpoken as well on the one ſide as on the other. Their doctrine, as he thought, maketh the work of man rewardable in the world to come through the goodneſs of God, whom it pleaſed to ſet ſo high a price upon ſo poor a thing; and ours, that a man doth receive that eternal and high reward, not for his works, but for his Faith's ſake, by which he worketh: whereas in truth our doctrine is no other than that we have learned at the feet of Chriſt; namely, that God doth juſtify the believing man, yet not for the worthineſs of his belief, but for the worthineſs of him which is believed; God rewardeth abundantly every one which worketh, yet not for any meritorious dignity which is, or can be in the work, but through his mere mercy, by whoſe commandment he worketh. Contrariwiſe, their doctrine is, that as pure water of itſelf hath no ſavour, but if it paſs through a ſweet pipe, it taketh a pleaſant ſmell of the pipe through which it paſſeth; ſo, although before Grace received, our works do neither ſatisfy nor merit; yet after, they do both the one and the other. Every virtuous action hath then power in ſuch to ſatisfy; that if we ourſelves commit no mortal ſin, no heinous crime, whereupon to ſpend this treaſure of ſatisfaction in our own behalf, it turneth to the benefit of other men's releaſe, on whom it ſhould pleaſe the Steward of the Houſe of God to beſtow it; ſo that we may ſatisfy for ourſelves and others, but merit only for ourſelves. In meriting, our actions do work with two hands; with one they get their morning ſtipend, the increaſe of grace; with the other their evening hire, the everlaſting crown of glory. Indeed they teach, that our good works do not theſe things as they come from us, but as they come from grace in us; which grace in us is another thing in their divinity, than is the mere goodneſs of God's mercy towards us in Chriſt Jeſus.

Works of Supererogation.

34. If it were not a long deluded ſpirit which hath

hath poſſeſſion of their hearts; were it poſſible but that they ſhould ſee how plainly they do herein gainſay the very ground of Apoſtolic Faith? Is this that ſalvation by Grace, whereof ſo plentiful mention is made in the Scriptures of God? was this their meaning, which firſt taught the world to look for ſalvation only by Chriſt? By Grace, the Apoſtle ſaith, and by Grace in ſuch ſort as a gift; a thing that cometh not of ourſelves; nor of our works, leſt any man ſhould boaſt, and ſay, *I have wrought out my own ſalvation.* By Grace they confeſs; but by Grace in ſuch ſort, that as many as wear the diadem of bliſs, they wear nothing but what they have won. The Apoſtle, as if he had foreſeen how the Church of Rome would abuſe the world in time by ambiguous terms, to declare in what ſenſe the name of Grace muſt be taken, when we make it the cauſe of our ſalvation, ſaith, *He ſaved us according to his mercy:* which mercy, although it exclude not the waſhing of our new birth, the renewing of our hearts by the Holy Ghoſt, the means, the virtues, the duties which God requireth of our hands which ſhall be ſaved; yet it is ſo repugnant unto merits, that to ſay, we are ſaved for the worthineſs of any thing which is ours, is to deny we are ſaved by Grace. Grace beſtoweth freely; and therefore juſtly requireth the glory of that which is beſtowed. We deny the Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; we abuſe, diſannul, and annihilate the benefit of his bitter paſſion, if we reſt in theſe proud imaginations, that life is deſervedly ours, that we merit it, and that we are worthy of it.

35. Howbeit, conſidering how many virtuous and juſt men, how many ſaints, how many martyrs, how many of the ancient Fathers of the Church, have had their ſundry perilous opinions; and amongſt ſundry of their opinions this, that they hoped to make God ſome part of amends for their ſins, by the voluntary puniſhment which they laid upon themſelves;

ſelves; becauſe by a conſequent it may follow hereupon, that they were injurious unto Chriſt, ſhall we therefore make ſuch deadly epitaphs, and ſet them upon their graves, *They denied the foundation of Faith directly, they are damned, there is no ſalvation for them?* Saint Auſtin ſaith of himſelf, *Errare poſſum, Hæreticus eſſe nolo.* And, except we put a difference between them that err, and them that obſtinately perſiſt in error, how is it poſſible that ever any man ſhould hope to be ſaved? Surely, in this caſe, I have no reſpect of any perſon either alive or dead. Give me a man, of what eſtate or condition ſoever, yea, a Cardinal or a Pope, whom in the extreme point of his life affliction hath made to know himſelf; whoſe heart God hath touched with true ſorrow for all his ſins, and filled with love towards the Goſpel of Chriſt, whoſe eyes are opened to ſee the truth, and his mouth to renounce all hereſy and error any wiſe oppoſite thereunto, this one opinion of merits excepted; he thinketh God will require at his hands, and becauſe he wanteth, therefore trembleth, and is diſcouraged; it may be I am forgetful, and unſkilful, not furniſhed with things new and old, as a wiſe and learned Scribe ſhould be, nor able to allege that, whereunto, if it were alleged, he doth bear a mind moſt willing to yield, and ſo to be recalled, as well from this, as from other errors: and ſhall I think, becauſe of this only error, that ſuch a man toucheth not ſo much as the hem of Chriſt's garment? If he do, wherefore ſhould not I have hope, that virtue might proceed from Chriſt to ſave him? Becauſe his error doth by conſequent overthrow his Faith, ſhall I therefore caſt him off, as one that hath utterly caſt off Chriſt? one that holdeth not ſo much as by a ſlender thread? No, I will not be afraid to ſay unto a Pope or Cardinal in this plight; Be of good comfort, we have to do with a merciful God, ready to make the beſt of a little which we hold well, and not with a captious ſophiſter,

ſophiſter, which gathereth the worſt out of every thing wherein we err. Is there any reaſon, that I ſhould be ſuſpected, or you offended for this ſpeech? [a] Is it a dangerous thing to imagine that ſuch men may find mercy? The hour may come, when we ſhall think it a bleſſed thing to hear, that if our ſins were the ſins of the Pope and Cardinals, the bowels of the mercy of God are larger. I do not propoſe unto you a Pope with the neck of an Emperor under his feet; a Cardinal riding his horſe to the bridle in the blood of Saints; but a Pope or a Cardinal ſorrowful, penitent, diſrobed, ſtripped, not only of uſurped power, but alſo delivered and recalled from error and Antichriſt, converted and lying proſtrate at the foot of Chriſt; and ſhall I think that Chriſt will ſpurn at him? and ſhall I croſs and gainſay the merciful promiſes of God, generally made unto penitent ſinners, by oppoſing the name of a Pope or a Cardinal? What difference is there in the world between a Pope and a Cardinal, and John a Style in this caſe? If we think it impoſſible for them, if they be once come within that rank, to be afterwards touched with any ſuch remorſe, let that be granted. The Apoſtle ſaith, *If I, or an Angel from Heaven, preach unto, &c.* Let it be as likely, that St. Paul, or an Angel from Heaven, ſhould preach hereſy, as that a Pope or a Cardinal ſhould be brought ſo far forth to acknowledge the truth; yet if a Pope or Cardinal ſhould, what find we in their perſons why they might not be ſaved? It is not the perſons, you will ſay, but the error wherein I ſuppoſe them to die, which excludeth them from the hope of mercy; the opinion of merits doth take away all poſſibility of ſalvation from them. What if they hold it only as an error? although they hold the truth truly and ſincerely in all other parts of

[a] Let all affection be laid aſide; let the matter indifferently be conſidered.

Chriſtian Faith? although they have in ſome meaſure all the virtues and graces of the Spirit, all other tokens of God's elect children in them? although they be far from having any proud preſumptuous opinion, that they ſhall be ſaved by the worthineſs of their deeds? although the only thing which troubleth and moleſteth them, be but a little too much dejection, ſomewhat too great a fear, riſing from an erroneous conceit that God would require a worthineſs in them, which they are grieved to find wanting in themſelves? although they be not obſtinate in this perſuaſion? although they be willing, and would be glad to forſake it, if any one reaſon were brought ſufficient to diſprove it? although the only let, why they do not forſake it ere they die, be the ignorance of the means by which it might be diſproved? although the cauſe why the ignorance in this point is not removed, be the want of knowledge in ſuch as ſhould be able, and are not, to remove it? Let me die, if ever it be proved, that ſimply an error doth exclude a Pope or a Cardinal in ſuch a caſe, utterly from hope of life. Surely, I muſt confeſs unto you, if it be an error, that God may be merciful to ſave men even when they err, my greateſt comfort is my error; were it not for the love I bear unto this error, I would never wiſh to ſpeak, nor to live.

36. Wherefore to reſume that mother-ſentence, whereof I little thought that ſo much trouble would have grown, *I doubt not but that God was merciful to ſave thouſands of our Fathers, living in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, inaſmuch as they ſinned ignorantly.* Alas! what bloody matter is there contained in this ſentence, that it ſhould be an occaſion of ſo many hard cenſures? Did I ſay, that *thouſands of our Fathers might be ſaved?* I have ſhewed which way it cannot be denied. Did I ſay, *I doubt not but that they were ſaved?* I ſee no impiety in this perſuaſion, though I had no reaſon for it. Did I ſay, *Their ignorance did make me hope they did find mercy, and ſo were ſaved?* What hindereth ſalvation

ſalvation but ſin? Sins are not equal; and ignorance, though it doth not make ſin to be no ſin, yet ſeeing it did make their ſin the leſs, why ſhould it not make our hope concerning their life the greater? We pity the moſt, and doubt not but God hath moſt compaſſion over them that ſin for want of underſtanding. As much is confeſſed by ſundry others, almoſt in the ſelf-ſame words which I have uſed. It is but only my evil hap, that the ſame ſentences which favour verity in other men's books, ſhould ſeem to bolſter hereſy when they are once by me recited. If I be deceived in this point, not they, but the bleſſed Apoſtle hath deceived me. What I ſaid of others, the ſame he ſaid of himſelf, *I obtained mercy, for I did it ignorantly.* Conſtrue his words, and you cannot miſconſtrue mine. I ſpake no otherwiſe, I meant no otherwiſe, than he did.

37. Thus have I brought the queſtion concerning our Fathers at length unto an end. Of whoſe eſtate, upon ſo fit an occaſion as was offered me, handling the weighty cauſes of ſeparation between the Church of Rome and us, and the weak motives which are commonly brought to retain men in that ſociety; amongſt which motives the examples of our Fathers deceaſed is one; although I ſaw it convenient to utter the ſentence which I did, to the end that all men might thereby underſtand, how untruly we are ſaid to condemn as many as have been before us otherwiſe perſuaded than we ourſelves are; yet more than that one ſentence, I did not think it expedient to utter, judging it a great deal meeter for us to have regard to our own eſtate, than to ſift over-curiouſly what is become of other men; and fearing, leſt that ſuch queſtions as theſe, if voluntarily they ſhould be too far waded in, might ſeem worthy of that rebuke which our Saviour thought needful in a caſe not unlike, *What is this unto thee?* When I was forced, much beſide my expectation, to render a reaſon of my ſpeech, I could not but yield

at the call of others, and proceed ſo far as duty bound me, for the fuller ſatisfying of minds. Wherein I have walked as with reverence, ſo with fear: with reverence in regard of our Fathers, which lived in former times; not without fear, conſidering them that are alive.

38. I am not ignorant how ready men are to feed and ſooth up themſelves in evil. Shall I, (will the man ſay, that loveth the preſent world, more than he loveth Chriſt,) ſhall I incur the higheſt diſpleaſure of the mightieſt upon earth? ſhall I hazard my goods, endanger my eſtate, put myſelf into jeopardy, rather than to yield to that which ſo many of my Fathers embraced, and yet found favour in the ſight of God? *Curſe ye Meroz*, ſaith the Lord, *curſe her inhabitants, becauſe they helped not the Lord, they helped him not againſt the mighty.* If I ſhould not only not help the Lord againſt the mighty, but help to ſtrengthen them that are mighty againſt the Lord; worthily might I fall under the burden of that curſe, worthy I were to bear my own judgment: but, if the doctrine which I teach be a flower gathered in the garden of the Lord, a part of the ſaving truth of the Goſpel, from whence notwithſtanding poiſonous creatures do ſuck venom; I can but wiſh it were otherwiſe, and content myſelf with the lot that hath befallen me, the rather, becauſe it hath not befallen me alone. Saint Paul taught a truth, and a comfortable truth, when he taught, that the greater our miſery is, in reſpect of our iniquities, the readier is the mercy of God for our releaſe, if we ſeek unto him; the more we have ſinned, the more praiſe, and glory, and honour unto him that pardoneth our ſin. But mark what lewd collections were made hereupon by ſome: *Why then am I condemned for a ſinner?* And the Apoſtle (as we are blamed, and as ſome affirm that we ſay, *Why do we not evil that good may come of it?*) he was accuſed to teach that which ill-diſpoſed people did gather by his teaching,

teaching, though it were clean not only beſides, but againſt his meaning. The Apoſtle addeth, *Their condemnation* (which thus do) *is juſt.* I am not haſty to apply ſentences of condemnation: I wiſh from mine heart their converſion, whoſoever are thus perverſely affected. For I muſt needs ſay, their caſe is fearful, their eſtate dangerous, which harden themſelves, preſuming on the mercy of God towards others. It is true, that God is merciful; but let us beware of preſumptuous ſins. God delivered Jonah from the bottom of the ſea; will you therefore caſt yourſelves headlong from the tops of rocks, and ſay in your hearts, God ſhall deliver us? He pitieth the blind that would gladly ſee; but will he pity him that may ſee, and hardeneth himſelf in blindneſs? No, Chriſt hath ſpoken too much unto you, to claim the privilege of your Fathers.

39. As for us that have handled this cauſe concerning the condition of our Fathers, whether it be this thing or any other which we bring unto you, the counſel is good which the Wiſe Man giveth, *Stand thou faſt in thy ſure underſtanding, in the way and knowledge of the Lord, and have but one manner of word, and follow the word of peace and righteouſneſs.* As a looſe tooth is a grief to him that eateth, ſo doth a wavering and unſtable word in ſpeech, that tendeth to inſtruction, offend. *Shall a wiſe man ſpeak words of the wind,* ſaith Eliphaz, light unconſtant, unſtable words? Surely the wiſeſt may ſpeak words of the wind: ſuch is the untoward conſtitution of our nature, that we do neither ſo perfectly underſtand the way and knowledge of the Lord, nor ſo ſtedfaſtly embrace it when it is underſtood, nor ſo graciouſly utter it, when it is embraced, nor ſo peaceably maintain it, when it is uttered; but that the beſt of us are overtaken ſometime through blindneſs, ſometime through haſtineſs, ſometime through impatience, ſometimes through other paſſions of the mind, whereunto (God doth know) we are too ſubject.

ject. We muſt therefore be contented both to pardon others, and to crave that others may pardon us for ſuch things. Let no man, that ſpeaketh as a man, think himſelf, while he liveth, always freed from ſcrapes and overſights in his ſpeech. The things themſelves which I have ſpoken unto you are ſound, howſoever they have ſeemed otherwiſe unto ſome: at whoſe hands I have, in that reſpect, received injury, I willingly forget it; although indeed, conſidering the benefit which I have reaped by this neceſſary ſpeech of truth, I rather incline to that of the Apoſtle, *They have not injured me at all.* I have cauſe to wiſh them as many bleſſings in the kingdom of Heaven, as they have forced me to utter words and ſyllables in this cauſe; wherein I could not be more ſparing of my ſpeech than I have been. *It becometh no man*, ſaith Saint Jerom, *to be patient in the crime of hereſy.* Patient, as I take it, we ſhould be always, though the crime of hereſy were intended; but ſilent in a thing of ſo great conſequence I could not, beloved, I durſt not be; eſpecially the love, which I bear to the truth of Chriſt Jeſus, being hereby ſomewhat called in queſtion. Whereof I beſeech them in the meekneſs of Chriſt, that have been the firſt original cauſe, to conſider that a watchman may cry, *an enemy!* when indeed a friend cometh. In which cauſe, as I deem ſuch a watchman more worthy to be loved for his care than miſliked for his error; ſo I have judged it my own part in this, as much as in me lieth, to take away all ſuſpicion of any unfriendly intent or meaning againſt the truth, from which, God doth know, my heart is free.

40. Now to you, beloved, which have heard theſe things, I will uſe no other words of admonition, than thoſe that are offered me by St. James; *My brethren, have not the Faith of our glorious Lord Jeſus in reſpect of perſons.* Ye are not now to learn, that as of itſelf it is not hurtful, ſo neither ſhould it be to any ſcandalous and offenſive, in doubtful caſes, to

hear

hear the different judgments of men. Be it that Cephas hath one interpretation, and Apollos hath another; that Paul is of this mind, and Barnabas of that; if this offend you, the fault is yours. Carry peaceable minds, and you may have comfort by this variety.

Now the God of peace give you peaceable minds, and turn it to your everlasting comfort.

A

LEARNED SERMON

OF THE

NATURE

OF

PRIDE.

HABAK. ii. 4.

His mind ſwelleth, and is not right in him: but the juſt by his faith ſhall live.

THE nature of man being much more delighted to be led than drawn, doth many times ſtubbornly reſiſt authority, when to perſuaſion it eaſily yieldeth. Whereupon the wiſeſt law-makers have endeavoured always that thoſe laws might ſeem moſt reaſonable, which they would have moſt inviolably kept. A law ſimply commanding or forbidding, is but dead in compariſon of that which expreſſeth the reaſon wherefore it doth the one or the other. And ſurely, even in the Laws of God, although that he hath given commandment, be in itſelf a reaſon ſufficient to exact all obedience at the hands of men; yet a forcible inducement it is to obey with greater alacrity and

and cheerfulneſs of mind, when we ſee plainly that nothing is impoſed more than we muſt needs yield unto, except we will be unreaſonable. In a word, whatſoever be taught, be it precept for direction of our manners; or article for inſtruction of our faith; or document any way for information of our minds, it then taketh root and abideth, when we conceive not only what God doth ſpeak, but why. Neither is it a ſmall thing which we derogate as well from the honour of his truth, as from the comfort, joy, and delight which we ourſelves ſhould take by it, when we looſely ſlide over his ſpeech as though it were as our own is, commonly vulgar and trivial. Whereas he uttereth nothing but it hath, beſides the ſubſtance of doctrine delivered, a depth of wiſdom, in the very choice and frame of words to deliver it in. The reaſon whereof being not perceived, but by greater intention of brain than our nice minds for the moſt part can well away with, fain would we bring the world, if we might, to think it but a needleſs curioſity to rip up any thing further than extemporal readineſs of wit doth ſerve to reach unto Which courſe, if here we did liſt to follow, we might tell you, that in the firſt branch of this ſentence God doth condemn the Babylonian's pride; and in the ſecond, teach what happineſs of ſtate ſhall grow to the righteous by the conſtancy of their faith, notwithſtanding the troubles which now they ſuffer; and after certain notes of wholeſome inſtruction hereupon collected, paſs over without detaining your minds in any further removed ſpeculation. But, as I take it, there is a difference between the talk that beſeemeth nurſes among children, and that which men of capacity and judgment do, or ſhould receive inſtruction by.

The mind of the Prophet being erected with that which hath been hitherto ſpoken, receiveth here for full ſatisfaction a ſhort abridgment of that which is afterwards more particularly unfolded. Wherefore as

the queſtion before diſputed of doth concern two ſorts of men, the wicked flouriſhing as the bay, and the righteous like the withered graſs, the one full of pride, the other caſt down with utter diſcouragement; ſo the anſwer which God doth make for reſolution of doubts hereupon ariſen, hath reference unto both ſorts, and this preſent ſentence containing a brief abſtract thereof, comprehendeth ſummarily as well the fearful eſtate of iniquity over-exalted, as the hope laid up for righteouſneſs oppreſſed. In the former branch of which ſentence, let us firſt examine what this rectitude or ſtraightneſs importeth which God denieth to be in the mind of the Babylonian. All things which God did create he made them at the firſt true, good, and right. True, in reſpect of correſpondence unto that pattern of their being, which was eternally drawn in the counſel of God's fore-knowledge; good, in regard of the uſe and benefit which each thing yieldeth unto other; right, by an apt conformity of all parts with that end which is outwardly propoſed for each thing to tend unto. Other things have ends propoſed, but have not the faculty to know, judge, and eſteem of them; and therefore as they tend thereunto unwittingly, ſo likewiſe in the means whereby they acquire their appointed ends, they are by neceſſity ſo held that they cannot divert from them. The ends why the heavens do move, the heavens themſelves know not, and their motions they cannot but continue. Only men in all their actions know what it is which they ſeek for, neither are they by any ſuch neceſſity tied naturally unto any certain determinate mean to obtain their end by, but that they may, if they will, forſake it. And therefore in the whole world, no creature but only man, which hath the laſt end of his actions propoſed as a recompence and reward, whereunto his mind directly bending itſelf, is termed right or ſtraight, otherwiſe perverſe.

To make this ſomewhat more plain, we muſt note, that

that as they which travel from city to city, enquire ever for the ſtraighteſt way, becauſe the ſtraighteſt is that which ſooneſt bringeth them to their journey's end: ſo we *having here*, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, *no abiding city*, but being always in travel towards that place of joy, immortality, and reſt, cannot but in every of our deeds, words, and thoughts, think that to be beſt, which with moſt expedition leadeth us thereunto, and is for that very cauſe termed right. That ſovereign good, which is the eternal fruition of all good, being our laſt and chiefeſt felicity, there is no deſperate deſpiſer of God and godlineſs living, which doth not wiſh for. The difference between right and crooked minds, is in the means which the one or the other eſchew or follow. Certain it is, that all particular things which are naturally deſired in the world, as food, raiment, honour, wealth, pleaſure, knowledge, they are ſubordinated in ſuch wiſe unto that future good which we look for in the world to come, that even in them there lieth a direct way tending unto this. Otherwiſe we muſt think, that God making promiſes of good things in this life, did ſeek to pervert men, and to lead them from their right minds. Where is then the obliquity of the mind of man? His mind is perverſe and crooked, not when it bendeth itſelf unto any of theſe things, but when it bendeth ſo that it ſwerveth either to the right hand or to the left, by exceſs or defect, from that exact rule whereby human actions are meaſured. The rule to meaſure and judge them by, is the Law of God. For this cauſe the Prophet doth make ſo often and ſo earneſt ſuit, *O direct me in the way of thy commandments: as long as I have reſpect to thy ſtatutes, I am ſure not to tread amiſs.* Under the name of the Law we muſt comprehend not only that which God hath written in tables and leaves, but that which nature alſo hath engraven in the hearts of men. Elſe how ſhould thoſe Heathens which never had books, but heaven

and

and earth to look upon, be convicted of perverſeneſs? *But the Gentiles which had not the Law in books, had*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *the effect of the Law written in their hearts.*

Then ſeeing that the heart of man is not right exactly, unleſs it be found in all parts ſuch, that God examining and calling it unto account with all ſeverity of rigour, be not able once to charge it with declining or ſwerving aſide, (which abſolute perfection when did God ever find in the ſons of mere mortal men?) doth it not follow, that all fleſh muſt of neceſſity fall down and confeſs, We are not duſt and aſhes, but worſe; our minds from the higheſt to the loweſt are not right; if not right, then undoubtedly not capable of that bleſſedneſs which we naturally ſeek, but ſubject unto that which we moſt abhor, anguiſh, tribulation, death, woe, endleſs miſery. For whatſoever miſſeth the way of life, the iſſue thereof cannot be but perdition. By which reaſon, all being wrapped up in ſin, and made thereby the children of death, the minds of all men being plainly convicted not to be right; ſhall we think that God hath endued them with ſo many excellencies more, not only than any, but than all the creatures in the world beſides, to leave them in ſuch eſtate, that they had been happier if they had never been? Here cometh neceſſarily in a new way of ſalvation, ſo that they which were in the other perverſe, may in this be found ſtraight and righteous. That the way of nature, this the way of grace. The end of that way, ſalvation merited, preſuppoſing the righteouſneſs of men's works; their righteouſneſs, a natural ability to do them; that ability, the goodneſs of God which created them in ſuch perfection: but the end of this way, ſalvation beſtowed upon men as a gift, preſuppoſing, not their righteouſneſs, but the forgiveneſs of their unrighteouſneſs, juſtification; their juſtification, not their natural ability to do good, but their hearty ſorrow for their not doing, and un-

feigned belief in him for whoſe ſake not-doers are accepted, which is their vocation; their vocation, the election of God, taking them out from the number of loſt children; their election, a Mediator in whom to be elect; this mediation, inexplicable mercy; his mercy, their miſery, for whom he vouchſafed to make himſelf a mediator. The want of exact diſtinguiſhing between theſe two ways, and obſerving what they have common, what peculiar, hath been the cauſe of the greateſt part of that confuſion whereof Chriſtianity at this day laboureth. The lack of diligence in ſearching, laying down, and inuring men's minds with thoſe hidden grounds of reaſon, whereupon the leaſt particular in each of theſe are moſt firmly and ſtrongly builded, is the only reaſon of all thoſe ſcruples and uncertainties, wherewith we are in ſuch ſort entangled, that a number deſpair of ever diſcerning what is right or wrong in any thing. But we will let this matter reſt, whereinto we ſtepped to ſearch out a way, how ſome minds may be and are right truly, even in the ſight of God, though they be ſimply in themſelves not right.

Howbeit, there is not only this difference between the juſt and impious, that the mind of the one is right in the ſight of God, becauſe his obliquity is not imputed; the other perverſe, becauſe his ſin is unrepented of: but even as lines that are drawn with a trembling hand, but yet to the point which they ſhould, are thought ragged and uneven, nevertheleſs direct in compariſon of them which run clean another way; ſo there is no incongruity in terming them right-minded men, whom though God may charge with many things amiſs, yet they are not as thoſe hideous and ugly monſters, in whom, becauſe there is nothing but wilful oppoſition of mind againſt God, a more than tolerable deformity is noted in them, by ſaying, that their minds are not right. The Angel of the Church of Thyatira, unto whom the Son of God ſendeth this greeting, *I know thy works,*

works, and thy love, and thy ſervice, and faith; notwithſtanding, I have a few things againſt thee, was not as he unto whom St. Peter, *Thou haſt no fellowſhip in this buſineſs; for thy heart is not right in the ſight of God.* So that whereas the orderly diſpoſition of the mind of man ſhould be this; perturbation and ſenſual appetites all kept in awe by a moderate and ſober will, in all things framed by reaſon, reaſon directed by the Law of God and Nature; this Babylonian had his mind, as it were, turned upſide down. In him unreaſonable cecity and blindneſs trampled all laws, both of God and Nature, under feet; wilfulneſs tyrannized over reaſon; and brutiſh ſenſuality over will: an evident token that his outrage would work his overthrow, and procure his ſpeedy ruin. The mother whereof was that which the Prophet in theſe words ſignified, *His mind doth ſwell.*

Immoderate ſwelling, a token of very eminent breach, and of inevitable deſtruction: pride, a vice which cleaveth ſo faſt unto the hearts of men, that if we were to ſtrip ourſelves of all faults one by one, we ſhould undoubtedly find it the very laſt and hardeſt to put off. But I am not here to touch the ſecret itching humour of vanity wherewith men are generally touched. It was a thing more than meanly inordinate, wherewith the Babylonian did ſwell. Which that we may both the better conceive, and the more eaſily reap profit by, the nature of this vice, which ſetteth the whole world out of courſe, and hath put ſo many even of the wiſeſt beſides themſelves, is firſt of all to be enquired into: ſecondly, the dangers to be diſcovered which it draweth inevitably after it, being not cured; and laſt of all, the ways to cure it.

Whether we look upon the gifts of nature, or of grace, or whatſoever is in the world admired as a part of man's excellency, adorning his body, beautifying his mind, or externally any way commending him in the account and opinion of men, there is in

every kind ſomewhat poſſible which no man hath, and ſomewhat had which few men can attain unto. By occaſion whereof, there groweth diſparagement neceſſarily; and by occaſion of diſparagement, pride through men's ignorance. Firſt, therefore, although men be not proud of any thing which is not, at leaſt in opinion, good; yet every good thing they are not proud of, but only of that which neither is common unto many, and being deſired of all, cauſeth them which have it to be honoured above the reſt. Now there is no man ſo void of brain, as to ſuppoſe that pride conſiſteth in the bare poſſeſſion of ſuch things; for then to have virtue were a vice, and they ſhould be the happieſt men who are moſt wretched, becauſe they have leaſt of that which they would have. And though in ſpeech we do intimate a kind of vanity to be in them of whom we ſay, *They are wiſe men, and they know it*; yet this doth not prove, that every wiſe man is proud which doth not think himſelf to be blockiſh. What we may have, and know that we have it without offence, do we then make offenſive when we take joy and delight in having it? What difference between men enriched with all abundance of earthly and heavenly bleſſings, and idols gorgeouſly attired, but this, *The one takes pleaſure in that which they have, the other none?* If we may be poſſeſſed with beauty, ſtrength, riches, power, knowledge, if we may be privy to what we are every way, if glad and joyful for our own welfare, and in all this remain unblameable; nevertheleſs ſome there are, who granting thus much, doubt whether it may ſtand with humility, to accept thoſe teſtimonies of praiſe and commendation, thoſe titles, rooms, and other honours which the world yieldeth, as acknowledgments of ſome men's excellencies above others. For, inaſmuch as Chriſt hath ſaid unto thoſe that are his, *The kings of the Gentiles reign over them, and they that bear rule over them, are called gracious lords; be ye not ſo:* the Anabaptiſt hereupon urgeth equality

lity amongſt Chriſtians, as if all exerciſe of authority were nothing elſe but heatheniſh pride. Our Lord and Saviour had no ſuch meaning. But his diſciples feeding themſelves with a vain imagination for the time, that the Meſſias of the world ſhould in Jeruſalem erect his throne, and exerciſe dominion with great pomp and outward ſtatelineſs, advanced in honour and terrene power above all the princes of the earth, began to think, how with their Lord's condition their own would alſo riſe; that having left and forſaken all to follow him, their place about him ſhould not be mean; and becauſe they were many, it troubled them much, which of them ſhould be the greateſt man. When ſuit was made for two by name, that of them *one might ſit at his right hand, and the other at his left*, the reſt began to ſtomach, each taking it grievouſly that any ſhould have what all did affect: their Lord and Maſter, to correct this humour, turneth aſide their cogitations from theſe vain and fanciful conceits, giving them plainly to underſtand that they did but deceive themſelves; his coming was not to purchaſe an earthly, but to beſtow an heavenly kingdom, wherein they (if any) ſhall be greateſt whom unfeigned humility maketh in this world loweſt, and leaſt amongſt others: *Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations, therefore I leave unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed me, that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and ſit on ſeats, and judge the twelve tribes of Iſrael.* But my kingdom is no ſuch kingdom as ye dream of; and therefore theſe hungry ambitious contentions are ſeemlier in heathens than in you. Wherefore from Chriſt's intent and purpoſe nothing is further removed, than diſlike of diſtinction in titles and callings, annexed for order's ſake unto authority, whether it be Eccleſiaſtical or Civil. And when we have examined throughly, what the nature of this vice is, no man knowing it can be ſo ſimple, as not to ſee an ugly ſhape thereof apparent many times in

rejecting honours offered, more than in the very exacting of them at the hands of men. For as Judas his care for the poor was mere covetouſneſs; and that frank-hearted waſtefulneſs ſpoken of in the Goſpel, thrift; ſo, there is no doubt, but that going in rags may be pride, and thrones be clothed with unfeigned humility.

We muſt go further therefore, and enter ſomewhat deeper, before we can come to the cloſet wherein this poiſon lieth. There is in the heart of every proud man, firſt, an error of underſtanding, a vain opinion whereby he thinketh his own excellency, and by reaſon thereof his worthineſs of eſtimation, regard, and honour, to be greater than in truth it is. This maketh him in all his affections accordingly to raiſe up himſelf; and by his inward affections his outward acts are faſhioned. Which if you liſt to have exemplified, you may, either by calling to mind things ſpoken of them whom God himſelf hath in Scripture eſpecially noted with this fault; or by preſenting to your ſecret cogitations that which you daily behold in the odious lives and manners of high-minded men. It were too long to gather together ſo plentiful an harveſt of examples in this kind as the ſacred Scripture affordeth. That which we drink in at our ears doth not ſo piercingly enter, as that which the mind doth conceive by ſight. Is there any thing written concerning the Aſſyrian monarch in the tenth of Iſaiah, of his ſwelling mind, his haughty looks, his great and preſumptuous taunts; *By the power of mine own hand I have done all things, and by mine own wiſdom I have ſubdued the world?* any thing concerning the dames of Sion, in the third of the Prophet Iſaiah, of their ſtretched-out necks, their immodeſt eyes, their pageant-like, ſtately, and pompous gait? any thing concerning the practices of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, of their impatience to live in ſubjection, their mutinies, repining at lawful authority, their grudging againſt their ſuperiors Eccleſiaſtical

cleſiaſtical and Civil? any thing concerning pride in any ſort of ſect, which the preſent face of the world doth not, as in a glaſs, repreſent to the view of all men's beholding? So that if books, both profane and holy, were all loſt, as long as the manners of men retain the eſtate they are in; for him that obſerveth, how that when men have once conceived an over-weening of themſelves, it maketh them in all their affections to ſwell; how deadly their hatred, how heavy their diſpleaſure, how unappeaſeable their indignation and wrath is above other men's, in what manner they compoſe themſelves to be as Heteroclites, without the compaſs of all ſuch rules as the common ſort are meaſured by; how the oaths which religious hearts do tremble at, they affect as principal graces of ſpeech; what felicity they take to ſee the enormity of their crimes above the reach of laws and puniſhments; how much it delighteth them when they are able to appal with the cloudineſs of their looks; how far they exceed the terms wherewith man's nature ſhould be limited; how highly they bear their heads over others; how they brow-beat all men which do not receive their ſentences as oracles, with marvellous applauſe and approbation; how they look upon no man, but with an indirect countenance, nor hear any thing, ſaving their own praiſe, with patience, nor ſpeak without ſcornfulneſs and diſdain; how they uſe their ſervants, as if they were beaſts, their inferiors as ſervants, their equals as inferiors, and as for ſuperiors they acknowledge none; how they admire themſelves as venerable, puiſſant, wiſe, circumſpect, provident, every way great, taking all men beſides themſelves for cyphers, poor, inglorious, ſilly creatures, needleſs burdens of the earth, off-ſcourings, nothing: in a word, for him which marketh how irregular and exorbitant they are in all things, it can be no hard thing hereby to gather, that pride is nothing but an inordinate elation of the mind, proceeding from a falſe conceit

of men's excellency in things honoured, which accordingly frameth alſo their deeds and behaviour, unleſs they be cunning to conceal it; for a foul ſcar may be covered with a fair cloth, and as proud as Lucifer may be in outward appearance lowly.

No man expecteth grapes of thiſtles; nor from a thing of ſo bad a nature, can other than ſuitable fruits be looked for. What harm ſoever in private families there groweth by diſobedience of children, ſtubbornneſs of ſervants, untractableneſs in them, who, although they otherwiſe may rule, yet ſhould in conſideration of the imparity of their ſex, be alſo ſubject; whatſoever, by ſtriſe amongſt men combined in the fellowſhip of greater ſocieties, by tyranny of potentates, ambition of nobles, rebellion of ſubjects in civil ſtates; by hereſies, ſchiſms, diviſions in the Church; naming Pride, we name the mother which brought them forth, and the only nurſe that feedeth them. Give me the hearts of all men humbled; and what is there that can overthrow or diſturb the peace of the world? Wherein many things are the cauſe of much evil; but pride of all.

To declaim of the ſwarms of evils iſſuing out of pride, is an eaſy labour. I rather wiſh that I could exactly preſcribe and perſuade effectually the remedies, whereby a ſore ſo grievous might be cured, and the means how the pride of ſwelling minds might be taken down. Whereunto ſo much we have already gained, that the evidence of the cauſe which breedeth it, pointeth directly unto the likelieſt and fitteſt helps to take it away. Diſeaſes that come of fulneſs, emptineſs muſt remove. Pride is not cured but by abating the error which cauſeth the mind to ſwell. Then ſeeing that they ſwell by miſconceit of their own excellency; for this cauſe, all that tends to the beating down of their pride, whether it be advertiſement from men, or from God himſelf chaſtiſement; it then maketh them ceaſe to be proud, when it cauſeth them to ſee their error in overſeeing the thing

thing they were proud of. At this mark Job, in his apology unto his eloquent friends, aimeth. For perceiving how much they delighted to hear themſelves talk, as if they had given their poor afflicted familiar a ſchooling of marvellous deep and rare inſtruction, as if they had taught him more than all the world beſides could acquaint him with; his anſwer was to this effect: Ye ſwell, as though ye had conceived ſome great matter; but as for that which ye are delivered of, who knoweth it not? Is any man ignorant of theſe things? At the ſame mark the bleſſed Apoſtle driveth: *Ye abound in all things, ye are rich, ye reign,* and *would to Chriſt we did reign with you*; but boaſt not. For what have ye, or are ye of yourſelves? To this mark all thoſe humble confeſſions are referred, which have been always frequent in the mouths of ſaints truly wading in the trial of themſelves: as that of the Prophet's, *We are nothing but foreneſs and feſtered corruption*; our very light is darkneſs, and our righteouſneſs itſelf unrighteouſneſs: that of Gregory, *Let no man ever put confidence in his own deſerts*; *Sordet in conſpectu Judicis, quod fulget in conſpectu operantis*; in the ſight of the dreadful Judge, it is noiſome, which in the doer's judgment maketh a beautiful ſhew: that of Anſelm, *I adore thee, I bleſs thee, Lord God of Heaven, and Redeemer of the world, with all the power, ability, and ſtrength of my heart and ſoul, for thy goodneſs ſo unmeaſurably extended; not in regard of my merits, whereunto only torments were due, but of thy mere unprocured benignity.* If theſe Fathers ſhould be raiſed again from the duſt, and have the books laid open before them wherein ſuch ſentences are found as this: *Works no other than the value, deſert, price, and worth of the joys of the kingdom of Heaven; Heaven, in relation to our works, as the very ſtipend, which the hired labourer covenanteth to have of him whoſe work he doth, as a thing equally and juſtly anſwering unto the time and weight of his travels, rather than to a voluntary or bountiful*

bountiful gift—if, I ſay, thoſe reverend fore-rehearſed Fathers, whoſe books are ſo full of ſentences witneſſing their Chriſtian humility, ſhould be raiſed from the dead, and behold with their eyes ſuch things written; would they not plainly pronounce of the authors of ſuch writs, that they were fuller of Lucifer than of Chriſt, that they were proud-hearted men, and carried more ſwelling minds than ſincerely and feelingly known Chriſtianity can tolerate?

But as unruly children, with whom wholeſome admonition prevaileth little, are notwithſtanding brought to fear that ever after which they have once well ſmarted for; ſo the mind which falleth not with inſtruction, yet under the rod of divine chaſtiſement ceaſeth to ſwell. If therefore the prophet David, inſtructed by good experience, have acknowledged; Lord, I was even at the point of clean forgetting myſelf, and ſo ſtraying from my right mind, but thy rod was my reformer; it *hath been good for me*, even as much as my ſoul is worth, *that I have been with ſorrow troubled:* if the bleſſed Apoſtle did need the corroſive of ſharp and bitter ſtrokes, leſt his heart ſhould ſwell with too great *abundance of heavenly revelations*, ſurely, upon us whatſoever God in this world doth or ſhall inflict, it cannot ſeem more than our pride doth exact, not only by way of revenge, but of remedy. So hard it is to cure a ſore of ſuch quality as pride is, inaſmuch as that which rooteth out other vices, cauſeth this; and (which is even above all conceit) if we were clean from all ſpot and blemiſh both of other faults; of pride, the fall of angels doth make it almoſt a queſtion, whether we might not need a preſervative ſtill, leſt we ſhould haply wax proud that we are not proud. What is virtue, but a medicine, and vice, but a wound? Yet we have ſo often deeply wounded ourſelves with medicine, that God hath been fain to make wounds medicinable; to cure by vice where virtue hath ſtrucken;

ſtrucken; to ſuffer the juſt man to fall, that being raiſed, he may be taught what power it was which upheld him ſtanding. I am not afraid to affirm it boldly with St. Auguſtin, that men puffed up through a proud opinion of their own ſanctity and holineſs, receive a benefit at the hands of God, and are aſſiſted with his grace, when with his grace they are not aſſiſted, but permitted, and that grievouſly, to tranſgreſs; whereby, as they were in over-great liking of themſelves ſupplanted, ſo the diſlike of that which did ſupplant them may eſtabliſh them afterwards the ſurer. Aſk the very ſoul of Peter, and it ſhall undoubtedly make you itſelf this anſwer; My eager proteſtations, made in the glory of my ghoſtly ſtrength, I am aſhamed of; but thoſe cryſtal tears, wherewith my ſin and weakneſs was bewailed, have procured my endleſs joy; my ſtrength hath been my ruin, and my fall my ſtay.

A

REMEDY

AGAINST

SORROW AND FEAR,

DELIVERED IN A

FUNERAL SERMON.

JOHN xiv. 27.

Let not your hearts be troubled, nor fear.

THE holy Apoſtles having gathered themſelves together by the ſpecial appointment of Chriſt, and being in expectation to receive from him ſuch inſtructions as they had been accuſtomed with, were told that which they leaſt looked for, namely, that the time of his departure out of the world was now come. Whereupon they fell into conſideration, firſt, of the manifold benefits which his abſence ſhould bereave them of; and, ſecondly, of the ſundry evils which themſelves ſhould be ſubject unto, being once bereaved of ſo gracious a maſter and patron. The one conſideration overwhelmed their ſouls with heavineſs; the other with fear. Their Lord and Saviour, whoſe words had caſt down their hearts, raiſeth them preſently again with choſen ſentences of ſweet encouragement. My dear, it is for your own ſakes I leave

I leave the world; I know the affections of your hearts are tender, but if your love were directed with that adviſed and ſtaid judgment which ſhould be in you, my ſpeech of leaving the world, and going unto my Father, would not a little augment your joy. Deſolate and comfortleſs I will not leave you; in ſpirit I am with you to the world's end. Whether I be preſent or abſent, nothing ſhall ever take you out of theſe hands. My going is to take poſſeſſion of that, in your names, which is not only for me, but alſo for you prepared; where I am, you ſhall be. In the mean while, *my peace I give, not as the world giveth, give I unto you: let not your hearts be troubled, nor fear.* The former part of which ſentence having otherwhere already been ſpoken of, this unacceptable occaſion to open the latter part thereof here, I did not look for. But ſo God diſpoſeth the ways of men. Him I heartily beſeech, that the thing which he hath thus ordered by his providence, may through his gracious goodneſs turn unto your comfort.

Our nature coveteth for preſervation from things hurtful. Hurtful things being preſent, do breed heavineſs; being future, do cauſe fear. Our Saviour, to abate the one, ſpeaketh thus unto his Diſciples, *Let not your hearts be troubled*; and, to moderate the other, addeth, *Fear not.* Grief and heavineſs in the preſence of ſenſible evils cannot but trouble the minds of men. It may therefore ſeem that Chriſt required a thing impoſſible. Be not troubled. Why, how could they chooſe? But we muſt note this being natural, and therefore ſimply not reprovable, is in us good or bad according to the cauſes for which we are grieved, or the meaſure of our grief. It is not my meaning to ſpeak ſo largely of this affection, or to go over all the particulars whereby men do one way or other offend in it, but to teach it ſo far only, as it may cauſe the very Apoſtles' equals to ſwerve. Our grief and heavineſs

heavineſs therefore is reprovable, ſometime in reſpect of the cauſe from whence, ſometime in regard of the meaſure whereunto it groweth.

When Chriſt, the life of the world, was led unto cruel death, there followed a number of people and women, which women bewailed much his heavy caſe. It was a natural compaſſion which cauſed them, where they ſaw undeſerved miſeries, there to pour forth unreſtrained tears. Nor was this reproved. But in ſuch readineſs to lament where they leſs needed, their blindneſs in not diſcerning that for which they ought much rather to have mourned; this our Saviour a little toucheth, putting them in mind that the tears which were waſted for him, might better have been ſpent upon themſelves; *Daughters of Jeruſalem, weep not for me, weep for yourſelves and for your children.* It is not, as the Stoics have imagined, a thing unſeemly for a wiſe man to be touched with grief of mind: but to be ſorrowful when we leaſt ſhould; and where we ſhould lament, there to laugh, this argueth our ſmall wiſdom. Again, when the prophet David confeſſeth thus of himſelf, *I grieved* Pſal. lxxiii. *to ſee the great proſperity of godleſs men, how they flouriſh and go untouched*, himſelf hereby openeth both our common and his peculiar imperfection, whom this cauſe ſhould not have made ſo penſive. To grieve at this, is to grieve where we ſhould not, becauſe this grief doth riſe from error. We err when we grieve at wicked men's impunity and proſperity, becauſe their eſtate being rightly diſcerned, they neither proſper nor go unpuniſhed. It may ſeem a paradox, it is truth, that no wicked man's eſtate is proſperous, fortunate, or happy. For what though they bleſs themſelves, and think their happineſs great? Have not frantic perſons many times a great opinion of their own wiſdom? It may be that ſuch as they think themſelves, others alſo do account them. But what others? Surely ſuch as themſelves are. Truth and reaſon diſcerneth far otherwiſe of them.

them. Unto whom the Jews wiſh all proſperity, unto them the phraſe of their ſpeech is to wiſh peace. Seeing then the name of peace containeth in it all parts of true happineſs, when the Prophet ſaith plainly, *That the wicked have no peace*; how can we think them to have any part of other than vainly imagined felicity? What wiſe man did ever account fools happy? If wicked men were wiſe, they would ceaſe to be wicked. Their iniquity therefore proving their folly, how can we ſtand in doubt of their miſery? They abound in thoſe things which all men deſire. A poor happineſs to have good things in poſſeſſion. *A man to whom God hath given riches, and treaſures, and honour, ſo that he wanteth nothing for his ſoul of all that it deſireth, but yet God giveth him not the power to eat thereof*; ſuch a felicity Solomon eſteemeth but as vanity, a thing of nothing. If ſuch things add nothing to men's happineſs, where they are not uſed, ſurely wicked men that uſe them ill, the more they have, the more wretched. Of their proſperity therefore we ſee what we are to think. Touching their impunity, the ſame is likewiſe but ſuppoſed. They are oftener plagued than we are aware of. The pangs they feel are not always written in their forehead. Though wickedneſs be ſugar in their mouths, and wantonneſs as oil to make them look with cheerful countenances; nevertheleſs if their hearts were diſcloſed, perhaps their glittering ſtate would not greatly be envied. The voices that have broken out from ſome of them, *O that God had given me a heart ſenſeleſs, like the ſtints in the rocks of ſtone!* which as it can taſte no pleaſure, ſo it feeleth no woe; theſe and the like ſpeeches are ſurely tokens of the curſe which Zophar in the book of Job poureth upon the head of the impious man: *He ſhall ſuck the gall of aſps, and the viper's tongue ſhall ſlay him.* If this ſeem light, becauſe it is ſecret, ſhall we think they go unpuniſhed, becauſe no apparent plague is preſently ſeen upon them? The judgments of God

Eccleſ. vi. 2.

do

do not always follow crimes, as thunder doth lightning; but ſometimes the ſpace of many ages coming between. When the ſun hath ſhined fair the ſpace of ſix days upon their tabernacle, we know not what clouds the ſeventh may bring. And when their puniſhment doth come, let them make their account in the greatneſs of their ſuffering to pay the intereſt of that reſpite which had been given them. Or if they chance to eſcape clearly in this world, which they ſeldom do; in the day when the heavens ſhall ſhrivel as a ſcroll, and the mountains move as frighted men out of their places, what cave ſhall receive them? What mountain or rock ſhall they get by intreaty to fall upon them? what covert to hide them from that wrath, which they ſhall neither be able to abide or avoid? No man's miſery therefore being greater than theirs whoſe impiety is moſt fortunate; much more cauſe there is for them to bewail their own infelicity, than for others to be troubled with their proſperous and happy eſtate, as if the hand of the Almighty did not, or would not touch them. For theſe cauſes, and the like unto theſe, therefore, *Be not troubled.*

Now, though the cauſe of our heavineſs be juſt, yet may not our affections herein be yielded unto with too much indulgency and favour. The grief of compaſſion, whereby we are touched with the feeling of other men's woes, is of all other leaſt dangerous: yet this is a let unto ſundry duties; by this we are apt to ſpare ſometimes where we ought to ſtrike. The grief which our own ſufferings do bring, what temptations have not riſen from it? What great advantage Satan hath taken even by the godly grief of hearty contrition for ſins committed againſt God, the near approaching of ſo many afflicted ſouls, whom the conſcience of ſin hath brought unto the very brink of extreme deſpair, doth but too abundantly ſhew. Theſe things, whereſoever they fall, cannot but trouble and moleſt the mind. Whether we be therefore moved vainly with that

which ſeemeth hurtful, and is not; or have juſt cauſe of grief, being preſſed indeed with thoſe things which are grievous, our Saviour's leſſon is, touching the one, *Be not troubled*, nor over-troubled for the other. For though to have no feeling of that which nearly concerneth us were ſtupidity, nevertheleſs, ſeeing that as the Author of our ſalvation was himſelf conſecrated by affliction, ſo the way which we are to follow him by is not ſtrewed with ruſhes, but ſet with thorns; be it never ſo hard to learn, we muſt learn to ſuffer with patience, even that which ſeemeth almoſt impoſſible to be ſuffered; that in the hour when God ſhall call us unto our trial, and turn this honey of peace and pleaſure wherewith we ſwell, into that gall and bitterneſs which fleſh doth ſhrink to taſte of, nothing may cauſe us, in the troubles of our ſouls, to ſtorm, and grudge, and repine at God, but every heart be enabled with divinely inſpired courage to inculcate unto itſelf, *Be not troubled*; and in thoſe laſt and greateſt conflicts to remember, that nothing may be ſo ſharp and bitter to be ſuffered, but that ſtill we ourſelves may give ourſelves this encouragement, *Even learn alſo patience, O my ſoul.*

Naming patience, I name that virtue which only hath power to ſtay our ſouls from being over-exceſſively troubled. A virtue, wherein if ever any, ſurely that ſoul had good experience, which extremity of pains having chaſed out of the tabernacle of this fleſh, Angels, I nothing doubt, have carried into the boſom of her father Abraham. The death of the Saints of God is precious in his ſight. And ſhall it ſeem unto us ſuperfluous at ſuch times as theſe are, to hear in what manner they have ended their lives? The Lord himſelf hath not diſdained ſo exactly to regiſter in the book of life, after what ſort his ſervants have cloſed up their days on earth, that he deſcendeth even to their very meaneſt actions; what meat they have longed for in their ſickneſs, what they have ſpoken unto their children, kinsfolks, and friends, where

where they have willed their dead carcaſes to be laid, how they have framed their wills and teſtaments; yea, the very turning of their faces to this ſide or that, the ſetting of their eyes, the degrees whereby their natural heat hath departed from them, their cries, their groans, their pantings, breathings, and laſt gaſpings he hath moſt ſolemnly commended unto the memory of all generations. The care of the living both to live and die well muſt needs be ſomewhat increaſed, when they know that their departure ſhall not be folded up in ſilence, but the ears of many be made acquainted with it. Again, when they hear how mercifully God hath dealt with others in the hour of their laſt need, beſides the praiſe which they give to God, and the joy which they have, or ſhould have by reaſon of their fellowſhip and communion of Saints, is not their hope alſo much confirmed againſt the day of their own diſſolution? Finally, the ſound of theſe things doth not ſo paſs the ears of them that are moſt looſe and diſſolute of life, but it cauſeth them ſome time or other to wiſh in their hearts, *Oh, that we might die the death of the righteous, and that our end might be like his!* Howbeit, becauſe to ſpend herein many words would be to ſtrike even as many wounds into their minds, whom I rather wiſh to comfort; therefore concerning this virtuous gentlewoman only this little I ſpeak, and that of knowledge, *She lived a dove, and died a lamb.* And if, amongſt ſo many virtues, hearty devotion towards God, towards poverty tender compaſſion, motherly affection towards ſervants, toward friends even ſerviceable kindneſs, mild behaviour and harmleſs meaning towards all; if, where ſo many virtues were eminent, any be worthy of ſpecial mention, I wiſh her deareſt friends of that ſex to be her neareſt followers in two things; ſilence, ſaving only where duty did exact ſpeech; and patience, even then when extremity of pains did enforce grief. *Bleſſed are they that die in the Lord.* And concerning the

dead which are bleſſed, let not the hearts of any living be over-charged, with grief over-troubled.

Touching the latter affection of fear, which reſpecteth evil to come, as the other which we have ſpoken of doth preſent evils; firſt, in the nature thereof it is plain, that we are not of every future evil afraid. Perceive we not how they, whoſe tenderneſs ſhrinketh at the leaſt raſe of a needle's point, do kiſs the ſword that pierceth their ſouls quite through? If every evil did cauſe fear, ſin, becauſe it is ſin, would be feared; whereas properly ſin is not feared as ſin, but only as having ſome kind of harm annexed. To teach men to avoid ſin, it had been ſufficient for the Apoſtle to ſay, *Fly it:* but to make them afraid of committing ſin, becauſe the naming of ſin ſufficed not, therefore he addeth further, that it is as a *ſerpent which ſtingeth the ſoul.* Again, be it that ſome nocive or hurtful thing be towards us, muſt fear of neceſſity follow hereupon? Not, except that hurtful thing do threaten us either with deſtruction or vexation, and that ſuch, as we have neither a conceit of ability to reſiſt, nor of utter impoſſibility to avoid. That which we know ourſelves able to withſtand, we fear not; and that which we know we are unable to defer or diminiſh, or any way avoid, we ceaſe to fear; we give ourſelves over to bear and ſuſtain it. The evil therefore which is feared, muſt be in our perſuaſion unable to be reſiſted when it cometh, yet not utterly impoſſible for a time in whole or in part to be ſhunned. Neither do we much fear ſuch evils; except they be imminent and near at hand; nor if they be near, except we have an opinion that they be ſo. When we have once conceived an opinion, or apprehended an imagination of ſuch evils preſſed, and ready to invade us; becauſe they are hurtful unto our nature, we feel in ourſelves a kind of abhorring; becauſe they are thought near, yet not preſent, our nature ſeeketh forthwith how to ſhift and provide for itſelf; becauſe they are

evils

evils which cannot be reſiſted, therefore ſhe doth not provide to withſtand, but to ſhun and avoid. Hence it is, that in extreme fear, the mother of life contracting herſelf, avoiding as much as may be the reach of evil, and drawing the heat together with the ſpirits of the body to her, leaveth the outward parts cold, pale, weak, feeble, unapt to perform the functions of life; as we ſee in the fear of Balthaſar King of Babel. By this it appeareth, that fear is nothing elſe but a perturbation of the mind, through an opinion of ſome imminent evil, threatening the deſtruction, or great annoyance of our nature, which to ſhun, it doth contract and deject itſelf.

Now becauſe, not in this place only, but otherwhere often, we hear it repeated, *Fear not*; it is by ſome made a queſtion, *Whether a man may fear deſtruction or vexation without ſinning?* Firſt, the reproof wherewith Chriſt checketh his Diſciples more than once, *O men of little faith, wherefore are ye afraid?* ſecondly, the puniſhment threatened in Rev. xxi. viz. the lake, and fire, and brimſtone, not only to murderers, unclean perſons, ſorcerers, idolaters, liars, but alſo to the fearful and faint-hearted: this ſeemeth to argue, that fearfulneſs cannot but be ſin. On the contrary ſide we ſee, that he which never felt motion unto ſin, had of this affection more than a ſlight feeling. How clear is the evidence of the Spirit, that *in the days of his fleſh he offered up prayers and* Heb. v. 7. *ſupplications, with ſtrong cries and tears, unto him that was able to ſave him from death, and was alſo heard in that which he feared?* Whereupon it followeth, that fear in itſelf is a thing not ſinful. For, is not fear a thing natural, and for men's preſervation neceſſary, implanted in us by the provident and moſt gracious Giver of all good things, to the end that we might not run headlong upon thoſe miſchiefs, wherewith we are not able to encounter, but uſe the remedy of ſhunning thoſe evils which we have not ability to withſtand? Let that people

therefore which receive a benefit by the length of their prince's days, the father or mother which rejoiceth to ſee the offſpring of their fleſh grow like green and pleaſant plants, let thoſe children that would have their parents, thoſe men that would gladly have their friends and brethren's days prolonged on earth, (as there is no natural-hearted man but gladly would,) let them bleſs the Father of lights, as in other things, ſo even in this, that he hath given man a fearful heart, and ſettled naturally that affection in him, which is a preſervation againſt ſo many ways of death. Fear then in itſelf being mere nature, cannot in itſelf be ſin, which ſin is not nature, but thereof an acceſſary deprivation.

But in the matter of fear we may ſin, and do, two ways. If any man's danger be great, theirs is greateſt that have put the fear of danger fartheſt from them. Is there any eſtate more fearful than that Babylonian Strumpet's, that ſitteth upon the top of ſeven hills glorying and vaunting, *I am a queen, &c.* How much better and happier are they, whoſe eſtate hath been always as his, who ſpeaketh after this ſort of himſelf, *Lord, from my youth have I borne thy yoke?* They which ſit at continual eaſe, and are ſettled in the lees of their ſecurity, look upon them, view their countenance, their ſpeech, their geſture, their deeds: *Put them in fear, O God,* ſaith the Prophet, *that ſo they may know themſelves to be but men*; worms of earth, duſt and aſhes, frail, corruptible, feeble things. To ſhake off ſecurity therefore, and to breed fear in the hearts of mortal men, ſo many admonitions are uſed concerning the power of evils which beſet them, ſo many threatenings of calamities, ſo many deſcriptions of things threatened, and thoſe ſo lively, to the end they may leave behind them a deep impreſſion of ſuch as have force to keep the heart continually waking. All which do ſhew, that we are to ſtand in fear of nothing more than the extremity of not fearing.

Rev. xviii. 7.

When

When fear hath delivered us from that pit, wherein they are ſunk that have put far from them the evil day, that have made a league with death, and have ſaid, *Tuſh, we ſhall feel no harm*; it ſtandeth us upon to take heed it caſt us not into that, wherein ſouls deſtitute of all hope are plunged. For our direction, to avoid as much as may be both extremities, that we may know, as a ſhip-maſter by his card, how far we are wide, either on the one ſide, or on the other, we muſt note, that in a Chriſtian man there is, firſt, Nature; ſecondly, Corruption perverting Nature; thirdly, Grace correcting and amending Corruption. In fear all theſe have their ſeveral operations: Nature teacheth ſimply, to wiſh preſervation, and avoidance of things dreadful; for which cauſe our Saviour himſelf prayeth, and that often, *Father, if it be poſſible*. In which caſes, corrupt Nature's ſuggeſtions are, for the ſafety of temporal life, not to ſtick at things excluding from eternal; wherein how far even the beſt may be led, the chiefeſt Apoſtle's frailty teacheth. Were it not therefore for ſuch cogitations as, on the contrary ſide, Grace and Faith miniſtereth, ſuch as that of Job, *Though God kill me*; that of Paul, *Scio cui credidi, I know him on whom I rely*; ſmall evils would ſoon be able to overthrow even the beſt of us. *A wiſe man*, ſaith Solomon, *doth ſee a plague coming, and hideth himſelf.* It is Nature which teacheth a wiſe man in fear to hide himſelf, but Grace and Faith doth teach him where. Fools care not to hide their heads: but where ſhall a wiſe man hide himſelf when he feareth a plague coming? where ſhould the frighted child hide his head, but in the boſom of his loving father? where a Chriſtian, but under the ſhadow of the wings of Chriſt his Saviour? *Come my people*, ſaith God in the Prophet, *enter into thy chamber, hide thyſelf, &c.* But Iſai. xxvi. 20.
becauſe we are in danger, like chaſed birds, like doves, that ſeek and cannot ſee the reſting holes

that are right before them; therefore our Saviour giveth his Diſciples theſe encouragements beforehand, that fear might never ſo amaze them, but that always they might remember, that whatſoever evils at any time did beſet them, to him they ſhould ſtill repair for comfort, counſel, and ſuccour. For their aſſurance whereof, his *Peace he gave them, his Peace he left unto them, not ſuch Peace as the world offereth*, by whom its name is never ſo much pretended, as when deepeſt treachery is meant; but *Peace which paſſeth all underſtanding*, Peace that bringeth with it all happineſs, Peace that continueth for ever and ever with them that have it.

This Peace God the Father grant, for his Son's ſake; unto whom, with the Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons, one eternal and everlaſting God, be all honour, and glory, and praiſe, now and for ever. Amen.

A

LEARNED AND COMFORTABLE

SERMON

OF THE

CERTAINTY AND PERPETUITY

OF

FAITH IN THE ELECT:

ESPECIALLY OF THE PROPHET HABAKKUK'S FAITH.

HABAK. i. 4.

Whether the Prophet Habakkuk, by admitting this cogitation into his mind, The Law doth fail, *did thereby ſhew himſelf an unbeliever?*

WE have ſeen in the opening of this clauſe, which concerneth the weakneſs of the Prophet's faith, firſt, what things they are, whereunto the faith of ſound believers doth aſſent: ſecondly, wherefore all men aſſent not thereunto: and thirdly, why they that do, do it many times with ſmall aſſurance. Now, becauſe nothing can be ſo truly ſpoken, but through miſunderſtanding it may be depraved; therefore to prevent, if it be poſſible, all miſconſtruction in this

this cauſe, where a ſmall error cannot riſe but with great danger, it is perhaps needful, ere we come to the fourth point, that ſomething be added to that which had been already ſpoken concerning the third.

That mere natural men do neither know nor acknowledge the things of God, we do not marvel, becauſe they are ſpiritually to be diſcerned; but they in whoſe hearts the light of grace doth ſhine, they that are taught of God, why are they ſo weak in faith? Why is their aſſenting to the Law ſo ſcrupulous? ſo much mingled with fear and wavering? It ſeemeth ſtrange that ever they ſhould imagine the Law to fail. It cannot ſeem ſtrange if we weigh the reaſon. If the things which we believe be conſidered in themſelves, it may truly be ſaid that faith is more certain than any ſcience. That which we know either by ſenſe, or by infallible demonſtration, is not ſo certain as the principles, articles, and concluſions of Chriſtian faith. Concerning which we muſt note, that there is a certainty of evidence, and a certainty of adherence. Certainty of evidence we call that, when the mind doth aſſent to this or that, not becauſe it is true in itſelf, but becauſe the truth is clear, becauſe it is manifeſt unto us. Of things in themſelves moſt certain, except they be alſo moſt evident, our perſuaſion is not ſo aſſured as it is of things more evident, although in themſelves they be leſs certain. It is as ſure, if not ſurer, that there be ſpirits, as that there be men; but we be more aſſured of theſe than of them, becauſe theſe are more evident. The truth of ſome things is ſo evident, that no man which heareth them can doubt of them: as when we hear that a part of any thing is leſs than the whole, the mind is conſtrained to ſay, this is true. If it were ſo in matters of faith, then, as all men have equal certainty of this, ſo no believer ſhould be more ſcrupulous and doubtful than another. But we find the contrary. The angels

and

and ſpirits of the righteous in heaven have certainty moſt evident of things ſpiritual: but this they have by the light of glory. That which we ſee by the light of grace, though it be indeed more certain; yet it is not to us ſo evidently certain, as that which ſenſe or the light of nature will not ſuffer a man to doubt of. Proofs are vain and frivolous, except they be more certain than is the thing proved. And do we not ſee how the Spirit every where in the Scripture proving matters of faith, laboureth to confirm us in the things which we believe, by things whereof we have ſenſible knowledge? I conclude therefore that we have leſs certainty of evidence concerning things believed, than concerning ſenſible or naturally perceived. Of theſe who doth doubt at any time? Of them at ſometime who doubteth not? I will not here allege the ſundry confeſſions of the perfecteſt that have lived upon earth, concerning their great imperfections this way; which if I did, I ſhould dwell too long upon a matter ſufficiently known by every faithful man that doth know himſelf.

The other, which we call the certainty of adherence, is, when the heart doth cleave and ſtick unto that which it doth believe. This certainty is greater in us than the other. The reaſon is this, the faith of a Chriſtian doth apprehend the words of the Law, the promiſes of God, not only as true, but alſo as good; and therefore even then, when the evidence which he hath of the truth is ſo ſmall, that it grieveth him to feel his weakneſs in aſſenting thereto, yet is there in him ſuch a ſure adherence unto that which he doth but faintly and fearfully believe, that his ſpirit having once truly taſted the heavenly ſweetneſs thereof, all the world is not able quite and clean to remove him from it; but he ſtriveth with himſelf to hope againſt all reaſon of believing, being ſettled with Job upon this immovable reſolution, *Though God kill me, I will not give over truſting in him.*

For

For why? This leſſon remaineth for ever imprinted in him, *It is good for me to cleave unto God.*

Pſal. xxxvii.

Now the minds of all men being ſo darkened as they are with the foggy damp of original corruption, it cannot be that any man's heart living ſhould be either ſo enlightened in the knowledge, or ſo eſtabliſhed in the love of that wherein his ſalvation ſtandeth, as to be perfect, neither doubting nor ſhrinking at all. If any ſuch were, what doth let why that man ſhould not be juſtified by his own inherent righteouſneſs? For righteouſneſs inherent, being perfect, will juſtify. And perfect faith is a part of perfect righteouſneſs inherent; yea, a principal part, the root and the mother of all the reſt: ſo that if the fruit of every tree be ſuch as the root is, faith being perfect, as it is if it be not at all mingled with diſtruſt and fear, what is there to exclude other Chriſtian virtues from the like perfections? And then what need we the righteouſneſs of Chriſt? His garment is ſuperfluous; we may be honourably clothed with our own robes, if it be thus. But let them beware, who challenge to themſelves a ſtrength which they have not, leſt they loſe the comfortable ſupport of that weakneſs which indeed they have.

Some ſhew, although no ſoundneſs of ground, there is, which may be alleged for defence of this ſuppoſed perfection in certainty touching matters of our faith; as, firſt, that Abraham did believe, and doubted not: ſecondly, that the Spirit, which God hath given us to no other end, but only to aſſure us that we are the ſons of God; to embolden us to call upon him as our Father; to open our eyes, and to make the truth of things believed evident unto our minds, is much mightier in operation than the common light of nature, whereby we diſcern ſenſible things: wherefore we muſt needs be more ſure of that we believe, than of that we ſee; we muſt needs be more certain of the mercies of God in Chriſt Jeſus, than we are of the light of the ſun when

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it ſhineth upon our faces. To that of Abraham, *He did not doubt*; I anſwer, that this negation doth not exclude all fear, all doubting, but only that which cannot ſtand with true faith. It freeth Abraham from doubting through infidelity, not from doubting through infirmity; from the doubting of unbelievers, not of weak believers; from ſuch a doubting as that whereof the Prince of Samaria is attainted, who hearing the promiſe of ſudden plenty in the midſt of extreme dearth, anſwered; *Though the Lord would make windows in heaven, were it poſſible ſo to come to paſs?* But that Abraham was not void of all doubtings, what need we any other proof, than the plain evidence of his own words? Gen. xvii. 17.

The reaſon which is taken from the power of the Spirit were effectual, if God did work like a natural agent, as the fire doth enflame, and the ſun enlighten, according to the uttermoſt ability which they have to bring forth their effects: but the incomprehenſible wiſdom of God doth limit the effects of his power to ſuch a meaſure as it ſeemeth beſt to himſelf. Wherefore he worketh that certainty in all, which ſufficeth abundantly to their ſalvation in the life to come; but in none ſo great as attaineth in this life unto perfection. Even ſo, O Lord, it hath pleaſed thee; even ſo it is beſt and fitteſt for us, that feeling ſtill our own infirmities, we may no longer breathe than pray, *Adjuva Domine, Help, Lord, our incredulity.* Of the third queſtion, this I hope will ſuffice, being added unto that which hath been thereof already ſpoken. The fourth queſtion reſteth, and ſo an end of this point.

That which cometh laſt of all in this firſt branch to be conſidered concerning the weakneſs of the Prophet's faith is, *Whether he did by this very thought*, The Law doth fail, *quench the Spirit, fall from Faith, and ſhew himſelf an unbeliever, or no?* The queſtion is of moment; the repoſe and tranquillity of infinite ſouls doth depend upon it. The Prophet's caſe is the caſe of many; which way ſoever we caſt for him, the

the ſame way it paſſeth for all others. If in him this cogitation did extinguiſh grace, why the like thoughts in us ſhould not take the like effects, there is no cauſe. Foraſmuch therefore as the matter is weighty, dear, and precious, which we have in hand, it behoveth us with ſo much the greater charineſs to wade through it, taking ſpecial heed both what we build, and whereon we build, that if our building be pearl, our foundation be not ſtubble; if the doctrine we teach be full of comfort and conſolation, the ground whereupon we gather it be ſure: otherwiſe we ſhall not ſave, but deceive both ourſelves and others. In this we know we are not deceived, neither can we deceive you, when we teach that the faith whereby ye are ſanctified cannot fail; it did not in the Prophet, it ſhall not in you. If it be ſo, let the difference be ſhewed between the condition of unbelievers and his, in this or in the like imbecility and weakneſs. There was in Habakkuk that which St. John doth call the *ſeed of God*, meaning thereby the firſt grace which God poureth into the hearts of them that are incorporated into Chriſt; which having received, if becauſe it is an adverſary to ſin, we do therefore think we ſin not both otherwiſe, and alſo by diſtruſtful and doubtful apprehending of that which we ought ſtedfaſtly to believe, ſurely we do but deceive ourſelves. Yet they which are of God do not ſin either in this, or in any thing, any ſuch ſin as doth quite extinguiſh grace, clean cut them off from Chriſt Jeſus; becauſe the ſeed of God abideth in them, and doth ſhield them from receiving any irremediable wound. Their faith, when it is at ſtrongeſt, is but weak; yet even then, when it is at the weakeſt, ſo ſtrong, that utterly it never faileth, it never periſheth altogether, no not in them who think it extinguiſhed in themſelves. There are for whoſe ſakes I dare not deal ſlightly in this cauſe, ſparing that labour which muſt be beſtowed to make it plain. Men in like agonies unto this of the Prophet Habakkuk's are, through the extremity of grief,

many

many times in judgment ſo confounded, that they find not themſelves in themſelves. For that which dwelleth in their hearts they ſeek, they make diligent ſearch and enquiry. It abideth, it worketh in them, yet ſtill they aſk, where? Still they lament as for a thing which is paſt finding: they mourn as Rachel, and refuſe to be comforted, as if that were not which indeed is, and as if that, which is not, were; as if they did not believe when they do, and, as if they did deſpair when they do not. Which in ſome, I grant, is but a melancholy paſſion, proceeding only from that dejection of mind, the cauſe whereof is in the body, and by bodily means can be taken away. But where there is no ſuch bodily cauſe, the mind is not lightly in this mood, but by ſome of theſe three occaſions: one, that judging by compariſon either with other men, or with themſelves at ſome other time more ſtrong, they think imperfection to be a plain deprivation, weakneſs to be utter want of faith. Another cauſe is, they often miſtake one thing for another. St. Paul wiſhing well to the Church of Rome, prayeth for them after this ſort; *The God of hope fill you with all joy of believing.* Hence an error groweth, when men in heavineſs of ſpirit ſuppoſe they lack faith, becauſe they find not the ſugared joy and delight which indeed doth accompany faith, but ſo as a ſeparable accident, as a thing that may be removed from it; yea, there is a cauſe why it ſhould be removed. The light would never be ſo acceptable, were it not for that uſual intercourſe of darkneſs. Too much honey doth turn to gall, and too much joy, even ſpiritual, would make us wantons. Happier a great deal is that man's caſe, whoſe ſoul by inward deſolation is humbled, than he whoſe heart is through abundance of ſpiritual delight lifted up and exalted above meaſure. Better it is ſometimes to go down into the pit with him, who beholding darkneſs, and bewailing the loſs of inward joy and conſolation, crieth from the bottom of the

loweſt

loweſt hell, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* than continually to walk arm in arm with angels, to ſit as it were in Abraham's boſom, and to have no thought, no cogitation, but, *I thank my God it is not with me as it is with other men.* No, God will have them that ſhall walk in light, to feel now and then what it is to ſit in the ſhadow of death. A grieved ſpirit therefore is no argument of a faithleſs mind. A third occaſion of men's misjudging themſelves, as if they were faithleſs when they are not, is, they faſten their cogitations upon the diſtruſtful ſuggeſtions of the fleſh, whereof finding great abundance in themſelves, they gather thereby, ſurely unbelief hath full dominion, it hath taken plenary poſſeſſion of me; if I were faithful, it could not be thus; not marking the motions of the Spirit and of Faith, becauſe they lie buried and overwhelmed with the contrary: when notwithſtanding, as the bleſſed Apoſtle doth acknowledge, that the *Spirit groaneth*, and that God heareth when we do not; ſo there is no doubt but that our Faith may have, and hath her private operations ſecret to us, yet known to him by whom they are. Tell this to a man that hath a mind deceived by too hard an opinion of himſelf, and it doth but augment his grief: he hath his anſwer ready; Will you make me think otherwiſe than I find, than I feel in myſelf? I have thoroughly conſidered, and exquiſitely ſifted all the corners of my heart, and I ſee what there is; never ſeek to perſuade me againſt my knowledge; I do not, I know I do not believe. Well, to favour them a little in their weakneſs, let that be granted which they do imagine, be it that they be faithleſs and without belief. But are they not grieved for their unbelief? They are. Do they not wiſh it might, and alſo ſtrive that it may be otherwiſe? We know they do. Whence cometh this, but from a ſecret love and liking which they have of thoſe things that are believed? No man can love things which in his own opinion are not. And if they think thoſe things

things to be, which they ſhew that they love when they deſire to believe them; then muſt it needs be, that by deſiring to believe they prove themſelves true believers. For without faith no man thinketh that things believed are. Which argument all the ſubtilty of infernal powers will never be able to diſſolve. The faith therefore of true believers, though it hath many and grievous downfalls, yet doth it ſtill continue invincible; it conquereth and recovereth itſelf in the end. The dangerous conflicts whereunto it is ſubject are not able to prevail againſt it. The prophet Habakkuk remained faithful in weakneſs, though weak in faith. It is true, ſuch is our weak and wavering nature, we have no ſooner received grace, but we are ready to fall from it. We have no ſooner given our aſſent to the Law that it cannot fail, but the next conceit which we are ready to embrace is, that it may, and that it doth fail. Though we find in ourſelves a moſt willing heart to cleave unſeparably unto God, even ſo far as to think unfeignedly with Peter, *Lord, I am ready to go with thee into priſon and to death*; yet how ſoon and how eaſily, upon how ſmall occaſions, are we changed, if we be but a while alone, and left unto ourſelves? The Galatians to-day, for their ſakes which teach them the truth of Chriſt, are content, if need were, to pluck out their own eyes, and the next day ready to pluck out theirs which taught them. The love of the Angel of the Church of Epheſus, how greatly inflamed, and how quickly ſlaked? The higher we flow, the nearer we are unto an ebb, if men be reſpected as mere men, according to the wonted courſe of their alterable inclination, without the heavenly ſupport of the Spirit. Again, the deſire of our ghoſtly enemy is ſo incredible, and his means ſo forcible to overthrow our faith, that whom the bleſſed Apoſtle knew betrothed and made hand-faſt unto Chriſt, to them he could not write but with great trembling: *I am jealous over you with a godly jealouſy, for I have prepared you to one*

huſband, to preſent you a pure virgin unto Chriſt; but I fear, leſt as the Serpent beguiled Eve through his ſubtilty, ſo your minds ſhould be corrupted from the ſimplicity which is in Chriſt. The ſimplicity of faith which is in Chriſt taketh the naked promiſe of God, his bare word, and on that it reſteth. This ſimplicity the Serpent laboureth continually to pervert, corrupting the mind with many imaginations of repugnancy and contrariety between the promiſe of God and thoſe things which ſenſe or experience, or ſome other fore-conceived perſuaſion, hath imprinted. The word of the promiſe of God unto his people is, *I will not leave thee nor forſake thee:* upon this the ſimplicity of faith reſteth, and is not afraid of famine. But mark how the ſubtilty of Satan did corrupt the minds of that rebellious generation whoſe ſpirits were not faithful unto God. They beheld the deſolate ſtate of the deſert in which they were, and by the wiſdom of their ſenſe concluded the promiſe of God to be but folly: *Can God prepare a table in the wilderneſs?* The word of the promiſe to Sarah was; *Thou ſhalt bear a ſon.* Faith is ſimple, and doubteth not of it: but Satan, to corrupt this ſimplicity of faith, entangleth the mind of the woman with an argument drawn from common experience to the contrary: *A woman that is old; Sarah now to be acquainted with forgotten paſſions again of youth!* The word of the promiſe of God by Moſes and the Prophets made the Saviour of the world ſo apparent unto Philip, that his ſimplicity could conceive no other Meſſias than Jeſus of Nazareth the Son of Joſeph. But to ſtay Nathanael, leſt being invited to come and ſee, he ſhould alſo believe, and ſo be ſaved, the ſubtilty of Satan caſteth a miſt before his eyes, putteth in his head againſt this the common conceived perſuaſion of all men concerning Nazareth, *Is it poſſible that any good thing ſhould come from thence?* This ſtratagem he doth uſe with ſo great dexterity, that the minds of all men are ſo ſtrangely

bewitched

bewitched with it, that it bereaveth them for the time of all perceivance of that which ſhould relieve them and be their comfort; yea, it taketh all remembrance from them, even of things wherewith they are moſt familiarly acquainted. The people of Iſrael could not be ignorant that he which led them through the ſea, was able to feed them in the deſert: but this was obliterated, and put out by the ſenſe of their preſent want. Feeling the hand of God againſt them in their food, they remember not his hand in the day that he delivered them from the hand of the oppreſſor. Sarah was not then to learn, that *with God all things were poſſible.* Had Nathanael never noted how *God doth chooſe the baſe things of this world, to diſgrace them that are moſt honourably eſteemed?* The prophet Habakkuk knew that the promiſes of grace, protection, and favour which God in the Law doth make unto his people, do not grant them any ſuch immunity as can free and exempt them from all chaſtiſements: he knew that, as God ſaid, *I will continue for ever my mercy towards them*; ſo he likewiſe ſaid, *Their tranſgreſſions I will puniſh with a rod:* he knew that it could not ſtand with any reaſon we ſhould ſet the meaſure of our own puniſhments, and preſcribe unto God how great or how long our ſufferings ſhall be: he knew that we were blind, and altogether ignorant what is beſt for us; that we ſue for many things very unwiſely againſt ourſelves, thinking we *aſk fiſh*, when indeed we crave *a ſerpent:* he knew that when the thing we aſk is good, and yet God ſeemeth ſlow to grant it, he doth not deny but defer our petitions, to the end we might learn to deſire great things greatly; all this he knew. But beholding the land which God had ſevered for his own people, and ſeeing it abandoned unto Heathen nations; viewing how reproachfully they did tread it down, and wholly make havoc of it at their pleaſure; beholding the Lord's own royal ſeat made an heap of ſtones, his Temple defiled, the

carcaſes of his ſervants caſt out to the fowls of the air to devour, and the fleſh of his meek ones for the beaſts of the field to feed upon; being conſcious to himſelf how long and how earneſtly he had cried, *Succour us, O God of our welfare, for the glory of thine own name*; and feeling that their ſore was ſtill increaſed, the conceit of repugnancy between this which was objected to his eyes, and that which faith upon promiſe of the Law did look for, made ſo deep an impreſſion, and ſo ſtrong, that he diſputeth not the matter, but without any further enquiry or ſearch inferreth, as we ſee, *The Law doth fail.*

Of us, who is here which cannot very ſoberly adviſe his brother? Sir, you muſt learn to ſtrengthen your faith by that experience which heretofore you have had of God's great goodneſs towards you; *Per ea quæ agnoſcas præſtita, diſcas ſperare promiſſa*; By thoſe things which you have known performed, learn to hope for thoſe things which are promiſed. Do you acknowledge to have received much? Let that make you certain to receive more: *Habenti dabitur, To him that hath, more ſhall be given.* When you doubt what you ſhall have, ſearch what you have had at God's hands. Make this reckoning, that the benefits which he hath beſtowed are bills obligatory and ſufficient ſureties, that he will beſtow further. His preſent mercy is ſtill a warrant of his future love, becauſe *whom he loveth, he loveth to the end.* Is it not thus? Yet if we could reckon up as many evident, clear, undoubted ſigns of God's reconciled love towards us as there are years, yea days, yea hours paſt over our heads; all theſe ſet together have no ſuch force to confirm our faith as the loſs, and ſometimes the only fear of loſing a little tranſitory goods, credit, honour, or favour of men; a ſmall calamity, a matter of nothing, to breed a conceit, and ſuch a conceit as is not eaſily again removed, that we are clean croſſed out of God's book, that he regards us not, that he looketh upon others, but paſſeth

paſſeth by us like a ſtranger, to whom we are not known. Then we think, looking upon others, and comparing them with ourſelves; Their tables are furniſhed day by day, earth and aſhes are our bread: they ſing to the lute, and they ſee their children dance before them; our hearts are heavy in our bodies as lead, our ſighs beat as thick as a ſwift pulſe, our tears do waſh the bed whereon we lie: the ſun ſhineth fair upon their foreheads; we are hanged up like bottles in the ſmoke, caſt into corners like the ſherds of a broken pot: tell not us of the promiſes of God's favour, tell ſuch as do reap the fruit of them; they belong not to us, they are made to others. The Lord be merciful to our weakneſs, but thus it is. Well, let the frailty of our nature, the ſubtilty of Satan, the force of our deceivable imaginations be, as we cannot deny but they are, things that threaten every moment the utter ſubverſion of our faith; faith notwithſtanding is not hazarded by theſe things: that which one ſometimes told the Senators of Rome, *Ego ſic exiſtimabam, Patres Conſcripti, uti patrem ſæpe meum prædicantem audiveram, qui veſtram amicitiam diligenter colerent, eos multum laborem ſuſcipere, cæterum ex omnibus maxime tutos eſſe: As I have often heard my father acknowledge, ſo I myſelf did ever think, that the friends and favourers of this ſtate charged themſelves with great labour, but no man's condition ſo ſafe as theirs*; the ſame we may ſay a great deal more juſtly in this caſe: our Fathers and Prophets, our Lord and Maſter hath full often ſpoken, by long experience we have found it true, as many as have entered their names in the myſtical book of life, *eos maximum laborem ſuſcipere*, they have taken upon them a labourſome, a toilſome, a painful profeſſion, *ſed omnium maxime tutos eſſe*, but no man's ſecurity like to theirs. *Simon, Simon, Satan hath deſired to winnow thee as wheat*; here is our toil: *But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not*; this is

our ſafety. No man's condition ſo ſure as ours: the prayer of Chriſt is more than ſufficient both to ſtrengthen us, be we never ſo weak; and to overthrow all adverſary power, be it never ſo ſtrong and potent. His prayer muſt not exclude our labour: their thoughts are vain, who think that their watching can preſerve the city, which God himſelf is not willing to keep. And are not theirs as vain, who think that God will keep the city, for which they themſelves are not careful to watch? The huſbandman may not therefore burn his plough, nor the merchant forſake his trade, becauſe God hath promiſed, *I will not forſake thee.* And do the promiſes of God concerning our ſtability, think you, make it a matter indifferent for us, to uſe or not to uſe the means whereby to attend or not to attend to reading? to pray, or not to pray, that we *fall not into temptations?* Surely, if we look to ſtand in the faith of the ſons of God, we muſt hourly, continually be providing and ſetting ourſelves to ſtrive. It was not the meaning of our Lord and Saviour in ſaying, *Father, keep them in thy name,* that we ſhould be careleſs to keep ourſelves. To our own ſafety, our own ſedulity is required. And then bleſſed for ever and ever be that mother's child, whoſe faith hath made him the child of God. The earth may ſhake, the pillars of the world may tremble under us, the countenance of the heaven may be appalled, the ſun may loſe his light, the moon her beauty, the ſtars their glory; but concerning the man that truſted in God, if the fire have proclaimed itſelf unable as much as to ſinge a hair of his head, if lions, beaſts ravenous by nature, and keen with hunger, being ſet to devour, have as it were religiouſly adored the very fleſh of the faithful man; what is there in the world that ſhall change his heart, overthrow his faith, alter his affection towards God, or the affection of God to him? If I be of this note, who ſhall make a ſeparation between me

and

and my God? *ſhall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, or famine, or nakedneſs, or peril, or ſword? No; I am perſuaded that neither tribulation, nor anguiſh, nor perſecution, nor famine, nor nakedneſs, nor peril, nor ſword, nor death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things preſent, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, ſhall ever* prevail ſo far over me. *I know in whom I have believed*; I am not ignorant whoſe precious blood hath been ſhed for me; I have a Shepherd full of kindneſs, full of care, and full of power; unto him I commit myſelf; his own finger hath engraven this ſentence in the tables of my heart, *Satan hath deſired to winnow thee as wheat, but I have prayed that thy faith fail not:* Therefore the aſſurance of my hope I will labour to keep, as a jewel, unto the end; and by labour, through the gracious mediation of his prayer, I ſhall keep it.

To the Worſhipful Mr. GEORGE SUMMASTER, *Principal of Broad-Gates Hall, in Oxford,* HENRY JACKSON *wiſheth all happineſs.*

SIR,

YOUR kind acceptance of a former teſtification of that reſpect I owe you, hath made me venture to ſhew the world theſe godly ſermons under your name. In which, as every point is worth obſervation, ſo ſome eſpecially are to be noted: the firſt, that as the ſpirit of prophecy is from God himſelf, who doth inwardly heat and enlighten the hearts and minds of his holy penmen, (which if ſome would diligently conſider, they would not puzzle themſelves with the contentions of Scot and Thomas, Whether God only, or his miniſte. ing ſpirits, do infuſe into men's minds prophetical revelations per ſpecies intelligibiles,) *ſo God framed their words alſo. Whence the holy Father St. Auguſtine religiouſly obſerveth, that all thoſe who underſtand the ſacred writers, will alſo perceive, that they ought not to uſe other words than they did, in expreſſing thoſe heavenly myſteries which their hearts conceived, as the bleſſed Virgin did our Saviour, by the Holy Ghoſt. The greater is Caſtellio his offence, who hath laboured to teach the Prophets to ſpeak otherwiſe than they have already. Much like to that impious King of Spain, Alphonſus the Tenth, who found fault with God's works.* Si, *inquit,* creationi affuiſſem, mundum melius ordinaſſem; *If he had been with God at the creation of the world, the world had gone better than now it doth. As this man found fault with God's works, ſo did the other with Goa's words; but, becauſe we have a* moſt ſure word of the Prophets, *to which we muſt take heed, I will let his words paſs with the wind, having elſewhere ſpoken to you more largely*

Lib. iv. cap. 6. de doct. Chr.

Rob. Tolet. l. iv. c. 5.

2 Pet. i. Præf. in Orat. D. Rainold.

largely of his errors, whom notwithſtanding, for his other excellent parts, I much reſpect.

You ſhall moreover from hence underſtand, how Chriſtianity conſiſts not in formal and ſeeming purity, (under which who knows not notorious villainy to maſk?) but in the heart-root. Whence the author truly teacheth, that mockers, which uſe religion as a cloak, to put off and on, as the weather ſerveth, are worſe than Pagans and Infidels. Where I cannot omit to ſhew, how juſtly this kind of men hath been reproved by that renowned martyr of Jeſus Chriſt, Biſhop Latimer, both becauſe it will be appoſite to this purpoſe, and alſo free that Chriſtian worthy from the ſlanderous reproaches of him, who was, if ever any, a mocker of God, religion, and all good men. But firſt I muſt deſire you, and in you all readers, not to think light of that excellent man for uſing this and the like witty ſimilitudes in his ſermons. For whoſoever will call to mind with what riff-raff God's people were fed in thoſe days, when their prieſts, whoſe lips ſhould have preſerved knowledge, *preached nothing elſe but dreams and falſe miracles of counterfeit ſaints, enrolled in that ſottiſh legend, coined and amplified by a drowſy head between ſleeping and waking— he that will conſider this, and alſo how the people were delighted with ſuch toys, (God ſending them ſtrong deluſions that they ſhould believe lies,) and how hard it would have been for any man, wholly, and upon the ſudden, to draw their minds to another bent, will eaſily perceive, both how neceſſary it was to ſhew ſymbolical diſcourſe, and how wiſely and moderately it was applied by the religious Father, to the end he might lead their underſtanding ſo far, till it were ſo convinced, informed, and ſettled, that it might forget the means and way by which it was led, and think only of that it had acquired. For in all ſuch myſtical ſpeeches who knows not that their end for which they are uſed is only to be thought upon?*

Parſons in 3. converſ.

Mal. ii. 7. Canuslocor. lib. xi. c. 6. Vives, lib. ii. de corrupt. art. Hard. lib. iv.

This then being firſt conſidered, let us hear the ſtory, as it is related by Mr. Fox: "*Mr. Latimer (ſaith he)* "*in his ſermon gave the people certain cards out of*

Pag. 1903. edit. 1570.

"*the*

"*the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh chapters of Matthew.* "*For the chief triumph in the cards he limited the* "*heart, as the principal thing that they ſhould ſerve* "*God withal, whereby he quite overthrew all hypocri-* "*tical and external ceremonies, not tending to the neceſſary* "*furtherance of God's holy Word and Sacraments.* "*By this he exhorted all men to ſerve the Lord* "*with inward heart, and true affection, and not with* "*outward ceremonies; adding moreover to the praiſe* "*of that triumph, that though it were never ſo ſmall,* "*yet it would take up the beſt coat-card beſide in the* "*bunch, yea, though it were the king of clubs, &c.* "*meaning thereby, how the Lord would be worſhipped* "*and ſerved in ſimplicity of the heart, and verity,* "*wherein conſiſteth the true Chriſtian Religion, &c.*" *Thus Mr. Fox.*

By which it appears, that the holy man's intention was to lift up the people's hearts to God, and not that he made a ſermon of playing at cards, and taught them how to play at triumph, and played (himſelf) at cards in the pulpit, as that baſe companion [a] *Parſons reports the matter in his wonted ſcurrilous vein of railing, whence he calleth it a Chriſtmas ſermon. Now he that will* Sect. 55. *think ill of ſuch alluſions, may, out of the abundance of his folly, jeſt at Demoſthenes for his ſtory of the ſheep,* Plut. in Demoſthen. Liv. Dec. 1. l. ii. cap. 32. *wolves, and dogs; and Menenius, for his fiction of the belly. But,* hinc illæ lachrymæ, *the good Biſhop meant that the Romiſh religion came not from the heart, but conſiſted in outward ceremonies: which ſorely grieved Parſons, who never had the leaſt warmth or ſpark of honeſty. Whether Biſhop Latimer compared the Biſhops to the knave of clubs, as the fellow interprets him, I know not: I am ſure Parſons, of all others, deſerved thoſe colours; and ſo I leave him. We ſee then, what inward purity is required of all Chriſtians, which if they have, then in prayer, and all other Chriſtian duties,*

[a] In the third part of the three converſions of England: in the examination of Fox's Saints, c. 14, ſect. 53, 54. p. 215.

they

1 Tim. ii. 8. *they ſhall lift up pure hands, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, not as* Annal. tom. i. An. 57. n. 109, 110. et tom. ii. An. 132. Num. *Baronius would have it, waſhed from ſins with holy water; but pure, that is, holy, free from the pollution of ſin, as the Greek word ὁσίας does ſignify.*

You may ſee alſo here refuted thoſe calumnies of the Papiſts, that we abandon all religious rites and godly duties; as alſo the confirmation of our doctrine touching certainty of faith, (and ſo of ſalvation,) which is ſo ſtrongly denied by ſome of that faction, that they have told the world[a], St. Paul himſelf was uncertain of his own ſalvation. *What then ſhall we ſay, but pronounce a woe to the moſt ſtrict obſervers of St. Francis' rules, and his canonical diſcipline, though they make him even*[b] *equal with Chriſt, and the moſt meritorious monk that ever was regiſtered in their calendar of ſaints? But we, for our comfort, are otherwiſe taught out of the holy Scripture, and therefore exhorted to build ourſelves in our*

2 Cor. v. 1. *moſt holy faith, that ſo,* when our earthly houſe of this tabernacle ſhall be deſtroyed, we may have a building given of God, a houſe not made with hands, but eternal in the heavens.

This is that which is moſt piouſly and feelingly taught in theſe few leaves, ſo that you ſhall read nothing here, but what I perſuade myſelf you have long practiſed in the conſtant courſe of your life. It remaineth only that you accept of theſe labours tendered to you by him, who wiſheth you the long joys of this world, and the eternal of that which is to come.

Oxon, from Corpus Chriſti College,
this 13th of January, 1613.

[a] S. Paulus de ſua ſalute incertus; Kicheom Jeſuit. lib. ii. c. 12. Idolat. Huguen. p. 119. in marg. edit. Lat. Mogunt. 113. interpret. Marcel. Bomper. Jeſuita.

[b] Witneſs the verſes of Horatius, a Jeſuit, recited by Poſſe, v. Biblioth. Select. part. 2. l. xvii. c. 19.

Exue Franciſcum tunica laceroque cucullo:
Qui Franciſcus erat, jam tibi Chriſtus erit.
Franciſci exuviis (ſi qua licet) indue Chriſtum:
Jam Franciſcus erit, qui modo Chriſtus erat.

The like hath Bencius, another Jeſuit.

TWO SERMONS

UPON PART OF

SAINT JUDE'S EPISTLE.

THE FIRST SERMON.

Epiſt. Jude, Verſe 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

But ye, beloved, remember the words which were ſpoken before of the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt:

How that they told you, that there ſhould be mockers in the laſt time, which ſhould walk after their own ungodly luſts.

Theſe are makers of ſects, ſenſhly, having not the Spirit.

But ye, beloved, edify yourſelves in your moſt holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghoſt.

And keep yourſelves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto eternal life.

THE occaſion whereupon, together with the end wherefore, this Epiſtle was written, is opened in the front and entry of the ſame. There were then, as there are now, many evil and wickedly diſ-

poſed

poſed perſons not of the myſtical body, yet within the viſible bounds of the Church, *Men which were of old ordained to condemnation, ungodly men, which turned the grace of our God into wantonneſs, and denied the Lord Jeſus.* For this cauſe the Spirit of the Lord is in the hand of Jude, *the ſervant of Jeſus and brother of James,* to exhort them that are called, and ſanctified of God the Father, that they would earneſtly *contend to maintain the Faith, which was once delivered to the ſaints.* Which Faith, becauſe we cannot maintain, except we know perfectly, firſt, againſt whom; ſecondly, in what ſort it muſt be maintained; therefore in the former three verſes of that parcel of Scripture which I have read, the enemies of the croſs of Chriſt are plainly deſcribed; and in the latter two, they that love the Lord Jeſus, have a ſweet leſſon given them how to ſtrengthen and ſtabliſh themſelves in the Faith. Let us firſt therefore examine the deſcription of theſe reprobates concerning Faith; and afterwards come to the exhortation, wherein Chriſtians are taught how to reſt their hearts on God's eternal and everlaſting truth. The deſcription of theſe godleſs perſons is twofold, general and ſpecial. The general doth point them out, and ſhew what manner of men they ſhould be. The particular pointeth at them, and ſaith plainly, theſe are they. In the general deſcription we have to conſider of theſe things; firſt, when they were deſcribed; *They were told of before:* ſecondly, the men by whom they were deſcribed; *They were ſpoken of by the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt:* thirdly, the days when they ſhould be manifeſt unto the world, they told you, *they ſhould be in the laſt time:* fourthly, their diſpoſition and whole demeanour, *Mockers and walkers after their own ungodly luſts.*

2. In the third to the Philippians, the Apoſtle deſcribeth certain; *They are men* (ſaith he) *of whom I have told you often, and now with tears I tell you of them, their god is their belly, their glory and rejoicing is in their own ſhame, they mind earthly things.*

Theſe

Theſe were enemies to the croſs of Chriſt, enemies whom he ſaw, and his eyes guſhed out with tears to behold them. But we are taught in this place, how the Apoſtles ſpake alſo of enemies, whom as yet they had not ſeen, deſcribed a family of men as yet unheard of, a generation reſerved for the end of the world, and for the laſt time; they had not only declared what they heard and ſaw in the days wherein they lived, but they have propheſied alſo of men in time to come. And *you do well* (ſaith St. Peter) *in that you take heed to the words of prophecy, ſo that ye firſt know this, that no prophecy in the Scripture cometh of any man's own reſolution.* No prophecy in Scripture cometh of any man's own reſolution; for all prophecy which is in Scripture, came by the ſecret inſpiration of God. But there are prophecies which are no Scripture; yea, there are prophecies againſt the Scripture: my brethren, beware of ſuch prophecies, and take heed you heed them not. Remember the things that were ſpoken of before; but ſpoken of before by the Apoſtles of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. Take heed to prophecies, but to prophecies which are in Scripture; for both the manner and matter of thoſe prophecies do ſhew plainly that they are of God.

Of the ſpirit of prophecy received from God himſelf.

3. Touching the manner how men, by the ſpirit of prophecy in holy Scripture, have ſpoken and written of things to come, we muſt underſtand, that as the knowledge of that they ſpake, ſo likewiſe the utterance of that they knew, came not by theſe uſual and ordinary means whereby we are brought to underſtand the myſteries of our ſalvation, and are wont to inſtruct others in the ſame. For whatſoever we know, we have it by the hands and miniſtry of men, which lead us along like children from a letter to a ſyllable, from a ſyllable to a word, from a word to a line, from a line to a ſentence, from a ſentence to a ſide, and ſo turn over. But God himſelf was their inſtructor, he himſelf taught them, partly

partly by dreams and viſions in the night, partly by revelations in the day, taking them aſide from amongſt their brethren, and talking with them as a man would talk with his neighbour in the way. Thus they became acquainted even with the ſecret and hidden counſels of God, they ſaw things which themſelves were not able to utter, they beheld that whereat men and angels are aſtoniſhed, they underſtood in the beginning, what ſhould come to paſs in the laſt days.

Of the Prophets' manner of ſpeech.

4. God, which lightened thus the eyes of their underſtanding, giving them knowledge by unuſual and extraordinary means, did alſo miraculouſly himſelf frame and faſhion their words and writings, inſomuch that a greater difference there ſeemeth not to be between the manner of their knowledge, than there is between the manner of their ſpeech and others. When we have conceived a thing in our hearts, and throughly underſtand it, as we think, within ourſelves, ere we can utter it in ſuch ſort, that our brethren may receive inſtruction or comfort at our mouths, how great, how long, how earneſt meditation are we forced to uſe? And after much travel and much pains, when we open our lips to ſpeak of the wonderful works of God, our tongues do faulter within our mouths, yea many times we diſgrace the dreadful myſteries of our Faith, and grieve the ſpirit of our hearers by words unſavoury, and unſeemly ſpeeches: Job xv. 2, 3. *Shall a wiſe man fill his belly with the eaſtern wind?* ſaith Eliphaz. *Shall a wiſe man diſpute with words not comely? or with talk that is not profitable?* Yet behold, even they that are wiſeſt amongſt us living, compared with the Prophets, ſeem no otherwiſe to talk of God, than as if the children which are carried in arms, ſhould ſpeak of the greateſt matters of ſtate. They whoſe words do moſt ſhew forth their wiſe underſtanding, and whoſe lips do utter the pureſt knowledge, ſo long as they underſtand and ſpeak as men, are they not fain ſundry ways to excuſe themſelves?

themſelves? Sometimes acknowledging with the Wiſe Man, *Hardly can we diſcern the things that are on earth, and with great labour find we out the things that are before us. Who can then ſeek out the things that are in heaven?* Sometimes confeſſing with Job the righteous, in treating of things too wonderful for us, we have ſpoken we wiſt not what. Sometimes ending their talk, as does the hiſtory of the Maccabees; *if we have done well, and as the cauſe required, it is that we deſire; if we have ſpoken ſlenderly and barely, we have done what we could.* But *God hath made my mouth like a ſword*, ſaith Iſaiah: and *we have received*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *not the ſpirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are given to us of God; which things alſo we ſpeak, not in words which man's wiſdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghoſt doth teach.* This is that which the Prophets mean by thoſe books written full within and without; which books were ſo often delivered them to eat, not becauſe God fed them with ink and paper, but to teach us, that ſo oft as he employed them in this heavenly work, they neither ſpake nor wrote any word of their own, but uttered ſyllable by ſyllable as the Spirit put it into their mouths, no otherwiſe than the harp or the lute doth give a ſound according to the diſcretion of his hands that holdeth and ſtriketh it with ſkill. The difference is only this: an inſtrument, whether it be a pipe or harp, maketh a diſtinction in the times and ſounds, which diſtinction is well perceived of the hearer, the inſtrument itſelf underſtandeth not what is piped or harped. The Prophets and holy men of God, not ſo: *I opened my mouth*, ſaith Ezekiel; and *God reached me a ſcroll, ſaying, Son of man, cauſe thy belly to eat, and fill thy bowels with this I give thee; I ate it, and it was ſweet in my mouth as honey*, ſaith the Prophet; yea, ſweeter, I am perſuaded, than either honey, or the honey-comb. For herein they were not like harps or lutes, but they

Wiſd. ix. 16.

Iſai. xlix. 2.

Ezekiel iii. 1—3.

they felt, they felt the power and ſtrength of their own words. When they ſpake of our peace, every corner of their hearts was filled with joy. When they propheſied of mourning, lamentations, and woes to fall upon us, they wept in the bitterneſs and indignation of ſpirit, the arm of the Lord being mighty and ſtrong upon them.

5. On this manner were all the prophecies of holy Scripture. Which prophecies although they contain nothing which is not profitable for our inſtruction; yet as one ſtar differeth from another in glory, ſo every word of prophecy hath a treaſure of matter in it: but all matters are not of like importance, as all treaſures are not of equal price; the chief and principal matter of prophecy is the promiſe of righteouſneſs, peace, holineſs, glory, victory, immortality, unto *every ſoul which believeth that Jeſus is Chriſt, of the Jew firſt, and of the Gentile.* Now becauſe the doctrine of ſalvation to be looked for by faith in him, who was in outward appearance as it had been a man forſaken of God; in him who was numbered, judged, and condemned with the wicked; in him whom men did ſee buffeted on the face, ſcoffed at by the ſoldiers, ſcourged by tormentors, hanged on the croſs, pierced to the heart; in him whom the eyes of many witneſſes did behold, when the anguiſh of his ſoul enforced him to roar, as if his heart had rent in ſunder, *O my God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* I ſay, becauſe the doctrine of ſalvation by him is a thing improbable to a natural man, that whether we preach to the Gentile, or to the Jew, the one condemneth our faith as madneſs, the other as blaſphemy; therefore to eſtabliſh and confirm the certainty of this ſaving truth in the hearts of men, the Lord, together with their preachings whom he ſent immediately from himſelf to reveal theſe things unto the world, mingled prophecies of things, both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, which were to come in every age from time to time, till the

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very laſt of the later days, that by thoſe things, wherein we ſee daily their words fulfilled and done, we might have ſtrong conſolation in the hope of things which are not ſeen, becauſe they have revealed as well the one as the other. For when many things are ſpoken of before in Scripture, whereof we ſee firſt one thing accompliſhed, and then another, and ſo a third, perceive we not plainly, that God doth nothing elſe but lead us along by the hand till he have ſettled us upon the rock of an aſſured hope, that not one jot or tittle of his word ſhall paſs, till all be fulfilled? It is not therefore ſaid in vain that theſe godleſs wicked ones *were ſpoken of before.*

6. But by whom? By them whoſe words, if men, or angels from heaven, gainſay, they are accurſed; by them, whom whoſoever deſpiſeth, *deſpiſeth not them but me*, ſaith Chriſt. If any man therefore doth love the Lord Jeſus, (and wo worth him that loveth not the Lord Jeſus!) hereby we may know that he loveth him indeed, if he deſpiſe not the things that are ſpoken of by his Apoſtles, whom many have deſpiſed even for the baſeneſs and ſimpleneſs of their perſons. For it is the property of fleſhly and carnal men to honour and diſhonour, credit and diſcredit the words and deeds of every man, according to that he wanteth or hath without. *If a man of gorgeous apparel come amongſt us*, although he be a thief or a murderer, (for there are thieves and murderers in gorgeous apparel,) be his heart whatſoever, if his coat be of purple or velvet, or tiſſue, every one riſeth up, and all the reverend ſolemnities we can uſe are too little. But the man that ſerveth God is contemned and deſpiſed amongſt us for his poverty. Herod ſpeaketh in judgment, and the people cry out, *The voice of God, and not of man:* Paul preacheth Chriſt, they term him a triſler. Hearken beloved, *hath not God choſen the poor of this world, that they ſhould be rich in faith?* Hath he not choſen the refuſe of the world to be

A natural man perceiveth not heavenly things.

James ii.

Acts xii. 22.

James ii. 5.

heirs of his kingdom, which he hath promiſed to them that love him? Hath he not choſen the off-ſcourings of men to be the lights of the world, and the Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt? Men unlearned, yet how fully repleniſhed with underſtanding? few in number, yet how great in power? contemptible in ſhew, yet in ſpirit how ſtrong? how wonderful? *I would fain learn the myſtery of the eternal generation of the Son of God*, ſaith Hilary. Whom ſhall I ſeek? Shall I get me to the ſchools of the Grecians? Why, I have read, *Ubi Sapiens? ubi Scriba? ubi Conquiſitor hujus ſæculi?* Theſe wiſe men in the world muſt needs be dumb in this, becauſe they have rejected the wiſdom of God. Shall I beſeech the Scribes and Interpreters of the Law to become my teachers? How can they know this, ſith they are offended at the croſs of Chriſt? It is death for me to be ignorant of the unſearchable myſtery of the Son of God; of which myſtery notwithſtanding I ſhould have been ignorant, but that a poor fiſherman, unknown, unlearned, new come from his boat, with his clothes wringing-wet, hath opened his mouth, and taught me, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* Theſe poor ſilly creatures have made us rich in the knowledge of the myſteries of Chriſt.

7. Remember therefore that which is ſpoken of by the Apoſtles; whoſe words if the children of this world do not regard, is it any marvel? They are the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus; not of their Lord, but of ours. It is true which one hath ſaid in a certain place, *Apoſtolicam fidem ſeculi homo non capit*, A man ſworn to the world is not capable of that faith which the Apoſtles do teach. What mean the children of this world then to tread in the courts of our God? What ſhould your bodies do at Bethel, whoſe hearts are at Bethaven? The God of this world, whom ye ſerve, hath provided apoſtles and teachers for you, *Chaldeans, Wizards, Soothſayers, Aſtrologers,*

We muſt not halt between two opinions.

Aſtrologers, and ſuch like; hear them. Tell not us that ye will ſacrifice to the Lord our God, if we will ſacrifice to Aſhtaroth or Melcom; that ye will read our Scriptures, if we will liſten to your traditions; that if ye may have a maſs by permiſſion, we ſhall have a communion with good leave and liking; that ye will admit the things that are ſpoken of by the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus, if your Lord and Maſter may have his ordinances obſerved, and his ſtatutes kept. Solomon took it (as he well might) for an evident proof, that ſhe did not bear a motherly affection to her child, which yielded to have it cut in divers parts. He cannot love the Lord Jeſus with his heart, which lendeth one ear to his Apoſtles, and another to falſe Apoſtles; which can brook to ſee a mingle-mangle of Religion and Superſtition, Miniſters and Maſſing-Prieſts, Light and Darkneſs, Truth and Error, Traditions and Scriptures. No, we have no Lord but Jeſus; no doctrine but the Goſpel; no teachers but his Apoſtles. Were it reaſon to require at the hand of an Engliſh ſubject obedience to the laws and edicts of the Spaniards? I do marvel, that any man bearing the name of a ſervant of the ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, will go about to draw us from our allegiance. We are his ſworn ſubjects; it is not lawful for us to hear the things that are not told us by his Apoſtles. They have told us, that *in the laſt days there ſhall be mockers*, therefore we believe it; *Credimus quia legimus*, we are ſo perſuaded, becauſe we read it muſt be ſo. If we did not read it, we would not teach it: *Nam quæ libro Legis non continentur, ea nec noſſe decemus*, ſaith Hilary; Thoſe things that are not written in the book of the Law, we ought not ſo much as to be acquainted with them. *Remember the words which were ſpoken of before by the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

8. The third thing to be conſidered in the deſcription of theſe men, of whom we ſpeak, is the time wherein Mockers in the laſt time.

wherein they ſhould be manifeſted to the world. They told you *there ſhould be mockers in the laſt time.* Noah at the commandment of God built an ark, and there were in it beaſts of all ſorts, clean and unclean. A huſbandman planted a vineyard, and looked for grapes, but when they came to be gathered, behold, together with grapes there are found alſo wild grapes. A rich man prepareth a great ſupper, and biddeth many; but when he ſitteth him down, he findeth amongſt his friends here and there a man whom he knoweth not. This hath been the ſtate of the Church ſithence the beginning. God always hath mingled his ſaints with faithleſs and godleſs perſons, as it were the clean with the unclean, grapes with ſour grapes, his friends and children with aliens and ſtrangers. Marvel not then, if in the laſt days alſo ye ſee the men with whom you live and walk arm in arm laugh at your religion, and blaſpheme that glorious name whereof you are called. Thus it was in the days of the Patriarchs and Prophets; and are we better than our fathers? Albeit we ſuppoſe that the bleſſed Apoſtles, in foreſhewing what manner of men were ſet out for the laſt days, meant to note a calamity ſpecial and peculiar to the ages and generations which were to come. As if he ſhould have ſaid, as God hath appointed a time of ſeed for the ſower, and a time of harveſt for him that reapeth; as he hath given unto every herb and every tree his own fruit, and his own ſeaſon, not the ſeaſon nor the fruit of another, (for no man looketh to gather figs in the winter, becauſe the ſummer is the ſeaſon for them; nor grapes of thiſtles, becauſe grapes are the fruit of the vine:) ſo the ſame God hath appointed ſundry for every generation of men, other men for other times, and for the laſt times the worſt men, as may appear by their properties, which is the fourth point to be conſidered of in this deſcription.

Mockers. 9. They told you that there ſhould be mockers: he

he meaneth men that ſhall uſe religion as a cloak, to put off and on as the weather ſerveth; ſuch as ſhall, with Herod, hear the preaching of John Baptiſt to-day, and to-morrow condeſcend to have him beheaded; or with the other Herod ſay, They will worſhip Chriſt, when they purpoſe a maſſacre in their hearts; kiſs Chriſt with Judas, and betray Chriſt with Judas: theſe are mockers. For Iſhmael the ſon of Hagar laughed at Iſaac, which was heir of the promiſe; ſo ſhall theſe men laugh at you as the maddeſt people under the ſun, if ye be like Moſes, chooſing rather to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleaſures of ſin for a ſeaſon; and why? God hath not given them eyes to ſee, nor hearts to conceive that exceeding recompence of your reward. The promiſes of ſalvation made to you are matters wherein they can take no pleaſure, even as Iſhmael took no pleaſure in that promiſe wherein God had ſaid unto Abraham, *In Iſaac ſhall thy ſeed be called*; becauſe the promiſe concerned not him, but Iſaac. They are termed for their impiety towards God, mockers; and for the impurity of their life and converſation, *Walkers after their own ungodly luſts*. Saint Peter, in his ſecond Epiſtle and third chapter, ſoundeth the very depth of their impiety; ſhewing firſt, how they ſhall not ſhame at the length to profeſs themſelves profane and irreligious, by flat denying the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and deriding the ſweet and comfortable promiſes of his appearing. Secondly, that they ſhall not be only deriders of all religion, but alſo diſputers againſt God, uſing truth to ſubvert the truth; yea, Scriptures themſelves, to diſprove Scriptures. Being in this ſort mockers, they muſt needs be alſo followers of their own ungodly luſts. Being Atheiſts in perſuaſion, can they chooſe but be beaſts in converſation? For why remove they quite from them the fear of God? Why take they ſuch pains to abandon and put out from their hearts all ſenſe, all taſte, all

feeling of religion? But only to this end and purpoſe, that they may without inward remorſe and grudging of conſcience give over themſelves to all uncleanneſs. Surely the ſtate of theſe men is more lamentable than is the condition of Pagans and Turks. For at the bare beholding of heaven and earth the Infidel's heart by and by doth give him, that there is an eternal, infinite, immortal, and ever-living God, whoſe hands have faſhioned and framed the world; he knoweth that every houſe is builded of ſome man, though he ſee not the man which built the houſe; and he conſidereth that it muſt be God which hath built and created all things, although, becauſe the number of his days be few, he could not ſee when God diſpoſed his works of old; when he cauſed the light of his clouds firſt to ſhine, when he laid the corner-ſtone of the earth, and ſwaddled it with bands of water and darkneſs, when he cauſed the morning ſtar to know his place, and made bars and doors to ſhut up the ſea within his houſe, ſaying, *Hitherto ſhalt thou come, but no further.* He hath no eye-witneſs of theſe things; yet the light of natural reaſon hath put this wiſdom in his reins, and hath given his heart thus much underſtanding. Bring a Pagan to the ſchools of the Prophets of God; propheſy to an Infidel, rebuke him, lay the judgments of God before him, make the ſecret ſins of his heart manifeſt, and he ſhall fall down and worſhip God. They that crucified the Lord of Glory were not ſo far paſt recovery, but that the preaching of the Apoſtles was able to move their heart, and to bring them to this, *Men and brethren, what ſhall we do?* Agrippa, that ſate in judgment againſt Paul for preaching, yielded notwithſtanding thus far unto him; *Almoſt thou perſuadeſt me to become a Chriſtian.* Although the Jews for want of knowledge have not ſubmitted themſelves to the righteouſneſs of God; yet I bear them record, ſaith the Apoſtle, *That they have a zeal.* The Athe-

Mockers worſe than Pagans and Infidels.

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nians, a people having neither zeal, nor knowledge, yet of them alſo the ſame Apoſtle beareth witneſs, *Ye men of Athens, I perceive ye are* δεισιδαιμονέστεροι, *ſome way religious*; but mockers, walking after their own ungodly luſts, they have ſmothered every ſpark of that heavenly light, they have trifled away their very natural underſtanding. O Lord, thy mercy is over all thy works, thou ſaveſt man and beaſt! yet a happy caſe it had been for theſe men, if they had never been born; and ſo I leave them. Acts xvii. 22.

10. Saint Jude having his mind exerciſed in the doctrine of the Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt concerning things to come in the laſt time, became a man of wiſe and ſtaid judgment. Grieved he was to ſee the departure of many, and their falling away from the faith which before they did profeſs; grieved, but not diſmayed. With the ſimpler and weaker ſort it was otherwiſe; their countenance began by and by to change, they were half in doubt they had deceived themſelves in giving credit to the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. St. Jude, to comfort and refreſh theſe ſilly babes, taketh them up in his arms, and ſheweth them the men at whom they were offended. Look upon them that forſake this bleſſed profeſſion wherein you ſtand: they are now before your eyes, view them, mark them; are they not carnal? are they not like to noiſome carrion caſt out upon the earth? is there that ſpirit in them, which crieth, *Abba, Father*, in your boſoms? Why ſhould any man be diſcomforted? Have you not heard that there ſhould be mockers in the laſt time? Theſe verily are they that now do ſeparate themſelves. Judas vir ſapiens et certi judicii.

11. For your better underſtanding what this ſevering and ſeparating of themſelves doth mean, we muſt know that the multitude of them which truly believe (howſoever they be diſperſed far and wide each from other) is all one body, whereof the Head is Chriſt; one building, whereof he is corner-ſtone, in whom they, as the members of the body, being

being knit, and, as the ſtones of the building, being coupled, grow up to a man of perfect ſtature, and riſe to an holy temple in the Lord. That which linketh Chriſt to us, is his mere mercy and love towards us. That which tieth us to him, is our faith in the promiſed ſalvation revealed in the word of truth. That which uniteth and joineth us amongſt ourſelves in ſuch ſort that we are now as if we had but one heart and one ſoul, is our love. Who be inwardly in heart the lively members of this body, and the poliſhed ſtones of this building, coupled and joined to Chriſt, as fleſh of his fleſh, and bones of his bones, by the mutual bond of his unſpeakable love towards them, and their unfeigned faith in him, thus linked and faſtened each to other, by a ſpiritual, ſincere, and hearty affection of love, without any manner of ſimulation; who be Jews within, and what their names be; none can tell, ſave he whoſe eyes do behold the ſecret diſpoſitions of all men's hearts. We, whoſe eyes are too dim to behold the inward man, muſt leave the ſecret judgment of every ſervant to his own Lord, accounting and uſing all men as brethren, both near and dear unto us, ſuppoſing Chriſt to love them tenderly, ſo as they keep the profeſſion of the Goſpel, and join in the outward communion of ſaints. Whereof the one doth warrantize unto us their faith, the other their love, till they fall away, and forſake either the one, or the other, or both; and then it is no injury to term them as they are. When they ſeparate themſelves, they are αὐτοκατακριτοὶ, not judged by us, but by their own doings. Men do ſeparate themſelves either by hereſy, ſchiſm, or apoſtaſy. If they loſe the bond of faith, which then they are juſtly ſuppoſed to do when they frowardly oppugn any principal point of Chriſtian doctrine, this is to ſeparate themſelves by hereſy. If they break the bond of unity, whereby the body of the Church is coupled and knit in one, as they do which wilfully forſake all external communion

Threefold ſeparation. 1. Hereſy.

communion with ſaints in holy exerciſes, purely and orderly eſtabliſhed in the Church, this is to ſeparate themſelves by ſchiſm. If they willingly caſt off, and utterly forſake both profeſſion of Chriſt and communion with Chriſtians, taking their leave of all religion, this is to ſeparate themſelves by plain apoſtaſy. And St. Jude, to expreſs the manner of their departure which by apoſtaſy fell away from the faith of Chriſt, ſaith, *They ſeparated themſelves*; noting thereby, that it was not conſtraint of others, which forced them to depart, it was not infirmity and weakneſs in themſelves; it was not fear of perſecution to come upon them, whereat their hearts did fail; it was not grief of torments, whereof they had taſted, and were not able any longer to endure them: no, they voluntarily did ſeparate themſelves with a fully ſettled, and altogether determined purpoſe, never to name the Lord Jeſus any more, nor to have any fellowſhip with his ſaints, but to bend all their counſel, and all their ſtrength, to raze out their memorial from amongſt them. 3. Apoſtaſy.

12. Now, becauſe that by ſuch examples, not only the hearts of Infidels were hardened againſt the truth, but the minds of weak brethren alſo much troubled, the Holy Ghoſt hath given ſentence of theſe backſliders, that they were carnal men, and had not the Spirit of Chriſt Jeſus, leſt any man having an overweening of their perſons ſhould be overmuch amazed and offended at their fall. For ſimple men, not able to diſcern their ſpirits, were brought by their apoſtaſy thus to reaſon with themſelves: If Chriſt be the Son of the living God, if he have the words of eternal life, if he be able to bring ſalvation to all men that come unto him, what meaneth this apoſtaſy and unconſtrained departure? Why do his ſervants ſo willingly forſake him? Babes, be not deceived, his ſervants forſake him not. They that ſeparate themſelves were amongſt his ſervants, but if they had been of his ſervants,

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Infallible evidence in the faithful, that they are God's children.

they had not ſeparated themſelves. *They were amongſt us, not of us*, ſaith Saint John; and Saint Jude proveth it, becauſe they were carnal, and had not the Spirit. Will you judge of wheat by chaff, which the wind hath ſcattered from amongſt it? Have the children no bread, becauſe the dogs have not taſted it? Are Chriſtians deceived of that ſalvation they look for, becauſe they were denied the joys of the life to come which were no Chriſtians? What if they ſeemed to be pillars and principal upholders of our faith? What is that to us, which know that angels have fallen from Heaven? Although if theſe men had been of us indeed, (oh the bleſſedneſs of a Chriſtian man's eſtate!) they had ſtood ſurer than the angels that had never departed from their place: whereas now we marvel not at their departure at all, neither are we prejudiced by their falling away; becauſe they were not of us, ſith they are fleſhly, and have not the Spirit. Children abide in the houſe for ever; they are bond-men and bond-women which are caſt out.

13. It behoveth you therefore greatly every man to examine his own eſtate, and to try whether you be bond or free, children or no children. I have told you already, that we muſt beware we preſume not to ſit as gods in judgment upon others, and raſhly, as our conceit and fancy doth lead us, ſo to determine of this man, he is ſincere, or of that man, he is an hypocrite; except by their falling away they make it manifeſt and known that they are. For who art thou that takeſt upon thee to judge another before the time? Judge thyſelf. God hath left us infallible evidence, whereby we may at any time give true and righteous ſentence upon ourſelves. We cannot examine the hearts of other men, we may our own. That we have paſſed from death to life, we know it, ſaith St. John, becauſe we love the brethren: *And know ye not your own ſelves, how that Jeſus Chriſt is in you, except you be repro-*

bates?

bates? I truſt, beloved, we know that we are not reprobates, becauſe our ſpirit doth bear us record, that the faith of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is in us.

14. It is as eaſy a matter for the ſpirit within you to tell whoſe ye are, as for the eyes of your body to judge where you ſit, or in what place you ſtand. For what ſaith the Scripture? *Ye which were in times paſt ſtrangers and enemies, becauſe your minds were ſet on evil works, Chriſt hath now reconciled in the body of his fleſh, through death, to make you holy, and unblameable, and without fault in his ſight; if you continue grounded and eſtabliſhed in the faith, and be not moved away from the hope of the Goſpel:* and in the third to the Coloſſians, *Ye know, that of the Lord ye ſhall receive the reward of that inheritance; for ye ſerve the Lord Chriſt.* If we can make this account with ourſelves, I was in times paſt dead in treſpaſſes and ſins, I walked after the Prince that ruleth in the air, and after the Spirit that worketh in the children of diſobedience; but God, who is rich in mercy, through his great love, wherewith he loved me, even when I was dead, hath quickened me in Chriſt. I was fierce, heady, proud, high-minded; but God hath made me like the child that is newly weaned. I loved pleaſures more than God, I followed greedily the joys of this preſent world; I eſteemed him that erected a ſtage or theatre, more than Solomon, which built a temple to the Lord; the harp, viol, timbrel, and pipe, men-ſingers and women-ſingers were at my feaſt; it was my felicity to ſee my children dance before me; I ſaid of every kind of vanity, O how ſweet art thou in my ſoul! All which things now are crucified to me, and I to them: now I hate the pride of life, and pomp of this world; now *I take as great delight in the way of thy teſtimonies, O Lord, as in all riches*; now I find more joy of heart in my Lord and Saviour, than the worldly-minded man, when *his wheat and oil do much abound:* now I taſte nothing ſweet but the *bread which came*

Coloſſ. i. 21, 22, 23.

Ver. 24.

down

down from heaven, to give life unto the world; now mine eyes ſee nothing but Jeſus riſing from the dead; now my ears refuſe all kind of melody, to hear the ſong of them that have gotten victory of the Beaſt, and of his image, and of his mark, and of the number of his name, that ſtand on the ſea of glaſs, *having the harps of God, and ſinging the ſong of Moſes the ſervant of God, and the ſong of the Lamb, ſaying, Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; juſt and true are thy ways, O King of Saints.* Surely, if the Spirit have been thus effectual in the ſecret work of our regeneration unto newneſs of life; if we endeavour thus to frame ourſelves anew; then we may ſay boldly with the bleſſed Apoſtle in the tenth to the Hebrews, *We are not of them which withdraw ourſelves to perdition, but which follow faith to the conſervation of the ſoul.* For they which fall away from the grace of God, and ſeparate themſelves unto perdition, they are fleſhly and carnal, they have not God's holy Spirit. But unto you, *becauſe ye are ſons, God hath ſent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts*, to the end ye might know that Chriſt hath built you upon a rock unmoveable; that he hath regiſtered your names in the book of life; that he hath bound himſelf in a ſure and everlaſting covenant to be your God, and the God of your children after you; that he hath ſuffered as much, groaned as oft, prayed as heartily for you, as for Peter, *O Father, keep them in thy name; O righteous Father, the world hath not known thee, but I have known thee, and theſe have known that thou haſt ſent me. I have declared thy name unto them, and will declare it, that the love wherewith thou haſt loved them, may be in me, and I in them.* The Lord of his infinite mercy give us hearts plentifully fraught with the treaſure of this bleſſed aſſurance of faith unto the end!

The Papiſts falſely accuſe us of hereſy and apoſtaſy.

15. Here I muſt advertiſe all men that have the teſtimony of God's holy fear within their breaſts to conſider

conſider how unkindly and injuriouſly our own countrymen and brethren have dealt with us by the ſpace of twenty-four years, from time to time, as if we were the men of whom St. Jude here ſpeaketh, never ceaſing to charge us, ſome with ſchiſm, ſome with hereſy, ſome with plain and manifeſt apoſtaſy, as if we had clean ſeparated ourſelves from Chriſt, utterly forſaken God, quite abjured heaven, and trampled all truth and religion under our feet. Againſt this third ſort, God himſelf ſhall plead our cauſe in that day, when they ſhall anſwer us for theſe words, not we them. To others, by whom we are accuſed for ſchiſm and hereſy, we have often made our reaſonable, and in the ſight of God, I truſt, allowable anſwers. For in the way which they call hereſy, we worſhip the God of our Fathers, believing all things which are written in the Law and the Prophets. That which they call ſchiſm, we know to be our reaſonable ſervice unto God, and obedience to his voice, which crieth ſhrill in our ears, *Go out of Babylon, my people, that you be not partakers of her ſins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.* And therefore when they riſe up againſt us, having no quarrel but this, we need not ſeek any farther for our apology, than the words of Abiah to Jeroboam and his army, *O Jeroboam and Iſrael, hear you me: ought you not to know, that the Lord God of Iſrael hath given the kingdom over Iſrael to David for ever, even to him, and to his ſons, by a covenant of ſalt?* that is to ſay, an everlaſting covenant. Jeſuits and Papiſts, hear ye me: ought you not to know, that the Father hath given all power unto the Son, and hath made him the only head over his Church, wherein he dwelleth as an huſbandman in the midſt of his vineyard, manuring it with the ſweat of his own brows, not letting it forth to others? For, as it is in the Canticles, *Solomon had a vineyard in Baalhamon, he gave the vineyard unto keepers, every one bringing for the fruit thereof a thouſand pieces of ſilver*; but my vine-

Acts xxiv. 14.

Apoc. xviii. 4.

2 Chron. xiii. 5.

Cant. viii. 11.

yard,

yard, which is mine, is before me, ſaith Chriſt. It is true, this is meant of the myſtical Head ſet over the Body, which is not ſeen. But as he hath reſerved the myſtical adminiſtration of the Church inviſible unto himſelf; ſo he hath committed the myſtical government of congregations viſible to the ſons of David by the ſame covenant; whoſe ſons they are in the governing of the flock of Chriſt, whomſoever the Holy Ghoſt hath ſet over them, to go before them, and to lead them in ſeveral paſtures, one in this congregation, another in that; as it is written, *Take heed unto yourſelves, and to all the flock, whereof the Holy Ghoſt hath made you overſeers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchaſed with his own blood.* Neither will ever any Pope or Papiſt under the cope of heaven be able to prove the Romiſh Biſhop's uſurped ſupremacy over all Churches by any one word of the covenant of ſalt, which is the Scripture. For the children in our ſtreets do now laugh them to ſcorn, when they force, *Thou art Peter*, to this purpoſe. The Pope hath no more reaſon to draw the charter of his univerſal authority from hence, than the brethren had to gather by the words of Chriſt in the laſt of St. John, that the diſciple which Jeſus loved ſhould not die. *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* ſaith Chriſt. Straightways a report was raiſed amongſt the brethren, that this diſciple ſhould not die. *Yet Jeſus ſaid not unto him, He ſhall not die; but, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* Chriſt hath ſaid in the ſixteenth of St. Matthew's Goſpel to Simon the ſon of Jonas, *I ſay to thee, Thou art Peter.* Hence an opinion is held in the world, that the Pope is univerſal Head of all Churches. Yet Jeſus ſaid not, The Pope is univerſal Head of all Churches; but *Tu es Petrus*, Thou art Peter. Howbeit, as Jeroboam, the ſon of Nebat, the ſervant of Solomon, roſe up and rebelled againſt his Lord, and there were gathered unto him vain men and wicked,

Acts xx. 28.

The Pope's uſurped ſupremacy.

which

which made themſelves ſtrong againſt Roboam, the ſon of Solomon, becauſe Roboam was but a child and tender-hearted, and could not reſiſt them; ſo the Son of Perdition and Man of Sin (being not able to brook the words of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which forbad his Diſciples to be like princes of nations, *They bear rule that are called gracious, it ſhall not be ſo with you*) hath riſen up and rebelled againſt his Lord; and, to ſtrengthen his arm, he hath crept into the houſes almoſt of all the nobleſt families round about him, and taken their children from the cradle to be his Cardinals; he hath fawned upon the kings and princes of the earth, and by ſpiritual cozenage hath made them ſell their lawful authority and juriſdiction for titles of *Catholicus*, *Chriſtianiſſimus*, *Defenſor Fidei*, and ſuch like; he hath proclaimed ſale of pardons to inveigle the ignorant; built ſeminaries to allure young men deſirous of learning; erected ſtews to gather the diſſolute unto him. This is the rock whereupon his Church is built. Hereby the man is grown huge and ſtrong, like the cedars which are not ſhaken with the wind, becauſe princes have been as children, over-tender-hearted, and could not reſiſt.

Conc. de lect. Card. Laud. Surius Com. de reb. geſt. a Pio V. Franciſc. Sanſovin. de gubern. Rerum pub. l. xi. Cap. de Jud. Mareſcal. et Sold.

Hereby it is come to paſs, as you ſee this day, that the Man of Sin doth war againſt us, not by men of a language which we cannot underſtand, but he cometh as Jeroboam againſt Judah, and bringeth the fruit of our own bodies to eat us up, that the bowels of the child may be made the mother's grave; and hath cauſed no ſmall number of our brethren to forſake their native country, and with all diſloyalty to caſt off the yoke of their allegiance to our dread Sovereign, whom God in mercy hath ſet over them; for whoſe ſafeguard, if they carried not the hearts of tigers in the boſoms of men, they would think the deareſt blood in their bodies well ſpent. But now, ſaith Abiah to Jeroboam, Ye think ye be able to reſiſt the kingdom of the Lord, which is in the

hands of the ſons of David. Ye be a great multitude, the golden calves are with you, which Jeroboam made you for gods: have ye not driven away the prieſts of the Lord, the ſons of Aaron, and the Levites, and have made you prieſts like the people of nations? whoſoever cometh with a young bullock, and ſeven rams, the ſame may be a prieſt of them that are no gods. If I ſhould follow the compariſon, and here uncover the cup of thoſe deadly and ugly abominations, wherewith this Jeroboam, of whom we ſpeak, hath made the earth ſo drunk that it hath reeled under us, I know your godly hearts would loath to ſee them. For my own part, I delight not to rake in ſuch filth, I had rather take a garment upon my ſhoulders, and go with my face from them to cover them. The Lord open their eyes, and cauſe them, if it be poſſible, at the length to ſee how they are wretched, and miſerable, and poor, and blind, and naked. Put it, O Lord, in their hearts, to ſeek white raiment, and to cover themſelves, that their filthy nakedneſs may no longer appear. For, beloved in Chriſt, we bow our knees, and lift up our hands to heaven in our chambers ſecretly, and openly in our churches we pray heartily and hourly, even for them alſo: though the Pope hath given out as a judge in a ſolemn declaratory ſentence of excommunication againſt this land, that our gracious Lady hath quite aboliſhed prayer within her realm; and his ſcholars, whom he hath taken from the midſt of us, have in their publiſhed writing charged us, not only not to have any holy aſſemblies unto the Lord for prayer, but to hold a common ſchool of ſin and flattery; to hold ſacrilege to be God's ſervice; unfaithfulneſs, and breach of promiſe to God, to give it to a ſtrumpet, to be a virtue; to abandon faſting; to abhor confeſſion; to miſlike with penance; to like well of uſury; to charge none with reſtitution, to find no good before God in ſingle life, nor in no well-working; that

all

all men, as they fall to us, are much worſe, and more than afore, corrupted. I do not add one word or ſyllable unto that which Mr. Briſtow, a man both born and ſworn amongſt us, hath taught his hand to deliver to the view of all. I appeal to the conſcience of every ſoul, that hath been truly converted by us, whether his heart were never raiſed up to God by our preaching; whether the words of our exhortation never wrung any tear of a penitent heart from his eyes; whether his ſoul never reaped any joy and comfort, any conſolation in Chriſt Jeſus by our ſacraments, and prayers, and pſalms, and thankſgiving; whether he were never bettered, but always worſe by us.

O merciful God! If heaven and earth in this caſe do not witneſs with us, and againſt them, let us be razed out from the land of the living! Let the earth on which we ſtand, ſwallow us quick, as it hath done Corah, Dathan, and Abiram! But if we belong unto the Lord our God, and have not forſaken him; if our prieſts, the ſons of Aaron, miniſter unto the Lord, and the Levites in their office; if we offer unto the Lord every morning and every evening the burnt-offerings, and ſweet incenſe of prayers, and thankſgiving; if the bread be ſet in order upon the pure table, and the candleſtick of gold, with the lamps thereof, burn every morning; that is to ſay, if amongſt us God's bleſſed ſacraments be duly adminiſtered, his holy word ſincerely and daily preached; if we keep the watch of the Lord our God, and if ye have forſaken him: then doubt ye not, this God is with us as a captain, his prieſts with ſounding trumpets muſt cry alarm againſt you; *O ye children of Iſrael, fight not againſt the Lord God of your fathers, for ye ſhall not proſper.* 2 Chron. xiii. 10, 11. ver. 12.

THE

SECOND SERMON.

Epiſt. JUDE, ver. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

But ye, beloved, remember the words which were ſpoken before of the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

How that they told you, that there ſhould be mockers in the laſt time, which ſhould walk after their own ungodly luſts.

Theſe are makers of ſects, ſenſhly, having not the Spirit.

But ye, beloved, edify yourſelves in your moſt holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghoſt.

And keep yourſelves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto eternal life.

HAVING otherwhere ſpoken of the words of St. Jude, going next before, concerning mockers which ſhould come in the laſt time, and backſliders which even then ſhould fall away from the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; I am now by the aid of Almighty God, and through the aſſiſtance of his good Spirit, to lay before you the words of exhortation which I have read.

2. Wherein firſt of all, whoſoever hath an eye to ſee let him open it, and he ſhall well perceive how careful the Lord is for his children, how deſirous to ſee them profit and grow up to a manly ſtature in Chriſt, how loath to have them any way miſled, either by the examples of the wicked, or by enticements of the world, and by provocation of the fleſh, or by any other means forcible to deceive them, and likely to eſtrange their hearts from God. For God is not at that point with us, that he careth not whether we ſink or ſwim. No, he hath written our names in the palm of his hand, in the ſignet upon his finger are we graven; in ſentences not only of mercy, but of judgment alſo we are remembered; he never denounceth judgments againſt the wicked, but he maketh ſome *proviſo* for his children, as it were for ſome certain privileged perſons; *Touch not mine anointed, do my Prophets no harm: hurt not the earth, nor the ſea, nor the trees, till we have ſealed the ſervants of God in their foreheads.* He never ſpeaketh of godleſs men, but he adjoineth words of comfort, or admonition, or exhortation, wherebye we are moved to reſt and ſettle our hearts on him. In the ſecond to Timothy, the third chapter, *Evil men* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *and deceivers ſhall wax worſe and worſe, deceiving and being deceived. But continue thou in the things which thou haſt learned.* And in the firſt to Timothy, the ſixth chapter, *Some men luſting after money, have erred from the faith, and pierced themſelves through with many ſorrows: but thou, O man of God, fly theſe things, and follow after righteouſneſs, godlineſs, faith, love, patience, meekneſs.* In the ſecond to the Theſſalonians, the ſecond chapter, *They have not received the love of the truth, that they might be ſaved; God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſions that they may believe lies. But we ought to give thanks alway to God for you, brethren, beloved of the Lord, becauſe God hath from the beginning choſen you to ſalvation, through ſanctification of the Spirit, and faith in the truth.* And

in

in this Epiſtle of St. Jude, *There ſhall come mockers in the laſt times, walking after their own ungodly luſts. But, beloved, edify ye yourſelves in your moſt holy faith.*

3. Theſe ſweet exhortations, which God putteth every where in the mouths of the Prophets and Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt, are evident tokens that God ſitteth not in heaven careleſs and unmindful of our eſtate. Can a mother forget her child? Surely a mother will hardly forget her child. But if a mother be haply found unnatural, and do forget the fruit of her own womb; yet God's judgments ſhew plainly that he cannot forget the man whoſe heart he hath framed and faſhioned anew in ſimplicity and truth to ſerve and fear him. For when the wickedneſs of man was ſo great, and the earth ſo filled with cruelties, that it could not ſtand with the righteouſneſs of God any longer to forbear, wrathful ſentences brake out from him, like wine from a veſſel that hath no vent: *My Spirit* (ſaith he) *can ſtruggle and ſtrive no longer; an end of all fleſh is come before me.* Yet then did Noah find grace in the eyes of the Lord: *I will eſtabliſh my covenant with thee,* (ſaith God,) *thou ſhalt go into the ark, thou, and thy ſons, and thy wife, and thy ſons' wives with thee.* Gen. vi. 3. 13. 8, and 18.

4. Do we not ſee what ſhift God doth make for Lot and for his family, in the nineteenth of Geneſis, leſt the fiery deſtruction of the wicked ſhould overtake him? Over-night the Angels make enquiry what ſons and daughters, or ſons in law, what wealth and ſubſtance he had. They charged him to carry out all, *Whatſoever thou haſt in the city, bring it out.* God ſeemed to ſtand in a kind of fear, leſt ſomething or other would be left behind. And his will was, that nothing of that which he had, not an hoof of any beaſt, nor a thread of any garment, ſhould be ſinged with that fire. In the morning the Angels fail not to call him up, and to haſten him forward, *Ariſe, take thy wife and thy daughters which are here, that* Gen. xix. 12. ver. 15.

they be not deſtroyed in the puniſhment of the city. The Angels having ſpoken again and again, Lot for all this lingereth out the time ſtill, till at the length they were forced to take *both him, his wife, and his daughters by the arms, (the Lord being merciful unto him,) and to carry them forth, and ſet them without the city.*

Gen. xix. 16.

5. Was there ever any father thus careful to ſave his child from the flame? A man would think, that now being ſpoken unto to eſcape for his life, and not to look behind him, nor to tarry in the plain, but to haſten to the mountain, and there to ſave himſelf, he ſhould do it gladly. Yet behold now, he is ſo far off from a cheerful and willing heart to do whatſoever is commanded him for his own weal, that he beginneth to reaſon the matter, as if God had miſtaken one place for another, ſending him to the hill, when ſalvation was in the city. *Not ſo, my Lord, I beſeech thee; behold thy ſervant hath found grace in thy ſight, and thou haſt magnified thy mercy, which thou haſt ſhewed unto me in ſaving my life. I cannot eſcape in the mountain, leſt ſome evil take me, and I die. Here is a city hard by, a ſmall thing; O, let me eſcape thither, (is it not a ſmall thing?) and my ſoul ſhall live.* Well, God is contented to yield to any conditions: *Behold, I have received thy requeſt concerning this thing alſo, I will ſpare this city for which thou haſt ſpoken; haſte thee, ſave thee there; for I can do nothing till thou come thither.*

ver. 19—23.

6. He could do nothing! Not becauſe of the weakneſs of his ſtrength, (for who is like unto the Lord in power?) but becauſe of the greatneſs of his mercy, which would not ſuffer him to lift up his arm againſt that city, nor to pour out his wrath upon that place, where his righteous ſervant had a fancy to remain, and a deſire to dwell. O the depth of the riches of the mercy and love of God! God is afraid to offend us, which are not afraid to diſpleaſe him, God can do nothing till he have ſaved us, which can find in our hearts rather to do any thing than to ſerve him. It

contenteth

contenteth him not to exempt us, when the pit is digged for the wicked; to comfort us at every mention which is made of reprobates and godleſs men; to ſave us as the apple of his own eye, when fire cometh down from heaven to conſume the inhabitants of the earth; except every Prophet, and every Apoſtle, and every ſervant whom he ſendeth forth, do come loaden with theſe or the like exhortations, *O beloved, edify yourſelves in your moſt holy faith; give yourſelves to prayer in the Spirit; keep yourſelves in the love of God; look for the mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto eternal life.*

7. *Edify yourſelves.* The ſpeech is borrowed from material builders, and muſt be ſpiritually underſtood. It appears in the ſixth of St. John's Goſpel by the Jews, that their mouths did water too much for bodily food: *Our fathers*, ſay they, *did eat manna in the deſert; as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat; Lord, evermore give us of this bread.* Our Saviour, to turn their appetite another way, maketh them this anſwer, *I am the bread of life; he that cometh to me ſhall not hunger; and he that believeth in me ſhall never thirſt.*

8. An uſual practice it is of Satan to caſt heaps of worldly baggage in our way, that whilſt we deſire to heap up gold as duſt, we may be brought at the length to eſteem vilely that ſpiritual bliſs. Chriſt, to correct this evil affection, putteth us in mind to lay up treaſure for ourſelves in heaven. The Apoſtle, miſliking the vanity of thoſe women which attired themſelves more coſtly than beſeemeth the heavenly calling of ſuch as profeſſed the fear of God, willeth them to clothe themſelves with ſhamefacedneſs and modeſty, and to put on the apparel of good works: *Taliter pigmentatæ, Deum habebitis amatorem*, ſaith Tertullian. Put on righteouſneſs as a garment; inſtead of civet, have faith, which may cauſe a ſavour of life to iſſue from you, and God ſhall be enamoured, he ſhall be raviſhed with your beauty. Theſe are the ornaments,

Matt. vi.

1 Tim. chap. ii.

naments, bracelets, and jewels which inflame the love of Chriſt, and ſet his heart on fire upon his ſpouſe. We ſee how he breaketh out in the Canticles at the beholding of this attire: *How fair art thou, and how pleaſant art thou, O my love, in theſe pleaſures!*

9. And perhaps St. Jude exhorteth us here not to build our houſes, but ourſelves, foreſeeing by the Spirit of the Almighty which was with him, that there ſhould be men in the laſt days like to thoſe in the firſt, which ſhould encourage and ſtir up each other to make brick, and to burn it in the fire, to build houſes huge as cities, and towns as high as heaven, thereby to get them a name upon earth; men that ſhould turn out the poor, and the fatherleſs, and the widow, to build places of reſt for dogs and ſwine in their rooms; men that ſhould lay houſes of prayer even with the ground, and make them ſtables where God's people have worſhipped before the Lord. Surely this is a vanity of all vanities, and it is much amongſt men; and a ſpecial ſickneſs of this age. What it ſhould mean I know not, except God hath ſet them on work to provide fuel againſt that day when the Lord Jeſus ſhall ſhew himſelf from Heaven with his mighty angels in flaming fire. What good cometh unto the owners of theſe things, ſaith Solomon, but only the beholding thereof with their eyes? *Martha, Martha, thou buſieſt thyſelf about many things; one thing is neceſſary.* Ye are too buſy, my brethren, with timber and brick; they have choſen the better part, they have taken a better courſe, that build themſelves. *Ye are the temples of the living God, as God hath ſaid, I will dwell in them, and will walk in them; and they ſhall be my people, and I will be their God.*

10. Which of you will gladly remain or abide in a miſhapen, or a ruinous, or a broken houſe? and ſhall we ſuffer ſin and vanity to drop in at our eyes, and at our ears, and at every corner of our bodies, and of our ſouls, knowing that we are the temples of

of the Holy Ghoſt? Which of you receiveth a gueſt whom he honoureth, or whom he loveth, and doth not ſweep his chamber againſt his coming? and ſhall we ſuffer the chambers of our hearts and conſciences to lie full of vomiting, full of filth, full of garbage, knowing that Chriſt hath ſaid, *I and my Father will come and dwell with you?* Is it meet for your oxen to lie in parlours, and yourſelves to lodge in cribs? Or is it ſeemly for yourſelves to dwell in your ceiled houſes, and the Houſe of the Almighty to lie waſte, whoſe houſe ye are yourſelves? Do not our eyes behold, how God every day overtaketh the wicked in their journeys? how ſuddenly they pop down into the pit? how God's judgments for their crimes come ſo ſwiftly upon them, that they have not the leiſure to cry, Alas! How their life is cut off like a thread in a moment? how they paſs like a ſhadow? how they open their mouths to ſpeak, and God taketh them even in the midſt of a vain or an idle word? And dare we for all this lie down, take our reſt, eat our meat ſecurely and careleſsly in the midſt of ſo great and ſo many ruins? Bleſſed and praiſed for ever and ever be his name, who perceiving of how ſenſeleſs and heavy metal we are made, hath inſtituted in his CHURCH a ſpiritual Supper, and an holy communion to be celebrated often, that we might thereby be occaſioned often to examine theſe buildings of ours, in what caſe they ſtand. For ſith God doth not dwell in temples which are unclean, ſith a ſhrine cannot be a ſanctuary unto him; and this Supper is received as a ſeal unto us, that we are his houſe, and his ſanctuary; that his Chriſt is as truly united to me, and I to him, as my arm is united and knit unto my ſhoulder; that he dwelleth in me as verily as the elements of bread and wine abide within me; which perſuaſion, by receiving theſe dreadful myſteries, we profeſs ourſelves to have a due comfort, if truly; and if in hyprocriſy, then wo worth us: therefore ere we put forth our

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

hands

hands to take this bleſſed Sacrament, we are charged to examine and try our hearts whether God be in us of a truth or no; and if by faith and love unfeigned we be found the temples of the Holy Ghoſt, then to judge whether we have had ſuch regard every one to our building, that the Spirit which dwelleth in us hath no way been vexed, moleſted, and grieved: or if it had, as no doubt ſometimes it hath by incredulity, ſometimes by breach of charity, ſometimes by want of zeal, ſometimes by ſpots of life, even in the beſt and moſt perfect amongſt us, (for who can ſay his heart is clean?) O then to fly unto God by unfeigned repentance, to fall down before him in the humility of our ſouls, begging of him whatſoever is needful to repair our decays, before we fall into that deſolation, whereof the Pro-
Lam. iii. 13. phet ſpeaketh, ſaying, *Thy breach is great like the ſea, who can heal thee?*

11. Receiving the ſacrament of the Supper of the Lord after this ſort, (you that are ſpiritual judge what I ſpeak,) is not all other wine like the water of Marah, being compared to the cup which we bleſs? is not manna like to gall, and our bread like to manna? is there not a taſte, a taſte of Chriſt Jeſus in the heart of him that eateth? doth not he which drinketh behold plainly in this cup, that his ſoul is bathed in the blood of the Lamb? O beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, if ye will taſte how ſweet the Lord is, if ye will receive the King of Glory, *build yourſelves.*

12. *Young men*, I ſpeak this to you, for ye are his houſe, becauſe by faith ye are conquerors over Satan, and have overcome that evil. *Fathers*, I ſpeak it alſo to you, ye are his houſe, becauſe ye have known him, who is from the beginning. Sweet *babes*, I ſpeak it even to you alſo, ye are his houſe, becauſe your ſins are forgiven you for his name ſake. *Matrons* and *ſiſters*, I may not hold it from you, ye are alſo the Lord's building; and as St. Peter ſpeaketh,

ſpeaketh, *Heirs of the grace of life as well as we.* Though it be forbidden you to open your mouths in public aſſemblies, yet ye muſt be inquiſitive in things concerning this building which is of God, with your huſbands and friends at home; not as Delilah with Sampſon, but as Sarah with Abraham; whoſe daughters ye are, whilſt ye do well, and build yourſelves.

13. Having ſpoken thus far of the exhortation, whereby we are called upon to edify and build ourſelves; it remaineth now, that we conſider the thing preſcribed, namely, wherein we muſt be built. This preſcription ſtandeth alſo upon two points, the thing preſcribed, and the adjunct of the thing: and that is, our moſt pure and *holy faith.*

14. The thing preſcribed is Faith. For, as in a chain which is made of many links, if you pull the firſt, you draw the reſt; and as in a ladder of many ſtaves, if you take away the loweſt, all hope of aſcending to the higheſt will be removed: ſo, becauſe all the precepts and promiſes in the Law and in the Goſpel do hang upon this, *Believe*; and becauſe the laſt of the graces of God doth ſo follow the firſt, that he glorifieth none, but whom he hath juſtified, nor juſtifieth any, but whom he hath called to a true, effectual, and lively faith in Chriſt Jeſus; therefore St. Jude exhorting us to *build ourſelves*, mentioneth here expreſsly only faith, as the thing wherein we muſt be edified; for that faith is the ground and the glory of all the welfare of this building.

15. *Ye are not ſtrangers and foreigners, but citizens with the ſaints, and of the houſehold of God,* (ſaith the Apoſtle,) *and are built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the chief corner-ſtone; in whom all the building being coupled together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord, in whom ye alſo are built together to be the habitation of God by the Spirit.* And we are the habitation of God by the Spirit, Ephes. ii. 19—22.

Spirit, if we believe; for it is written, *Whoſoever confeſſeth that Jeſus is the Son of God, in him God dwelleth, and he in God.* The ſtrength of this habitation is great, it prevaileth againſt Satan, it conquereth ſin, it hath death in deriſion; neither principalities nor powers can throw it down; it leadeth the world captive, and bringeth every enemy that riſeth up againſt it to confuſion and ſhame, and all by faith; for *this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. Who is it that overcometh the world, but he which believeth that Jeſus is the Son of God?*

1 John v. 4, 5.

16. The ſtrength of every building which is of God, ſtandeth not in any man's arms or legs; it is only in our faith, as the valour of Sampſon lay only in his hair. This is the reaſon why we are ſo earneſtly called upon to *edify ourſelves in faith.* Not as if this bare action of our minds, whereby we believe the Goſpel of Chriſt, were able in itſelf, as of itſelf, to make us unconquerable, and invincible, like ſtones, which abide in building for ever, and fall not out. No, it is not the worthineſs of our believing, it is the virtue of him in whom we believe, by which we ſtand ſure, as houſes that are builded upon a rock. He is a wiſe man which hath builded his houſe upon a rock; for he hath choſen a good foundation, and no doubt his houſe will ſtand; but how ſhall it ſtand? Verily by the ſtrength of the rock which beareth it, and by nothing elſe. Our fathers, whom God delivered out of the land of Egypt, were a people that had no peers amongſt the nations of the earth, becauſe they were built by faith upon the rock, which rock is Chriſt. *And the rock* (ſaith the Apoſtle in the firſt to the Corinthians, the tenth chapter) *did follow them.* Whereby we learn not only this, that being built by faith on Chriſt as on a rock, and grafted into him as into an olive, we receive all our ſtrength and fatneſs from him; but alſo, that this ſtrength and fatneſs of ours ought to be no cauſe, why we ſhould be high-minded, and

Matth. vii.

not

not work out our ſalvation with a reverend trembling, and holy fear. For if thou boaſteſt thyſelf of thy faith, know this, that Chriſt choſe his Apoſtles, his Apoſtles choſe not him; that Iſrael followed not the rock, but the rock followed Iſrael; and that thou beareſt not the root, but the root thee. So that every heart muſt thus think, and every tongue muſt thus ſpeak, *Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us*, nor unto any thing which is within us, but unto thy name only, only to thy name belongeth all the praiſe of all the treaſures and riches of every temple which is of God. This excludeth all boaſting and vaunting of our faith. Rom. xi.

17. But this muſt not make us careleſs to edify ourſelves in faith. It is the Lord that delivereth men's ſouls from death, but not except they put their truſt in his mercy. It is God that hath given us eternal life, but no otherwiſe than thus, if we believe in the name of the Son of God; for he that hath not the Son of God, hath not life. It was the Spirit of the Lord which came upon Sampſon, and made him ſtrong to tear a lion, as a man would rend a kid; but his ſtrength forſook him, and he became like other men, when the razor had touched his head. It is the power of God whereby the faithful *have ſubdued kingdoms, wrought righteouſneſs, obtained the promiſes, ſtopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, eſcaped the edge of the ſword:* but take away their faith, and doth not their ſtrength forſake them? are they not like unto other men? 1 John v. 12.

18. If ye deſire yet further to know how neceſſary and needful it is that we edify and build up ourſelves in faith, mark the words of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *Without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God.* If I offer to God all the ſheep and oxen that are in the world; if all the temples that were builded ſince the days of Adam till this hour, were of my foundation; if I break my very heart with calling upon God, and wear out my tongue with preaching;

if

if I ſacrifice my body and ſoul unto him, *and have no faith*, all this availeth nothing. *Without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God.* Our Lord and Saviour therefore being aſked in the ſixth of St. John's Goſpel, *What ſhall we do that we might work the works of God?* maketh anſwer, *This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath ſent.*

No pleaſing of God without faith.

19. That no work of ours, no building of ourſelves in any thing can be available or profitable unto us, except we be edified and built in faith, what need we to ſeek about for long proof? Look upon Iſrael, once the very choſen and peculiar of God, to whom the adoption of the Faithful, and the glory of Cherubim, and the Covenants of mercy, and the Law of Moſes, and the ſervice of God, and the Promiſes of Chriſt, were made impropriate, who not only were the offspring of Abraham, father unto all them which do believe, but Chriſt their offspring, which is God to be bleſſed for evermore.

20. Conſider this people, and learn what it is to *build yourſelves in faith.* They were the Lord's vine: *He brought it out of Egypt, he threw out the Heathen from their places, that it might be planted; he made room for it, and cauſed it to take root, till it had filled the earth; the mountains were covered with the ſhadow of it, and the boughs thereof were as the goodly cedars, ſhe ſtretched out her branches to the ſea, and her boughs unto the river.* But, when God having ſent both his ſervants and his Son to viſit this vine, they neither ſpared the one, nor received the other, but ſtoned the Prophets, and crucified the Lord of Glory which came unto them; then began the curſe of God to come upon them, even the curſe whereof the prophet David hath ſpoken, ſaying, *Let their table be made a ſnare, and a net, and a ſtumbling-block, even for a recompence unto them: let their eyes be darkened, that they do not ſee, bow down their backs for ever*, keep them down. And ſithence the hour that the meaſure of their

Pſal. lxix. Rom. xi.

their infidelity was firſt made up they have been ſpoiled with wars, eaten up with plagues, ſpent with hunger and famine, they wander from place to place, and are become the moſt baſe and contemptible people that are under the ſun. Ephraim, which before was a terror unto nations, and they trembled at his voice, is now by infidelity ſo vile, that he ſeemeth as a thing caſt out to be trampled under men's feet. In the midſt of theſe deſolations they cry, *Return, we beſeech thee, O God of hoſts, look down from heaven, behold and viſit this vine.* But their very prayers are turned into ſin, and their cries are no better than the lowing of beaſts before him. *Well,* ſaith the Apoſtle, *by their unbelief they are broken off, and thou doſt ſtand by thy faith. Behold therefore the bountifulneſs and ſeverity of God; towards them ſeverity, becauſe they have fallen, bountifulneſs towards thee, if thou continue in his bountifulneſs, or elſe thou ſhalt be cut off.* If they forſake their unbelief and be grafted in again, and we at any time for the hardneſs of our hearts be broken off, it will be ſuch a judgment as will amaze all the powers and principalities which are above. Who hath ſearched the counſel of God concerning this ſecret? And who doth not ſee, that infidelity doth threaten *Lo-ammi* unto the Gentiles, as it hath brought *Lo-ruchama* upon the Jews? It may be that theſe words ſeem dark unto you: but the words of the Apoſtle, in the eleventh to the Romans, are plain enough; *If God hath not ſpared the natural branches, take heed,* take heed *leſt he ſpare not thee:* build thyſelf in faith. Thus much of the thing which is preſcribed, and wherein we are exhorted to edify ourſelves. Now conſider the conditions and properties which are in this place annexed unto faith. The former of them (for there are but two) is this, *Edify yourſelves in your faith.*

Pſal. lxxx. 14.

Rom. xi. 20.

ver. 22.

Hoſea i. 9. not my people.

Ver. 6. not obtaining mercy.

21. A ſtrange and a ſtrong deluſion it is wherewith the Man of ſin hath bewitched the world; a forcible ſpirit of error it muſt needs be, which hath

brought men to ſuch a ſenſeleſs and unreaſonable perſuaſion as this is, not only that men clothed with mortality and ſin, as we ourſelves are, can do God ſo much ſervice, as ſhall be able to make a full and perfect ſatisfaction before the tribunal ſeat of God for our own ſins, yea, a great deal more than is ſufficient for themſelves; but alſo, that a man at the hands of a Biſhop or a Pope, for ſuch or ſuch a price, may buy the overplus of other men's merits, purchaſe the fruits of other men's labours, and build his ſoul by another man's faith. Is not this man drowned in the gall of bitterneſs? is his heart right in the ſight of God? Can he have any part or fellowſhip with Peter, and with the ſucceſſors of Peter, which thinketh ſo vilely of building the precious temples of the Holy Ghoſt? Let his money periſh with him, and he with it, becauſe he judgeth that the gift of God may be ſold for money.

22. But, beloved in the Lord, deceive not yourſelves, neither ſuffer ye yourſelves to be deceived: ye can receive no more eaſe nor comfort for your ſouls by another man's faith, than warmth for your bodies by another man's clothes, or ſuſtenance by the bread which another man doth eat. The juſt ſhall live by his own faith. *Let a ſaint, yea a martyr, content himſelf that he hath cleanſed himſelf of his own ſins*, ſaith Tertullian. No ſaint or martyr can cleanſe himſelf of his own ſins: but if ſo be a ſaint or a martyr can cleanſe himſelf of his own ſins, it is ſufficient that he can do it for himſelf. Did ever any man by his death deliver another man from death, except only the Son of God? He indeed was able to ſafe-conduct a thief from the croſs to Paradiſe: for to this end he came, that being himſelf pure from ſin, he might obey for ſinners. Thou which thinkeſt to do the like, and ſuppoſeſt that thou canſt juſtify another by thy righteouſneſs, if thou be without ſin, then lay down thy life for thy brother; die for me. But if thou be a ſinner, even as I am a ſinner,

ſinner, how can the oil of thy lamp be ſufficient both for thee and for me? Virgins that are wiſe, get ye oil, while ye have day, into your own lamps; for out of all peradventure, others, though they would, can neither give nor ſell. Edify yourſelves in your own moſt holy faith. And let this be obſerved for the firſt property of that wherein we ought to edify ourſelves.

23. Our faith being ſuch, is that indeed which St. Jude doth here term faith; namely, a thing moſt holy. The reaſon is this, we are juſtified by faith: for Abraham believed, and this was imputed unto him for righteouſneſs. Being juſtified, all our iniquities are covered; God beholdeth us in the righteouſneſs which is imputed, and not in the ſins which we have committed.

24. It is true, we are full of ſin, both original and actual; whoſoever denieth it is a double ſinner, for he is both a ſinner and a liar. To deny ſin is moſt plainly and clearly to prove it, becauſe he that ſaith, he hath no ſin, lieth, and by lying proveth that he hath ſin.

25. But imputation of righteouſneſs hath covered the ſins of every ſoul which believeth; God by pardoning our ſin hath taken it away: ſo that now, although our tranſgreſſions be multiplied above the hairs of our head, yet being juſtified, we are as free and as clear as if there were no ſpot or ſtain of any uncleanneſs in us. For it is God that juſtifieth; *And who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of God's choſen?* ſaith the Apoſtle in Rom. viii.

26. Now ſin being taken away, we are made the righteouſneſs of God in Chriſt: for David, ſpeaking of this righteouſneſs, ſaith, *Bleſſed is the man whoſe iniquities are forgiven.* No man is bleſſed but in the righteouſneſs of God; every man whoſe ſin is taken away is bleſſed: therefore every man whoſe ſin is covered, is made the righteouſneſs of God in Chriſt. This righteouſneſs doth make us to appear moſt holy, moſt pure, moſt unblameable before him.

27. This then is the ſum of that which I ſay; faith doth juſtify; juſtification waſheth away ſin; ſin removed, we are clothed with the righteouſneſs which is of God; the righteouſneſs of God maketh us moſt holy. Every of theſe I have proved by the teſtimony of God's own mouth; therefore I conclude, that faith is that which maketh us moſt holy, in conſideration whereof it is called in this place *our moſt holy faith.*

28. To make a wicked and a ſinful man moſt holy through his believing, is more than to create a world of nothing. Our faith moſt holy! Surely, Solomon could not ſhew the Queen of Sheba ſo much treaſure in all his kingdom, as is lapt up in theſe words. O that our hearts were ſtretched out like tents, and that the eyes of our underſtanding were as bright as the ſun, that we might throughly know the riches of the glorious inheritance of the ſaints, and what is the exceeding greatneſs of his power towards us, whom he accepteth for pure, and moſt holy, through our believing! O that the Spirit of the Lord would give this doctrine entrance into the ſtony and brazen heart of the Jew, which followeth the law of righteouſneſs, but cannot attain unto the righteouſneſs of the Law! Wherefore? ſaith the Apoſtle. They ſeek righteouſneſs, and not by faith; wherefore they ſtumble at Chriſt, they are bruiſed, ſhivered to pieces, as a ſhip that hath run herſelf upon a rock. O that God would caſt down the eyes of the proud, and humble the ſouls of the high-minded! that they might at the length abhor the garments of their own fleſh, which cannot hide their nakedneſs, and put on the faith of Chriſt Jeſus, as he did put it on, which hath ſaid, *Doubtleſs I think all things but loſs, for the excellent knowledge-ſake of Chriſt Jeſus my Lord, for whom I have counted all things loſs, and do judge them to be dung, that I might win Chriſt, and might be found in him, not having my own righteouſneſs, which is of the Law; but*

that

that which is through the faith of Chriſt, even the righteouſneſs which is of God through faith. O that God would open the ark of mercy, wherein this doctrine lieth, and ſet it wide before the eyes of poor afflicted conſciences, which fly up and down upon the water of their afflictions, and can ſee nothing but only the gulf and deluge of their ſins, wherein there is no place for them to reſt their feet! The God of pity and compaſſion give you all ſtrength and courage, every day, and every hour, and every moment, to build and edify yourſelves in this moſt pure and holy faith. And thus much both of the thing preſcribed in this exhortation, and alſo of the properties of the thing, *Build yourſelves in your moſt holy faith.* I would come to the next branch, which is of Prayer; but I cannot lay this matter out of my hands, till I have added ſomewhat for the applying of it both to others, and to ourſelves.

29. For your better underſtanding of matters contained in this exhortation, *Build yourſelves*, you muſt note, that every Church and Congregation doth conſiſt of a multitude of believers, as every houſe is built of many ſtones. And although the nature of the myſtical body of the Church be ſuch, that it ſuffereth no diſtinction in the inviſible members, but whether it be Paul or Apollos, Prince or Prophet, he that is taught, or he that teacheth, all are equally Chriſt's, and Chriſt is equally theirs: yet in the external adminiſtration of the Church of God, becauſe God is not the author of confuſion, but of peace, it is neceſſary, that in every congregation there be a diſtinction, if not of inward dignity, yet of outward degree; ſo that all are ſaints, or ſeem to be ſaints, and ſhould be as they ſeem: but are all Apoſtles? If the whole body were an eye, where were then the hearing? God therefore hath given ſome to be Apoſtles, and ſome to be Paſtors, &c. for the edification of the body of Chriſt, in which work, we are God's labourers, (ſaith the Apoſtle,) and ye are God's huſbandry, and God's building.

30. The Church, reſpected with reference unto adminiſtration Eccleſiaſtical, doth generally conſiſt but of two ſorts of men, the labourers and the building; they which are miniſtered unto, and they to whom the work of the miniſtry is committed; paſtors, and the flock over whom the Holy Ghoſt hath made them overſeers. If the guide of a congregation, be his name or his degree whatſoever, be diligent in his vocation, feeding the flock of God which dependeth upon him, caring for it, *not by conſtraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind*; not as though he would tyrannize over God's heritage, but as a pattern unto the flock, wiſely guiding them: if the people in their degree do yield themſelves framable to the truth, not like rough ſtone or flint, refuſing to be ſmoothed and ſquared for the building: if the magiſtrate do carefully and diligently ſurvey the whole order of the work, providing by ſtatutes and laws, and bodily puniſhments, if need require, that all things might be done according to the rule which cannot deceive; even as Moſes provided, that all things might be done according to the pattern which he ſaw in the Mount; there the words of this exhortation are truly and effectually heard. Of ſuch a congregation every man will ſay, *Behold a people that are wiſe, a people that walk in the ſtatutes and ordinances of their God, a people full of knowledge and underſtanding, a people that have ſkill in building themſelves.* Where it is otherwiſe, there, *as by ſlothfulneſs the roof doth decay*; and as by *idleneſs of hands the houſe droppeth through*, as it is in Eccleſ. x. 18. ſo firſt one piece, and then another of their building ſhall fall, till there ſhall not be a ſtone left upon a ſtone.

31. We ſee how fruitleſs this exhortation hath been to ſuch as bend all their travel only to build and manage a Papacy upon earth, without any care in the world of building themſelves in their moſt holy faith. God's people have enquired at their mouths,

mouths, *What ſhall we do to have eternal life?* Wherein ſhall we build and edify ourſelves? And they have departed home from their Prophets, and from their Prieſts, laden with doctrines which are precepts of men; they have been taught to tire out themſelves with bodily exerciſe; thoſe things are enjoined them, which God did never require at their hands, and the things he doth require are kept from them; their eyes are fed with pictures, and their ears are filled with melody, but their ſouls do wither, and ſtarve, and pine away; they cry for bread, and behold ſtones are offered them; they aſk for fiſh, and ſee they have ſcorpions in their hands. Thou ſeeſt, O Lord, that they build themſelves, but not in faith; they feed their children, but not with food: their rulers ſay with ſhame, bring, and not build. But God is righteous; their drunkenneſs ſtinketh, their abominations are known, their madneſs is manifeſt, the wind hath bound them up in her wings, and they ſhall be aſhamed of their doings. *Ephraim*, ſaith the Prophet, *is joined to idols, let him alone.* I will turn me therefore from the prieſts, which do miniſter unto idols, and apply this exhortation to them, whom God hath appointed to feed his choſen in Iſrael.

32. If there be any feeling of Chriſt, any drop of heavenly dew, or any ſpark of God's good Spirit within you, ſtir it up, be careful to build and edify, firſt yourſelves, and then your flocks, in this moſt holy faith.

33. I ſay, firſt yourſelves; for he which will ſet the hearts of other men on fire with the love of Chriſt, muſt himſelf burn with love. It is want of faith in ourſelves, my brethren, which makes us wretchleſs in building others. We forſake the Lord's inheritance, and feed it not. What is the reaſon of this? Our own deſires are ſettled where they ſhould not be. We ourſelves are like thoſe women which have a longing to eat coals, and lime, and filth; we are

fed, ſome with honour, ſome with eaſe, ſome with wealth; the Goſpel waxeth loathſome and unpleaſant in our taſte; how ſhould we then have a care to feed others with that which we cannot fancy ourſelves? If faith wax cold and ſlender in the heart of the Prophet, it will ſoon periſh from the ears of the people. The prophet Amos ſpeaketh of a famine, ſaying, *I will ſend a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirſt of water, but of hearing the word of the Lord. Men ſhall wander from ſea to ſea, and from the north unto the eaſt ſhall they run to and fro, to ſeek the word of the Lord, and ſhall not find it. Judgment muſt begin at the houſe of God,* ſaith Peter. Yea, I ſay, at the ſanctuary of God this judgment muſt begin. This famine muſt begin at the heart of the Prophet. He muſt have darkneſs for a viſion, he muſt ſtumble at noon-day, as at the twilight, and then truth ſhall fall in the midſt of the ſtreets; then ſhall the people wander from ſea to ſea, and from the north unto the eaſt ſhall they run to and fro to ſeek the word of the Lord.

Amos viii. 11, 12.

1 Pet. iv. 17.

34. In the ſecond of Haggai, *Speak now,* ſaith God to his Prophet, *ſpeak now to Zerubbabel, the ſon of Shealtiel, prince of Judah, and to Jehoſhua, the ſon of Jehozadak the high-prieſt, and to the reſidue of the people, ſaying, Who is left among you that ſaw this houſe in her firſt glory? and how do you ſee it now? Is not this houſe in your eyes, in compariſon of it, as nothing?* The Prophet would have all men's eyes turned to the view of themſelves, every ſort brought to the conſideration of their preſent ſtate. This is no place to ſhew what duty Zerubbabel or Jehoſhua do owe unto God in this reſpect. They have, I doubt not, ſuch as put them hereof in remembrance. I aſk of you, which are a part of the reſidue of God's elect and choſen people, who is there amongſt you that hath taken a ſurvey of the houſe of God, as it was in the days of the bleſſed Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt? Who is there amongſt you that hath ſeen

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and conſidered this holy temple in her firſt glory? And how do you ſee it now? is it not, in compariſon of the other, almoſt as nothing? When ye look upon them which have undertaken the charge of your ſouls, and know how far theſe are, for the moſt part, grown out of kind, how few there be that tread the ſteps of their ancient predeceſſors, ye are eaſily filled with indignation, eaſily drawn unto theſe complaints, wherein the difference of preſent from former times is bewailed; eaſily perſuaded to think of them that lived to enjoy the days which now are gone, that ſurely they were happy in compariſon of us that have ſucceeded them. Were not their biſhops men unreprovable, wiſe, righteous, holy, temperate, well-reported of, even of thoſe which were without? Were not their paſtors, guides, and teachers, able and willing to exhort with wholeſome doctrine, and to reprove thoſe which gainſaid the truth? had they prieſts made of the refuſe of the people? were men, like to the children which were in Nineveh, unable to diſcern between the right hand and the left, preſented to the charge of their congregations? did their teachers leave their flocks over which the Holy Ghoſt had made them overſeers? did their prophets enter upon holy things as ſpoils, without a reverend calling? were their leaders ſo unkindly affected towards them, that they could find in their hearts to ſell them as ſheep or oxen, not caring how they made them away? But, beloved, deceive not yourſelves. Do the faults of your guides and paſtors offend you? It is your fault if they be thus faulty. *Nullus, qui malum rectorem patitur, eum accuſet, quia ſui fuit meriti perverſi paſtoris ſubjacere ditioni*, ſaith St. Gregory; whoſoever thou art, whom the inconvenience of an evil governor doth preſs, accuſe thyſelf, and not him; his being ſuch, is thy deſerving. *O ye diſobedient children, turn again*, ſaith the Lord, *and then will I give you paſtors according to mine own heart, which ſhall feed you with knowledge* Jer. iii. 14, 15.

and

and underſtanding. So that the only way to repair all ruins, breaches, and offenſive decays in others, is to begin reformation at yourſelves. Which that we may all ſincerely, ſeriouſly, and ſpeedily do, God the Father grant for his Son our Saviour Jeſus' ſake, unto whom, with the Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons, one eternal and everlaſting God, be honour, and glory, and praiſe for ever. *Amen.*

A SERMON,

A

SERMON,

FOUND IN THE STUDY OF

BISHOP ANDREWS.

MATTH. vii. 7, 8.

Aſk, and it ſhall be given you; ſeek, and you ſhall find; knock, and it ſhall be opened unto you. For whoſoever aſketh, &c.

AS all the creatures of God, which attain their higheſt perfection by proceſs of time, are in their firſt beginning raw; ſo man, in the end of his race the perfecteſt, is at his entrance thereunto the weakeſt, and thereby longer enforced to continue a ſubject for other men's compaſſions to work upon voluntarily, without any other perſuader, beſides their own ſecret inclination, moving them to repay to the common ſtock of humanity ſuch help, as they know that themſelves before muſt needs have borrowed; the ſtate and condition of all fleſh being herein alike. It cometh hereby to paſs, that although there be in us, when we enter into this preſent world, no conceit or apprehenſion of our own miſery, and for a long time after no ability, as much as to crave help or ſuccour at other men's hands; yet

yet through his moſt good and gracious providence, which feedeth the young, even of feathered fowls and ravens, (whoſe natural ſignifications of their neceſſities are therefore termed in Scripture *prayers and invocations* which God doth hear,) we, amongſt them whom he values at a far higher rate than millions of brute creatures, do find by perpetual experience, daily occaſions given unto every of us, religiouſly to acknowledge with the prophet David, *Thou, O Lord, from our birth haſt been merciful unto us*; we have taſted thy goodneſs hanging even at our mothers' breaſts. That God, which during infancy preſerveth us without our knowledge, teacheth us at years of diſcretion how to uſe our own abilities for procurement of our own good.

Aſk, and it ſhall be given you; ſeek, and you ſhall find; knock, and it ſhall be opened unto you. For whoſoever doth aſk, ſhall receive; whoſoever doth ſeek, ſhall find; the door unto every one which knocks ſhall be opened.

In which words we are firſt commanded to aſk, ſeek, and knock: ſecondly, promiſed grace anſwerable unto every of theſe endeavours; aſking, we ſhall have; ſeeking, we ſhall find; knocking, it ſhall be opened unto us: thirdly, this grace is particularly warranted, becauſe it is generally here averred, that no man aſking, ſeeking, and knocking, ſhall fail of that whereunto his ſerious deſire tendeth.

1. Of aſking or praying I ſhall not need to tell you, either at whoſe hands we muſt ſeek our aid, or to put you in mind that our hearts are thoſe golden cenſers from which the fume of this ſacred incenſe muſt aſcend. For concerning the one, you know who it is which hath ſaid, *Call upon me*; and of the other, we may very well think, that if any where, ſurely firſt and moſt of all in our prayers, God doth make his continual claim, *Fili, da mihi cor tuum*, Son, let me never fail in this duty to have thy heart.

Againſt invocation of any other than God alone, if

if all arguments elſe ſhould fail, the number whereof is both great and forcible, yet this very bar and ſingle challenge might ſuffice; that whereas God hath in Scripture delivered us ſo many patterns for imitation when we pray, yea, framed ready to our hands in a manner all, for ſuits and ſupplications, which our condition of life on earth may at any time need, there is not one, no not one to be found directed unto Angels, Saints, or any, ſaving God alone. So that, if in ſuch caſes as this we hold it ſafeſt to be led by the beſt examples that have gone before, when we ſee what Noah, what Abraham, what Moſes, what David, what Daniel, and the reſt did; what form of prayer Chriſt himſelf likewiſe taught his Church, and what his bleſſed Apoſtles did practiſe; who can doubt but the way for us to pray ſo as we may undoubtedly be accepted, is by conforming our prayers to theirs, whoſe ſupplications we know were acceptable?

Whoſo cometh unto God with a gift, muſt bring with him a cheerful heart, becauſe he loveth *hilarem datorem*, a liberal and frank affection in giving. Devotion and fervency addeth unto prayers the ſame that alacrity doth unto gifts; it putteth vigour and life in them.

Prayer proceedeth from want, which being ſeriouſly laid to heart, maketh ſuppliants always importunate; which importunity our Saviour Chriſt did not only tolerate in the woman of Canaan, but Matth. xv.
alſo invite and exhort thereunto, as the parable of the wicked judge ſheweth. Our fervency ſheweth Luke xviii.
us ſincerely affected towards that we crave: but that which muſt make us capable thereof, is an humble ſpirit; for God doth load with his grace the lowly, when the proud he ſendeth empty away: and therefore to the end that all generations of the world might know how much it ſtandeth them upon to beware of all lofty and vain conceits when we offer up our ſupplications before him, he hath in the Goſpel

both

both delivered this caveat, and left it by a ſpecial choſen parable exemplified. The Phariſee and Publican having preſented themſelves in one and the ſame place, the Temple of God, for performance of one and the ſame duty, the duty of prayer, did notwithſtanding, in that reſpect only, ſo far differ the one from the other, that our Lord's own verdict of them remaineth (as you know) on record, *They departed home*, the ſinful Publican, through humility of prayer, juſt; the juſt Phariſee, through pride, ſinful. So much better doth he accept of a contrite *peccavi*, than of an arrogant *Deo gratias*.

Aſking is very eaſy, if that were all God did require: but becauſe there were means which his providence hath appointed for our attainment unto that which we have from him, and thoſe means now and then intricated, ſuch as require deliberation, ſtudy, and intention of wit; therefore he which emboldeneth to aſk, doth after invocation exact inquiſition; a work of difficulty. The baits of ſin every where open, ready always to offer themſelves; whereas that which is precious, being hid, is not had but by being ſought. *Præmia non ad magna prævenitur niſi per magnos labores*; ſtraightneſs and roughneſs are qualities incident unto every good and perfect way. What booteth it to others that we wiſh them well, and do nothing for them? As little ourſelves it muſt needs avail, if we pray and ſeek not. To truſt to labour without prayer, it argueth impiety and profaneneſs; it maketh light of the providence of God: and although it be not the intent of a religious mind; yet it is the fault of thoſe men whoſe religion wanteth light of mature judgment to direct it, when we join with our prayer ſlothfulneſs and neglect of convenient labour. He which hath ſaid, *If any man lack wiſdom, let him aſk*—hath in like ſort commanded alſo to ſeek wiſdom, to ſearch for underſtanding as for treaſure. To them which did only crave a ſeat in the kingdom of Chriſt, his anſwer,

Bernard.

anſwer, as you know, in the Goſpel, was this; To ſit at my right hand and left hand in the ſeat of glory is not a matter of common gratuity, but of divine aſſignment from God. He liked better of him which enquired, *Lord, what ſhall I do that I may be ſaved?* and therefore him he directed the right and ready way, *Keep the commandments.*

I noted before unto you certain ſpecial qualities belonging unto you that aſk: in them that ſeek there are the like: which we may obſerve it is with many as with them of whom the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, they *are* 2 Tim. iii. 7. *alway learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth. Ex amore non quærunt*, ſaith Bernard; they ſeek becauſe they are curious to know, and not as men deſirous to obey. It was diſtreſs and perplexity of mind which made them inquiſitive, of whom St. Luke in the Acts reporteth, that ſought counſel and advice with urgent ſolicitation; Men and brethren, ſith God hath bleſſed you with the ſpirit of underſtanding above others, hide not from miſerable perſons that which may do them good; give your counſel to them that need and crave it at your hands, unleſs we be utterly forlorn; ſhew us, teach us, what we may do and live. That which our Saviour doth ſay of prayer in the open ſtreets, of cauſing trumpets to be blown before us when we give our alms, and of making our ſervice of God a means to purchaſe the praiſe of men, muſt here be applied to you, who never ſeek what they ought, but only when they may be ſure to have ſtore of lookers on. *On my bed*, ſaith the Canticles, *there did I ſeek whom my ſoul doth love.* When therefore thou reſolveſt thyſelf to ſeek, go not out of thy chamber into the ſtreets, but ſhun that frequency which diſtracteth; ſingle thyſelf from thyſelf, if ſuch ſequeſtration may be attained. When thou ſeekeſt, let the love of obedience, the ſenſe and feeling of thy neceſſity, the eye of ſingleneſs and ſincere meaning guide thy footſteps, and thou canſt not ſlide.

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You ſee what it is to aſk and ſeek; the next is *knock*. There is always in every good thing which we aſk, and which we ſeek, ſome main wall, ſome barred gate, ſome ſtrong impediment or other objecting itſelf in the way between us and home; for removal whereof, the help of ſtronger hands than our own is neceſſary. As therefore aſking hath relation to the want of good things deſired, and ſeeking to the natural ordinary means of attainment thereunto; ſo knocking is required in regard of hindrances, lets, or impediments, which are doors ſhut up againſt us, till ſuch time as it pleaſe the goodneſs of Almighty God to ſet them open: in the mean while our duty here required is to knock. Many are well contented to aſk, and not unwilling to undertake ſome pains in ſeeking; but when once they ſee impediments which fleſh and blood doth judge invincible, their hearts are broken. Iſrael in Egypt, ſubject to miſeries of intolerable ſervitude, craved with ſighs and tears deliverance from that eſtate, which then they were fully perſuaded they could not poſſibly change, but it muſt needs be for the better. Being ſet at liberty to ſeek the land which God hath promiſed unto their Fathers, did not ſeem tedious or irkſome unto them: this labour and travail they undertook with great alacrity, never troubled with any doubt, nor diſmayed with any fear, till at the length they came to knock at thoſe brazen gates, the bars whereof, as they had no means, ſo they had no hopes to break aſunder. Mountains on this hand, and the roaring ſea before their faces; then all the forces that Egypt could make, coming with as much rage and fury as could poſſeſs the heart of a proud, potent, and cruel tyrant: in theſe ſtraits, at this inſtant, Oh that we had been ſo happy as to die where before we lived a life, though toilſome, yet free from ſuch extremities as now we are fallen into! Is this the milk and honey that hath been ſo ſpoken of? Is this the paradiſe

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in deſcription whereof ſo much gloſſing and deceiving eloquence hath been ſpent? have we after four hundred and thirty years left Egypt to come to this? While they are in the midſt of their mutinous cogitations, Moſes with all inſtancy beateth, and God with the hand of his omnipotency caſteth open the gates before them, maugre even their own both infidelity and deſpair. It was not ſtrange then, nor that they afterwards ſtood in like repining terms; for till they came to the very brink of the river Jordan, the leaſt croſs accident, which lay at any time in their way, was evermore unto them a cauſe of preſent recidivation and relapſe. They having the land in their poſſeſſion, being ſeated in the heart thereof, and all their hardeſt encounters paſt, Joſhua and the better ſort of their governors, who ſaw the wonders which God had wrought for the good of that people, had no ſooner ended their days, but firſt one tribe, then another, in the end all, delighted in eaſe; fearful to hazard themſelves in following the conduct of God, weary of paſſing ſo many ſtraight and narrow gates, condeſcended to ignominious conditions of peace, joined hands with Infidels, forſook him which had been always the Rock of their ſalvation, and ſo had none to open unto them, although their occaſions of knocking were great afterward, more and greater than before. Concerning Iſſachar, the words of Jacob, the father of all the Patriarchs, were theſe; Iſſachar, though bonny and ſtrong enough unto any labour, doth couch notwithſtanding as an aſs under all burdens; he ſhall think with himſelf that reſt is good, and the land pleaſant; he ſhall in theſe conſiderations rather endure the burden and yoke of tribute, than caſt himſelf into hazard of war. We are for the moſt part all of Iſſachar's diſpoſition, we account eaſe cheap, howſoever we buy it. And although we can haply frame ourſelves ſometimes to aſk, or endure for a while to ſeek; yet loth we are to follow a Gen. xlix. 14, 15.

courſe of life, which ſhall too often hem us about with thoſe perplexities, the dangers whereof are manifeſtly great.

But of the duties here preſcribed of aſking, ſeeking, knocking, thus much may ſuffice. The promiſes follow which God hath made.

2. *Aſk and receive, ſeek and find, knock and it ſhall be opened unto you.* Promiſes are made of good things to come; and ſuch, while they are in expectation, have a kind of painfulneſs with them; but when the time of performance and of preſent fruition cometh, it bringeth joy.

Abraham did ſomewhat rejoice in that which he ſaw would come, although knowing that many ages and generations muſt firſt paſs: their exultation far greater, who beheld with their eyes, and embraced in their arms him which had been before the hope of the whole world. We have found that Meſſias, have ſeen the ſalvation; *Behold here the Lamb of God, which taketh away the ſins of the world.* Theſe are ſpeeches of men not comforted with the hope of that they deſire, but rapt with admiration at the view of enjoyed bliſs.

As oft therefore as our caſe is the ſame with the prophet David's; or that experience of God's abundant mercy towards us doth wreſt from our mouths the ſame acknowledgments which it did from his, *I called on the name of the Lord, and he hath reſcued his ſervant: I was in miſery, and he ſaved me: Thou,* Pſal. cxvi. *Lord, haſt delivered my ſoul from death, mine eyes from tears, and my feet from falling:* I have aſked and received, ſought and found, knocked and it hath been opened unto me: can there leſs be expected at our hands, than to take the cup of ſalvation, and bleſs, magnify, and extol the mercies heaped upon the heads of the ſons of men? Are we in the caſe of them, who as yet do only aſk and have not received? It is but attendance a ſmall time, we ſhall rejoice then; but how? we ſhall find, but where? it ſhall be

be opened, but with what hand? To all which demands I muſt anſwer,

Uſe the words of our Saviour Chriſt; *quid hoc ad te?* what are theſe things unto us? Is it for us to be made acquainted with the way he hath to bring his counſel and purpoſes about? God will not have great things brought to paſs, either altogether without means, or by thoſe means altogether which are to our ſeeming probable and likely. Not without means, leſt under colour of repoſe in God we ſhould nouriſh at any time in ourſelves idleneſs: not by the mere ability of means gathered together through our own providence, leſt prevailing by helps which the common courſe of nature yieldeth, we ſhould offer the ſacrifice of thankſgiving for whatſoever prey we take to the nets which our fingers did weave; than which there cannot be to him more intolerable injury offered. *Vere et abſque dubio*, ſaith St. Bernard, *hoc quiſque eſt peſſimus, quo optimus, ſi hoc ipſum quo eſt optimus aſcribat ſibi*; the more bleſt, the more curſt, if we make his graces our own glory, without imputation of all to him; whatſoever we have we ſteal, and the multiplication of God's favours doth but aggravate the crime of our ſacrilege: he knowing how prone we are to unthankfulneſs in this kind, tempereth accordingly the means, whereby it is his pleaſure to do us good. This is the reaſon why God would neither have Gideon to conquer without any army, not yet to be furniſhed with too great an hoſt. This is the cauſe why, as none of the promiſes of God do fail, ſo the moſt are in ſuch ſort brought to paſs, that, if we after conſider the circuit, wherein the ſteps of his providence have gone, the due conſideration thereof cannot chooſe but draw from us the ſelf-ſame words of aſtoniſhment, which the bleſſed Apoſtle hath; *O the depth of the riches of the wiſdom of God! how unſearchable are his counſels, and his ways paſt finding out!* Let it therefore content us always to have his word for an

abſolute warrant; we ſhall receive and find in the end; it ſhall at length be opened unto you: however, or by what means, leave it to God.

3. Now our Lord groundeth every man's particular aſſurance touching this point upon the general rule and axiom of his providence, which hath ordained theſe effects to flow and iſſue out of theſe cauſes; gifts of ſuits, finding out of ſeeking, help out of knocking; a principle ſo generally true, that on his part it never faileth.

For why? it is the glory of God to give; his very nature delighteth in it; his mercies in the current, through which they would paſs, may be dried up, but at the head they never fail. Men are ſoon weary both of granting and of hearing ſuits, becauſe our own inſufficiency maketh us ſtill afraid, leſt by benefiting of others we impoveriſh ourſelves. We read of large and great proffers, which princes in their fond and vain-glorious moods have poured forth: as that of Herod; and the like of Ahaſuerus in the book of Eſther: *Aſk what thou wilt, though it reach to the half of my kingdom, I will give it thee:* which very words of profuſion do argue, that the ocean of no eſtate in this world doth ſo flow, but it may be emptied. He that promiſeth half of his kingdom, foreſeeth how that being gone, the remainder is but a moiety of that which was. What we give we leave; but what God beſtoweth benefiteth us, and from him it taketh nothing: wherefore in his propoſitions there are no ſuch fearful reſtraints; his terms are general in regard of making, *Whatſoever ye aſk the Father in my name*; and general alſo in reſpect of perſons, *whoſoever aſketh, whoſoever ſeeketh.* It is true, St. James ſaith, *Ye aſk, and yet ye receive not, becauſe you aſk amiſs*; ye crave to the end ye might have to ſpend upon your own luſts. The rich man ſought heaven, but it was then that he felt hell. The virgins knocked in vain, becauſe they overſlipped their opportunity; and when the time

time was to knock, they ſlept: but *quærite Dominum dum inveniri poteſt*, perform theſe duties in their due time and due ſort. Let there, on our part, be no ſtop, and the bounty of God we know is ſuch, that he granteth over and above our deſires. Saul ſought an aſs, and found a kingdom. Solomon named wiſdom, and God gave Solomon wealth alſo, by way of ſurpaſſing. *Thou haſt prevented thy ſervant with bleſſings*, ſaith the prophet David. *He aſked life, and thou gaveſt him long life, even for ever and ever.* God a giver; *He giveth liberally, and upbraideth none in any wiſe:* and therefore he better knoweth than we the beſt times, and the beſt means, and the beſt things, wherein the good of our ſouls conſiſteth.

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Vol. II. p. 12. l. 19. for *their* read *thoſe.* P. 14. l. 32. for *whereunto* read *whereinto.* P. 31. l. 16. for *Laws* (*which* read (*Laws which.* P. 155. l. 31. for *and place* read *the place.* P. 241. l. 20. for *Sacrament* read *Sacraments.*

Vol. III. p. 2. l. 19. for *ſo forth* read *ſo far forth.* P. 9. l. 21. for *began* read *begin.* P. 42. l. 17. for *office* read *the office.* P. 45. l. 19. for *endleſs* read *the endleſs.*

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